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DIARY AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

CHARLES ABBOT, LORD COLCHESTER

VOL. III.

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THE

DIARY AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

CHARLES ABBOT, LORD COLCHESTER

SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS 1802-1817

EDITED BY HIS SON

CHARLES, LORD COLCHESTER

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IN THREE VOLUMES

VOL. III.

LONDON

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET

1861.

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CONTENTS

OF

THE THIRD VOLUME.

CHAPTER LI.

1817.

The Speaker is made Lord Colchester. — Discussions on his Pension. — Trials of Watson, &c. — Oxford Election. — Waterloo Bridge Opened. — End of Sir Francis Burdett's Action against the Speaker. — Letters from Mr. C. Abbot from China. — Account of Lord Amherst's Reception and of the Country. — Prorogation . . . . . Page 1

CHAP LII.

1817.

Unrolling of MS. from Herculaneum. — State of Religion Abroad. — Letter from Mr. Butterworth. — Letter from Lord Glenbervie.—Society in Paris. — Death of the Princess Charlotte. — Character of Sir W. Grant. — Letter from Lord Hastings from India —Submission of the Peishwa 21

CHAP. LIII.

1818.

Letter from Mr. Morton Pitt. — State of the South of France. — Letter from Mr. Peel on Ireland. — From Lord Redesdale on the Early History of the Country as to Councils, Gradual Rise of the Parliament, &c. — Increased Allowance to the Duke of Clarence. — From Lord Colchester to Mr. Bankes on the Poor Law, &c. 33

CHAP. LIV.

1818.

Illness of the Queen. — Westminster Election. — Letters from Lord Redesdale on Early History. — Death of Sir S. Romilly and of Mr. W. Elliott. — Changes in the French Ministry. — Death of the Queen. — The Duke of Wellington Returns to England, and becomes a Cabinet Minister 51

CHAP. LV.

1819.

New Parliament. — Letter from Mr. Bankes. — Committee on Bank Restrictions. — Westminster Election. — Divided State of the Ministry. — Violent Measures of the King of France.—Lord Colchester goes Abroad. — Letter from Mr. Rickman, with Account of Parliamentary Proceedings. — Grattan's Last Speech. — Arrival of the Persian Ambassador. — Tierney's Motion on the State of the Nation. — Riots at Manchester. — Letter from Mr. B. Wilbraham . . . . . Page 68

CHAP. LVI.

1819.

Expected Arrival of the Princess of Wales. — Lord Fitzwilliam dismissed from the Lord-Lieutenancy of York. — Meeting of the Senate at Genoa. — Deaf and Dumb College. — Obsequies of King Victor Emanuel. — Letter from Mr. B. Wilbraham on the Transactions in Parliament. — Debates on the Conduct of the Manchester Magistrates. — Improvvisatori. — Inauguration of the Bishop of Genoa. — Lord Byron. — Letter from Bankes 86

CHAP. LVII.

1820.

Vigour and Success of the Ministry in England. — Laws of Genoa. — Death of the Duke of Kent and King of England. — Conduct of Lord W. Bentinck in 1814. — Princess of Wales 105

CHAP. LVIII.

1820.

Resumption of Cash Payments. — Proposed Establishment of a British Factory at Genoa. — Assassination of the Duc de Berri. — Dangerous Illness of George IV. — His wish for a Divorce. — Conduct of Queen Caroline. — Acquisition of Wealth by Bergamo. — Thistlewood's Conspiracy. — The King of Spain Accepts the Constitution of 1812. — Prosecution of Hunt, &c. — Ill-treatment of English by Italian Police. — New Elections in England. — Letters from Mr. Bankes and Mr. Wilbraham. — Violence of English and Scotch Radicals. — Municipal Administration in Genoa 112

CHAP. LIX.

1820.

Letter from Lord Colchester on the Queen, &c. — Expulsion of the Jesuits from Russia. — Arrival of the Queen at Dover. — Question of the Allow-

ance of Protestant Worship at Genoa. — Death of Grattan. — Negotiations between the King and Queen. — Feelings of the Army. — Letter from Lord Colchester to Mr. Bankes on English Trade with Italy, &c. —Conviction of Sir F. Burdett for Libel. — Canning's Conduct on the Queen's Business. — Abdication of the King of Naples . Page 131

CHAP. LX.

1820.

Revolutionary Outbreak at Naples. — State of the Neapolitan Army. — I Carbonari. — An Austrian Army expected at Naples. — Death of the Duchess of York. — Proceedings of General Pepé. — New Government at Naples disapproved by the Five Great Powers. — Trial of the Queen. — Letter from Mr. Wilbraham. — Congress at Troppau.—Meeting of the Neapolitan Parliament. — Revolution in Portugal. — Birth of the Duc de Bordeaux. — Lord Liverpool maintains the possible Right of our Interference with Foreign Countries as to their internal Policy . . . 149

CHAP. LXI.

1820.

Despatches from Lord Castlereagh to Sir W. A'Court. — His View of Foreign Affairs. — Critical State of Affairs at Naples. — Abandonment of the Bill against the Queen. — Claims of the Neapolitan Court. — Lord Colchester goes to Rome. — Conversation with Cardinal Gonsalvi. — Letter from Sir W. A'Court. — New Ministry at Naples. — The King of Naples goes to the Congress at Longbach 171

CHAP. LXII.

1821.

Lord Colchester is presented to the Pope. — Affairs of Rome's Revenues, &c. — Plan for excavating the Forum. — Canning's Resignation. — Protestant Burial-Ground at Rome. — The Austrian Army crosses the Po. — Motion to insert the Queen's Name in the Liturgy. — Austrians bivouac around Rome. — They march on Aquila. — Ill-treatment of some English by the Roman Police. — Letter from Mr. Legge. — Revolution in Piedmont. — Tierney retires from the Lead of the Opposition. — Baron Stein. — Letter from Bankes. — Catholic Question carried in the House of Commons. — State of Sicily. — Pozzo di Borgo . . 191

CHAP. LXIII.

1821.

Letter from Mr. Wilbraham. — Allowance to the Queen of Fifty Thousand Pounds a Year. — Niebuhr. — Arrangement between the Pope and the

King about the Church in Prussia. — Count Capo d'Istria. — Conduct of the Jesuits in Russia. — The Queen's Villa at Pesaro. — Lord Colchester goes to Venice. — Venetian Customs. — To Parma. — Popularity of Maria Louisa. — Conduct of Buonaparte at Parma. — Tour through France. — Toulouse. — Anecdote of the Duke of Wellington. — Coronation of George IV. — Disfranchisement of Grampound. — Death of the Queen. — Visit of George IV. to Ireland and Hanover. — Dismissal of Sir R. Wilson. — Monaco. — The Americans wish to buy the Principality. — Independence of Mexico. — Lord Wellesley is appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland . . . . . Page 218

CHAP. LXIV.

1822.

State of Poland. — Original Settlement of Savoy. — Population of France. — Letter from Bankes. — State of Parliamentary Parties. — Alteration of the Sinking Fund. — Canning is going to India. — His Motion on the Catholic Question. — John Bull. — Death of the Duc de Richelieu. — Talma. — Return to England. — Bill to enable Roman Catholic Peers to sit in the House of Lords defeated by Lord Colchester's Amendment. — Death of Lord Londonderry. — The King's Visit to Scotland. — Lord Redesdale on the Catholic Question. — Canning becomes Foreign Secretary. — Conversation with Lord Sidmouth. — Cambridge University Election. — M. de Villèle appointed Prime Minister in France. — Affairs of Spain. — Insult to Lord Wellesley at Dublin 243

CHAP. LXV.

1823.

Letter from Lord Redesdale.—Affairs of the Cape of Good Hope.—Clamour for Catholic Emancipation. — Mr. Robinson becomes Chancellor of the Exchequer. — Threatening Language of the French Ministers towards Spain. — Conversation with Lord Sidmouth. — History of the Quarterly Review. — Walter Scott at Carlton House. — New Marriage Act. — Letter from the Bishop of Exeter. — Angry Language between Canning and Brougham. — Peel's Feelings on the Catholic Question. — Debate on the Negotiations at Verona. — Conversation with Archbishop Magee 267

CHAP. LXVI.

1823.

Letter from Lord Lauderdale. — Complaints of the Spitalfields Weavers. — Roman Catholic Elective Franchise Bill thrown out in the Lords. — Lord Colchester's Motion for a Return of Roman Catholic Churches, Religious Houses, &c. — Letters from Lord Redesdale, Lord Stowell, and Lord Liverpool. — The French Army takes Cadiz. — Letter from Archbishop Magee. — Mode of governing Ireland. — Tithes. — Captain Parry's Voyage to the North. — Death of Lord Erskine 287

CHAP. LXVII.

1824.

Mitford's History of Greece. — Law Promotions. — Delays in the Court of Chancery. — Conversation with the Duke of Clarence. — Prince Hohenloe. — Letter from Lord Amherst on the Burmese War. — Management of Affairs in India. — Letters from Lord Redesdale. — Lord Liverpool's Speech. — Committee on the State of the disturbed Districts in Ireland. — Conversation with Lord Camden on Pitt's Views respecting Catholic Emancipation. — Restoration of Scotch Peerages. — The King's Opinion of Lord Liverpool and Canning. — The King of the Sandwich Islands in England. — Short-hand Writers. — History of Lord Teignmouth . Page 308

CHAP. LXVIII.

1824.

Assault on Mr. Brougham. — Sir John Malcolm. — Earl Marshal's Bill. — Lord Colchester Votes for second Reading. — Decided Language of the Duke of York. — Letter from Lord Redesdale. — Distress of the Farmers. — Question of the Exportation of Wool. — Sir W. Knighton's Rudeness to the King. — Letter from Lord Redesdale. — Irish Affairs. — Recognition of the Independence of the Spanish Colonies in America. — Differences in the Cabinet. — Mr. Wallace's Report of the State of Ireland. — Letter from Dr. Hamilton on the Feelings, &c. of the Irish Roman Catholics. — Prosecution of Mr. O'Connell 333

CHAP. LXIX.

1825.

Death of the King of Naples. — Sir C. Stuart sent as Ambassador to Brazil. — Political Conversation with Lord Harrowby. — Decay of the King's Health. — Committee on the State of Ireland. — Violence of the Roman Catholic Priests in Ireland. — Bill for the Suppression of the Roman Catholic Association. — Conversation with Lord Eldon. — The Budget. — Reduction of Taxes. — Roman Catholic Claims carried in the House of Commons. — O'Connell's Appearance, Manner, &c. — Lord Liverpool steady against Roman Catholic Emancipation. — Eloquence of Bishop Blomfield 360

CHAP. LXX.

1825.

Letter from Lord Carberry. — Doctrine of Absolution. — The Duke of York's Speech against Roman Catholic Emancipation. — The King's Declaration on the same Subject. — His Conversation with Lord Eldon. — Pastorius's Prophecy of the Extermination of the Irish Protestants. — Examination of Archbishop Magee before Irish Committee. — Roman Catholic Relief Bill defeated in the Lords by Lord Colchester's Amendment. — Letter from Bishop Blomfield. — Canning's View of the Catholic Question. — Canadian Corn Bill 376

CHAP. LXXI.

1825.

Unitarian Marriage Bill lost. — Major Denham's African Discoveries. — Riots in France. — Royalist Insurrection in Spain. — Protracted Siege of Missolongi. — Hurricane at Guadaloupe. — Report of Irish Committee. — Letter from Lord Redesdale. — Smallness of Livings. — Conversation with the Duke of Wellington. — The Pope claims to appoint Bishops in South America. — Death of the King of Bavaria. — Mehemet Ali sends Troops to the Morea to aid the Sultan. — The Emperor Alexander of Russia dies . . . . . Page 392

CHAP. LXXII.

1826.

Renunciation of the Arch-Duke Constantine. — Letters from Lord and Lady Amherst. — Success of Sir Archibald Campbell in Burmah. — State of Society in Calcutta. — Weakness of the Directors. — Measures of Finance in consequence of the recent mercantile Panic. — Abolition of small Notes. — Bank Charter Bill. — Correspondence with Mr. Peel on his Consolidation of Criminal Statutes, &c. — Ribbon System in Ireland. — Letter from Lady Amherst. — Negotiations with the Court of Burmah. — Scotch Banking System. — Improved Health of the King. — Mr. Martin of Galway and the Duke of Wellington 408

CHAP. LXXIII.

1826.

Debate on Corn Laws in the House of Lords. — Letters from Lord and Lady Amherst. — Peace with the Burmese. — Capture of Bhurtpore. — Currency Committee. — Pictures given to the British Museum. — New Peerages. — Captain Parry's proposed Expedition to the North Pole. — Decay of the Duke of York's Health. — Canning's Visit to Paris. — Southey. — Sir W. Rawdon. — Letter from Lady Amherst. — Letter from Rev. T. Hartwell Horne. — Condition of the Protestants in Hungary, &c. — From Archbishop Magee. — State of Ireland, &c. — From Lord Sidmouth, the Duke of Newcastle, &c. — Debate on the Spanish Attack on Portugal 429

CHAP. LXXIV.

1827.

Death of the Duke of York. — British Expedition to Lisbon. — Power of the Roman Catholic Priests in Ireland. — Corn Laws. — Illness of Lord Liverpool. — Duke of Wellington is expected to become Prime Minister. — Conversation with Dr. Philpotts. — Violent Language of the Roman Catholic Association. — Bill for Catholic Emancipation defeated in the House of Commons. — Illness of Canning. — Difference between him and Sir John Copley. — Duke of Newcastle's Audience of the King. — The Duke of Rutland's Audience. — Meeting of the Opposition. — Duke of Wellington's Approbation of Lord Amherst's Measures . . . 457

CHAP. LXXV.

1827.

Inquiry from the Duc de Broglie into our Parliamentary Usages. — Canning becomes Prime Minister. — Resignation of the Duke of Wellington, &c. — Lord Grey refuses to join Canning. — Audience of the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London on the Catholic Question. — The King's Declarations. — Conversation with Lord Harewood. — Statement of Peel in the House of Commons, and of Canning. — Lord Lyndhurst (Chancellor) takes his Seat in the House of Lords. — Explanations of the retiring Ministers. — Dinner at the Royal Academy. — Conversation with Lord Mansfield. — Lord Grey's Attack on Canning. — Conversation with the Duke of Wellington. — His Statement of all the Circumstances of his Resignation . . . . . Page 480

CHAP. LXXVI.

1827.

Hostility to the Ministers. — Discussion in the House of Lords on the Bishop of London's public Statement of the King's Opinions on the Catholic Question. — Documents submitted to George III. on that subject. — Penryn Bill. — Corn Bill. — Letter to the Duke of Wellington on Parliamentary Usage. — Duke of Wellington's Amendment. — Conversation with the Duke of Wellington, and with the Duke of Clarence. — Death of Canning. — Conversation with Mr. Peel. — Battle of Navarino. — Weakness of Lord Goderich's Government. — Letters from Lord Clancarty, Lord Sidmouth, and Lord Redesdale 508

CHAP. LXXVII.

1828.

Resignation of Lord Goderich. — The Duke of Wellington Prime Minister. — Expected Policy of the New Ministers. — Dissolution of the French Cabinet. — Letters from the Lord Redesdale, Lord Sidmouth, and the Duke of Newcastle. — Spirit of Speculation. — Influence of Huskisson in the New Administration. — Opening of the Session. — Debate on Navarino 533

CHAP. LXXVIII.

1828.

Distress of the Farmers. — Repeal of Test and Corporation Acts. — Penryn Disfranchisement Bill. — Conversation with Lord Eldon, and with the Duke of Wellington. — The Duke of Cumberland. — Concordat of the Pope with Hanover. — New Game Bill. — Majority for Catholic Emancipation in the House of Commons. — Conference with the Lords. — Conversation with the Duke of Wellington. — East Retford Disfranchisement. — Resignation of Huskisson, Lord Palmerston, &c. — Debate in the

House of Lords on the Catholic Question. — Speeches of the Duke of Sussex and of the Duke of Wellington. — Conversations with the Duke of Wellington 551

CHAP. LXXIX.

1828.

Lord Heytesbury's Mission to Russia. — Canada Clergy Reserves. — Meetings at Lord Kenyon's, &c. — System of recent Irish Government. — Mr. O'Connell is returned for Clare. — Letters from Dr. Philpotts and Mr. Croker on the Possibility of O'Connell taking his Seat. — The Brunswick Club. — Return of Lord Amherst from India. — The Duke of Clarence removed from the Office of Lord High Admiral. — The Russians take Varna. — Arrival of the Queen of Portugal in England. — Letters from Dr. Philpotts, Lord Sidmouth, and Lord Redesdale. — Correspondence between the Duke of Wellington and Dr. Curtis. — Letter from Lord Skelmersdale . . . . . Page 573

CHAP. LXXX.

1829.

Letter from Dr. Philpotts on Catholic Emancipation. — Conversations with him, and with Lord Sidmouth, &c. — Opening of Parliament. — Intended Relief of the Roman Catholics. — Mr. Peel's Speech in the House of Commons. — Conversation with Lord Eldon. — Speech of Lord Colchester. — Feelings of the King. — Oxford Election. — Conversation of the Duke of Wellington with Dr. Philpotts. — The Duke of Newcastle's Audience of the King. — Lord Kenyon's Audience. — Duel between the Duke of Wellington and Lord Winchelsea. — Anxiety of the King. — Roman Catholic Relief Bill passed by the Lords 592

DIARY AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

CHARLES (ABBOT) LORD COLCHESTER.

CHAPTER LI.

1817.

THE SPEAKER IS MADE LORD COLCHESTER.—DISCUSSIONS ON HIS PENSION.—TRIALS OF WATSON, ETC. — OXFORD ELECTION. — WATERLOO BRIDGE OPENED. — END OF SIR FRANCIS BURDETT'S ACTION AGAINST THE SPEAKER. — LETTERS FROM MR. C. ABBOT FROM CHINA. — ACCOUNT OF LORD AMHERST'S RECEPTION AND OF THE COUNTRY. — PROROGATION.

TUESDAY, June 3rd. — My patent was sealed and sent with the writ of summons.

Sir William Scott moved the new writ for Oxford.

After the new Speaker was confirmed, a message was brought up by Lord Castlereagh, informing the House of my peerage; and recommending a provision for me and the next heir male, &c. This was resented by the Opposition* as an unconstitutional interference of the Crown about a Speaker's service. And the intended motion for referring it to a Committee was abandoned.

* Mr. Wynn led the Opposition on this occasion, expressing his astonishment at the course adopted, as any recommendation of a provision, &c., ought to proceed from the *House alone:* it had been so in Mr. Onslow's case. He affirmed that, speaking strictly, the Crown had no right to know what had passed in the House of Commons, nor consequently could have any capacity to appreciate the Speaker's services.

Ponsonby supported Wynn, but Vansittart pointed out that Mr. Onslow had not been made a Peer; and that whenever the Crown conferred a peerage for service, it was customary to send down such a message.

5th.— Lord Castlereagh moved a vote of thanks to me, opposed by Lord W. Russell.*

Lord Castlereagh afterwards moved an Address for a signal mark of favour, &c. Tierney asked about and objected to the proposed provision.

6th. — The Regent, in answer, recommended the greatest mark of favour, &c. to be settled by the House as it thought proper. Referred to a Committee of the whole House for next Monday.

9th.—State trials began. Watson the elder tried first. House of Commons in Committee voted, with some discussion, my provision of 4000*l.* for me, and 3000*l.* a year for the next heir of the title.

LETTER OF CONGRATULATION FROM LORD REDESDALE.

Harley Street, May 30th, 1817.

My dear Sir, Meeting Lord Sidmouth yesterday in the street, he informed me of your resolution to retire, which I joined him in approving. We both felt that the motives which led you to this step were imperious, and that you had wisely determined not to wait till public inconvenience should call for your decision.

I have no doubt also that you have decided for the happiness of yourself and family. Quiet and ease of mind will, in all probability, fully restore your health as far as increasing years will permit, but increasing years fall heavily on actual infirmity. Your life is most important to your family, to see your sons placed in their proper stations till age has given their minds strength to guide their conduct.

* Lord W. Russell's opposition was based on the assertion that 117 Members of the House had thought the Speaker worthy of censure for his speech to the Throne in 1813, but no division took place, and the vote was carried in the following form:—

Resolved that the thanks of this House be expressed to the Right Hon. Charles Abbot, now Lord Colchester, for his eminent and distinguished services during the long and eventful period in which he discharged the duties of Speaker with a zeal and ability alike honourable to himself and advantageous to the service of this House; that he be assured that the proofs which he has uniformly given of attachment to his King and Country, the exemplary firmness with which he has maintained the dignity and privileges of this House, and the ability, integrity, and unremitting attention to Parliamentary business which have marked his whole conduct, justly entitle him to the approbation and respect, and gratitude, of this House.

In point of economy I have no doubt of the advantage you will derive from the step you have taken. The office of Speaker is an office of expense much beyond its income; and the style of living required by it is, in point of feeling, injurious to young minds entering into the great world. Your sons are now of an age not to feel the changes which your prudence will make, and you must prepare yourself, even among your domestics, to find some symptoms of discontent with these changes.

But Mrs. Abbot has most reason to rejoice: much of that anxiety which latterly she must have felt, will be relieved, and she will enjoy far more of your company than she has done for many years. You cannot be idle—your mind will be sufficiently employed when able to employ itself; and it will not be compelled to work when it feels itself unable satisfactorily to discharge its duties. Your assistance where I hope to assist in placing you will be of high importance. Much may be done there by a person so qualified, with leisure to attend to what may be done.

In truth, the House of Commons is so occupied that its Members have not leisure to attend to business requiring much care and research; and however defective its operations must be, much must be done by the Lords to keep things in tolerable order. In this you may be eminently useful.

I have also a particular employment for you, which makes me a little selfish on the subject. Believe me, my dear Sir,

Very truly yours, REDESDALE.

FROM DR. CYRIL JACKSON.

June 5th, 1817.

My dear Lord,—I must call you so, in form, for the first time, though hereafter when I have occasion to trouble you with a letter I shall most probably relapse into my old fashion of writing without either beginning or ending.

I have no doubt but that you have been plagued with an infinity of letters of congratulation on the parting; this will not be one of them, for that which must happen in the regular course of things is scarcely a matter of congratulation; but I do congratulate you from my heart on your having got rid of an office which seemed so decidedly to carry with it the ruin of your health. And I will congratulate you still more from my heart, when you tell me that the foul fiend which has plagued you so long is fairly and completely conquered. But after that, when you shall tell me that you are again placed in high office, I shall

not congratulate you, because I shall look on that also as a matterof course.

Your meditations at Kidbrooke and in Palace Yard had gone on, I fancy, much in the same train with mine by the sea side. My propositions indeed were very few and simple: happiness, I said to myself, has but three ingredients in it:—

1. The consciousness of having done one's duty.
2. Health.
3. ὄλβος, as Homer calls it.

No. 1. you were sure of carrying with you, and that you were sure of having whenever you resigned; and, if you resigned now, you had a fair chance before you, under God's good providence, of having No. 2. also.

Ergo, &c. &c. &c. But in spite of all this I was not without my fears that zeal for the public good, and inveterate habits of activity and business, might have made you, if not overlook, yet put by the demonstration. However, it is now all right, and I once more send my congratulations to Mrs. Abbot,—I beg pardon, to Lady Colchester.

By the way, I was at first a little discomposed that my favourite Kidbrooke was set aside, but I console myself with thinking that it will make a very pretty *second* title, when you take the Earldom of Colchester.

What a very very fortunate man Peel has been. I should fear that another friend of ours will have been greatly disappointed, yet I may say to you (*but to you only*) that I have frequently, indeed always when he has brought up the subject, told him what the event would be. That the Dean would not be able to carry even Christ Church for him; and that, in the rest of the University, he had no chance whatever. I did not say things so plainly as I might have done, for the truth is (I say it only to yourself) that I never knew a man so thoroughly disliked (*or even more*) as he is at Oxford. But I put the matter to him as plainly as I could without being very offensive, and entreated him not to expose himself to certain defeat. I am not sure, however, that I pleased him by my sincerity; but, as I have said, remember that this is only for your own private ear.

Where will this find you? I shall direct to Palace Yard; even if you have quitted the House your successor will be generous enough, I suppose, to forward it to Kidbrooke, or elsewhere. . . . . .

And now take good care of yourself, and God bless you.

Always truly yours, C. J.

Letters in the Oxford Election.

FROM THE REV. F. BARNES.*

Christ Church, June 1st, 1817.

Dear Sir,—I must in the first place request you to accept my thanks for the honour of having been thought of by you in the moment when you were communicating the intelligence which was received here with the sincerest feelings of pain and regret. Nothing *but the consternation* (I may almost call it) in which I passed the whole of Friday, can be an excuse for not having written to you by that post. In truth, I have not yet recovered the painful anxiety of that day. I had unfortunately engaged to dine with me on that day, the Vice-Chancellor, and some other heads of houses, and was repeatedly called away from them during the evening, after having sat in conclave without coming to a decision during the whole morning. At length, between nine and ten o'clock at night, the Chapter met in the common room in conference, according to our usual method of proceeding, to hear the Dean read your letter and pronounce the result of the deliberation of the officers of the College, and what the Chapter had agreed to recommend as the best step to be taken on the occasion. When Mr. Peel's name was declared, there was instantly an unanimous assent returned to the proposal, and, from what has since appeared to be the conduct of the friends of other candidates, the decision appears to have been a wise one.

For myself, I confess that I had a strong wish to see a quondam or actual student proposed, but as that was deemed inexpedient, I ought to rejoice that we had so very acceptable a candidate to bring forward that all opposition, as far as we can yet learn, has sunk before him. The circular letters could not be sent last night, but they all go off this evening.

As I know you could not be long unacquainted with our decision, a mere hasty note, such as I might have forwarded on Friday night could not, I thought, have been worth your acceptance. Dr. Smith and Dr. Pett were out of Oxford when your letters arrived on Friday; the first had set off for Cambridgeshire at six o'clock that morning. Pett was at Henley on business, and returned in the evening. This will account for your not having heard from Smith. He is not expected to return till Tuesday.

* Canon and Sub-dean of Christ Church.

I hope our decision will be as well received by the world at large as it has been by the resident members: indeed there seems to be a sort of enthusiasm about it, and I believe the University feel thankful a contest has been avoided, which never does any good in such a place as this. The very tide we read of in the affairs of men has certainly happened to Mr. Peel, for such a combination of time and circumstance could scarcely have been imagined by his most zealous friends.

I will only add, that I do not know how correctly to address you; and that therefore I hope you will excuse any error; but that you will be assured that I shall always continue to do it with the same respect and gratitude that I have hitherto felt; that I shall be anxious to hear of your health being recovered, and always zealous to serve you in every way in my power; and I particularly hope that the explanation I lately gave you of my situation about the studentships was satisfactory.

I remain ever your most obliged and faithful,

F. Barnes.

FROM DR. SMITH.*

Christ Church, June 5th, 1817.

My dear Lord,—I returned to this place on Tuesday evening, and it was a great satisfaction to me to find things in a most peaceable state. Our friends here have made a most wise determination, and the answers which have been already received to the letters sent by the Censors have, almost without the slightest exception, joined in the highest commendation of the candidate recommended by the College; the rest of the University join most heartily in approving the nomination; so that nothing remains but the form of election.

I am not sorry that I was absent, but I am very sure of the part I should have taken if I had been present. The course of proceeding was this, as far as I have collected it from those who were actors in it: the Dean† called the College officers together as early as he could after he had received your letter. They are the Sub-dean Barnes, the two Censors, Carne and Goodenough, and the Rhetoric Reader, Lloyd.‡ The Greek Reader§ was absent. The Dean then proposed Canning, and was supported

* Canon and subsequently Dean of Christ Church. He had been Chaplain to the House of Commons.

† Dr. Hall.

‡ Afterwards Bishop of Oxford.

§ Dr. Gaisford, afterwards Dean of Christ Church.

by the Sub-dean and Goodenough. Carne represented very strongly the danger of his not meeting with the approbation of a great portion of the College, and wished the Dean not to think of pressing him. Lloyd was of the same mind. The meeting broke up without coming to any determination, Carne being obliged to attend the examination in the schools. In the afternoon the council was renewed; and Carne then positively declared that he could not either support Canning, or act at all in his favour; and, therefore, if it should be determined to propose him he would resign his office.

This seems to have settled the affair, for it was seen that the new Censor, Lloyd, would be as unmanageable as the present. The Dean then, after a little consideration, said that he could do nothing with the divided Censors, and gave up the point.* It then became a question whether any person should be proposed. This was immediately settled affirmatively, and Barnes named Vansittart, but he was soon set aside for Peel. The only two members of the Chapter who were here besides the Dean and Sub-dean were Van Mildert† and Laurence‡, who joined heartily in the nomination of Peel. It was then argued that Lloyd, who was his private tutor here, and has always kept up an intimacy with him, should immediately set off to communicate the intentions of the College to him, and it seems the Dean himself wrote the letter.

This is a short, and, I believe, a tolerably correct account of the proceedings. When I see you I may perhaps be able to fill it up with an account of some incidents which cannot so well be written.

But in the meantime I must beg you to give me leave to state from your authority at what time you communicated to Lord Liverpool your determination to resign, for it has been mentioned to me that you might have given twenty-four hours' earlier notice to Christ Church than you did (I am glad you did

* In *Twiss's Life of Lord Eldon* the credit (as he considered it) of disappointing Canning's hopes of succeeding the Speaker, is given to the Lord Chancellor, who, with "Lord Stowell and other leading opponents of the Roman Catholic claims, considered it an object of great importance that the representative of the University should be anti-Catholic," and therefore, having "got the first intelligence of the completion of the arrangements for Mr. Abbot's promotion, sent down an express conveying the intelligence to some of the most influential persons in Christ Church." But the letter of Dr. Smith shows plainly that the trouble thus taken had no effect upon the result, as Canning's name was, as we see, the first proposed, and rejected (on account of his support of the Roman Catholic claims).

† Afterwards Bishop of Durham. ‡ Afterwards Archbishop of Cashel.

not, even if you had been able, for all confusion has been avoided by the quickness of the affair).

When this was stated to me from more quarters than one, I answered, that I should consider it my duty to inform you of it, and that I had no doubt of a satisfactory answer from you. Your letter this morning confirms me, but I have not used it, nor shall I till I hear again from you. *They say that Lord Liverpool and Canning* were acquainted with your resolution *before the evening of Wednesday.* At the same time I think that the very circumstance of no letter being received from Canning on Monday contradicts this statement. All are agreed that we had no right to an earlier communication than the Vice-Chancellor, except that, *I am told,* the Dean says he expected it. I feel very anxious that you should be set right with all your friends here, and I hope that you will give me immediate authority to make a correct statement of your proceedings.

I have hardly left myself room to say how much I regret that your health so seriously admonished you to quit your high station; at the same time I rejoice that you did not put it to further trial.

For the present I will say no more than that I am, my dear Lord, ever your most sincere and obliged,

SAMUEL SMITH.

16*th.* — Watson acquitted.

17*th.* — Sir Thomas Acland and Mr. William Davis called to consult upon the formation of a society to receive and apply private subscriptions in aid of building or enlarging churches. Lord Liverpool, Lord Harrowby, the Duke of York, and the Archbishop of Canterbury being favourable to the undertaking.

Proposal to put all moneys into the Bank, to examine plans, and to suggest improvements of economy or convenience in the building or enlarging of churches, and to grant aid in proportion to the local means to be provided; and the management to be under the Duke of York, as Patron; the Archbishop of Canterbury, President; the Lord Chancellor, Archbishop of York, and the Chancellors of the two Universities, Vice-Presidents. The Committee to consist of twelve Bishops, in rotation: twelve Officers of State and Peers; twelve Commons, including merchants, bankers, &c.

18*th.* — Waterloo anniversary. From Captain Bennett's garden saw the river procession from Fife House, through the new Strand * Bridge and back again, the Lord Mayor's barge leading the way, and the Admiralty, Navy, and Ordnance barges, &c. &c., following, with the Regent's twelve-oared barge, with the Royal Standard flying. Upon the Strand Bridge itself, on lofty poles, were hoisted the flags of all the allied troops engaged in the battle of Waterloo.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MR. BUTTERWORTH.

Bedford Square, June 19th.

My Lord . . . . Great efforts are making on the Continent to establish Popery, and to oppose the circulation of the Scriptures.

In the Bavarian and Austrian dominions the Jesuits have been extremely active and successful.

A powerful man has, however, boldly come forward against the See of Rome, who is the Roman Catholic Professor of Divinity at Marburgh, Leander Van Ess, mentioned in the 12th Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

I have sent some important documents to the Dean of Carlisle on the above subject, which, when returned, I will transmit to your Lordship.

I cannot but avail myself of this opportunity of expressing my sincere concern for the indisposition which occasioned a vacancy in the Chair which had been filled with such singular ability and high satisfaction. It is my unfeigned hope that your Lordship's health may be fully restored, and your life and talents be long spared as invaluable blessings to our country.

With the highest respect, I am, my Lord, &c. &c.,

JOSEPH BUTTERWORTH.

25*th.*—Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt called to propose to me to be one of the Committee with Lord Grenville, Lord Aberdeen, Sir Joseph Banks, Sir Humphry Davy, Dr. Burney, and himself, for examining Dr. Sichler's method of unrolling the burnt papyri.†

* Now Waterloo Bridge.

† Recently brought from Herculaneum.

LETTER FROM MR. C. MANNERS SUTTON, SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

House of Commons, Tuesday night.

My dear Lord,—Suffer me to ask three questions. We have had a breeze to-night. Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Brougham thought it expedient to use language respecting the trial just over that induced Mr. Wynn to think it advisable to clear the gallery. After this *they* thought it expedient to move an adjournment. In the confusion both of the House and the *rule*, I sent the *ayes* forth, notwithstanding it was after four. Quære, is it not advisable, to prevent further confusion in this rule, to enter it on the journals, "The *noes* went forth" (on the votes it does not appear at all)? And quære, whether, in order to effect this with security and propriety, I ought not mention it to the House; and whether to-night? 2nd. Whether, when the Chairman leaves the chair, there not being forty Members present, the House should not be counted before he leaves the chair; or whether he does right to take the fact on mere suggestion? 3rd. Whether, on a motion being withdrawn, that question can be put, or whether it must not be universal consent, and therefore put without the form of ayes and noes?

I know your Lordship will excuse the hurry in which I have written; and am

Yours most faithfully, C. Manners Sutton.

LETTER FROM LORD COLCHESTER TO LORD ELDON.

Palace Yard, June 27th, 1817.

My Lord,—As I understood from Mr. Lichfield, the Solicitor to the Treasury, who is employed in my behalf in the writ of error brought by Sir Francis Burdett against me as late Speaker of the House of Commons, that this cause has been put out of its ordinary course of hearing for reasons which I have no doubt have been deemed sufficient, but that your Lordship has entertained the intention of proceeding upon it before the close of the present session, allow me to entreat your Lordship that the hearing of this cause, whatever may be its fate, may no longer be delayed. As I feel it to be due to the office which I lately held, and to the House of Commons itself, whose authority is

disputed, that this important question should now be brought to some end.

I have the honour to be, my Lord, &c. &c.,

COLCHESTER.

LORD ELDON'S REPLY.

House of Lords, June 27th.

My Lord,—If the cause which your Lordship mentions in your note of yesterday has been put out of its course, that step I cannot consider myself answerable for, it being my constant, though sometimes ineffectual, endeavour to hear every cause in the order in which it is set down. In cases in which the Judges must attend, and this is such a case, business has so much increased in Westminster Hall, that we have been compelled to consult their convenience in a degree which seems to render it probable that the House must give up the benefit of their assistance. I shall not fail to do what I can to bring the matter to a division before the session closes. And I only add that I cannot feel that any blame rests upon me with reference to what is past.

I am, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient servant,

ELDON.

P.S. The Judges must attend this case.

27*th*.—I attended a meeting with Dr. Burney, Sir H. Davy, &c., to examine Dr. Sichler's apparatus for unrolling the papyri from Herculaneum; and agreed to inspect his progress on Thursday next.

28*th*.—The Archbishop of Canterbury called to say that on looking into the Museum Acts he thought there was no power to resign, and so thought Lord St. Helens; and that Planta considered Mr. Sloane's resignation as unwarranted, and consequently Lord Hardwicke, who succeeded him, as no trustee.*

* Amongst the trusts attached to the Speaker's office, though relating to matters extra-Parliamentary, I always devoted a very constant attention to the concerns of the British Museum. The free entrance given to the public on certain days, and the appropriation of other days to the convenience of persons resorting to it for purposes of particular research on subjects of literature, science, or the fine arts, was established by a new code of regulations proposed and chiefly settled by myself, with the advice of Mr. Planta, the principal librarian, and the co-operation of Sir Joseph Banks; and in

Lord Redesdale came to tell me that the Chancellor had appointed next Wednesday for hearing the writ of error brought by Sir Francis Burdett in the action against me as Speaker for his commitment to the Tower. Lord Redesdale thought it highly proper that it should be decided.

29th.—Sir William Scott called to suggest a Bill for removing the doubts about the Trustees of the British Museum resigning, without reference to any individual case. On which I suggested the expediency of providing for Lord Hardwicke's right of continuing, he having come in *vice* Sloane resigned.

Wednesday, July 2nd.—Vansittart, to whom I had written that my having relinquished ten per cent. of my salary, the Speaker was not to bind me to the same reduction of my Parliamentary pension, called in reply to say, "that no circulars had been sent to persons situated as I now was, these pensions being considered as private provisions."

3rd.—Met Sir H. Davy, &c., at Dr. Sichler's apartment, over the Earl-Marshal's room; and saw his first detached piece of the black roll of papyrus; but no letters on it. Agreed to meet to-morrow to see the actual process. Sir Humphry Davy suggested a mode of his own for unrolling the papyrus, by immersing it in a gelatinous fluid of moderate heat, and then

the same mode a new arrangement was made for defining the duties of the under and assistant librarians, allotting their time and service to the more learned labours incident to such an establishment, and apportioning inferior attendants to wait upon the public visitors. Almost all the principal purchases made between 1802 and 1817, the Townley marbles, Lord Elgin's collection, the Greville minerals, the Burleigh MSS., &c. &c., were either first named by me or negotiated by me with the Ministers of the time. In the appointment of trustees and officers it was my undeviating course to look for none but those best qualified to serve in or under the trust, and this was a task not always easily performed. — C. A.

Lord Colchester's official trusteeship ceased, of course, with his resignation of the office of Speaker; but his services had been so valuable, and their continuance was deemed so indispensable to the efficient prosperity of the institution, that (as it was found to be illegal for one of the existing trustees to resign in his favour, which was the step at first contemplated) the number of trustees was enlarged in order to enable him to be elected as one.

suddenly cooling it, which might detach the laminæ.

Took my seat in the House of Lords.

5*th*.—Met the Committee at Dr. Sichler's. Saw the operation performing by means of a simple machine, to suspend the roll between two soft points of leather; the roll covered with a fine linen, gummed on the back, which Mrs. Sichler gently lifted up, while Dr. Sichler, with a fine but blunt steel instrument, detached the upper layer from the next. As yet no letters appeared, but a considerable portion (about an inch in breadth, and a foot in length) was separated in our presence. Agreed to meet again on Thursday. Sir Humphry Davy was satisfied that there was no chemical solution used, or pretended to be used, in the process.

7*th*.—The House of Lords this day having heard the counsel for the plaintiff in error, without calling on the counsel for the defendant, took the opinion of the Judges upon a question of law respecting their proceedings upon commitments for contempt in the courts below, and then proceeded to affirm the judgment against Sir Francis Burdett.

Lord Erskine spoke *in support* of the Chancellor's motion for affirming, &c. And so ended this case commenced in 1810!!

Bankes brought us "The Times," with an account of the loss of the "Alceste." Officers, crew, and passengers all saved.

LETTER FROM THE HON. C. ABBOT TO LORD COLCHESTER.*

Canton, Jan. 2nd, 1817.

Dear father,—Here I am comfortably settled in an arm-chair by the fire-side, in a Chinese temple, which has been appropriated to the Embassy during their stay here, and been made to look like an English house by the kindness of the gentlemen of the British Factory. Having now let you know that I am safe

* Mr. Abbot, the present Lord Colchester, was a midshipman on board the "Alceste," and accompanied Lord Amherst through the country.

and in comfortable quarters, I must relate my adventures during the last five months, and undertake the difficult task of attempting to tell clearly a difficult story, and compress into a small space the description of the principal objects which I have seen during a journey through so extensive a country as China.

In my last letter, dated from the mouth of the Peiho, I gave you an account of our voyage through the Yellow Sea, and our safe arrival at that place. I must now relate the principal circumstances which caused the abrupt dismission of the Embassy, and my own adventures *on land*. The Embassy landed at Tacoo *, the 9th of August, and proceeded to Tiensing, where the Ambassador was invited to an imperial repast. It is a custom in China that, when the Emperor makes a present to any person, the receiver should return thanks by performing the ceremony of the kotin or prostration.

Upon this occasion the Chinese Legate, who had the charge of conducting the Embassy, requested the Ambassador to perform the customary ceremony before a yellow curtain which represents the Emperor's presence. This was refused; but, after a discussion of two hours, the business was settled by a compromise. This discussion, however, brought on the more important one of what ceremony the Ambassador was to perform upon his audience with the Emperor. Lord Amherst urged the precedent of Lord Macartney, which was flatly denied by the Chinese, who offered to prove, by appealing to their records, that he had performed the ceremony of prostration. These discussions were repeatedly renewed during our journey to Tongtchou. Upon arriving at that city, we found that the Emperor had sent down two mandarins of the highest rank (Ho, the Emperor's brother, and Moo, President of the Tribunal of rites and ceremonies), to carry on the negotiations, as he was dissatisfied with the conduct of the first Commissioners, Soo and Quang. The discussions at Tongtchou lasted about ten days. Lord Amherst continued firm in his refusal to perform the kotou *unconditionally;* and all the equivalents which he offered were rejected. But scarcely had he sent in his final determination, before Ho came to him, told him the Emperor wished the Embassy to set out the next day for Yuen-min-yuen † (where the house of one of the ministers was prepared for us), and *implied* that the Ambassador would be received on his own terms; and this was positively affirmed by the Legate

* Now usually spelt Ta-ku.

† A country palace about twelve miles from Pekin.

Quang. The presents and baggage were accordingly landed immediately; but, as Lord Amherst would not move till all his baggage was actually on its journey, we did not set out till four in the afternoon. Although the distance was only eighteen miles, we did not reach Haiteen (a village close to the palaces of Yuen-min-yuen) till four the next morning. Upon getting to this place, the Chinese attempted to separate Lord Amherst and the interpreter from the rest of the Embassy, and, instead of conducting him to the house prepared for his reception, carried him at once to an apartment within the precincts of the palace, where he was met by Soo, Quang, and a number of other Mandarins. The Ambassador had only been a few minutes in this place, when Ho came to him and informed him that the Emperor wished to see him immediately. Lord Amherst pleaded as an excuse his fatigue and indisposition, occasioned by a night journey, and the absence of his court-dress and credentials. The Mandarin, however, not being satisfied, seized Lord Amherst by the arm, and, had it not been for Lord Amherst's great temper and presence of mind, a great row would have ensued. He desired that no violence should be used (for the commandant of the guard had drawn his sword, and the other gentlemen had run to his assistance), and sent a message to the Emperor, explaining the true state of the case, and requesting His Imperial Majesty to put off the audience till the next day, *which was the day first appointed.* The Emperor appeared to be perfectly satisfied with this, allowed us to go to the houses provided for us, and sent one of his physicians to see Lord Amherst. We had scarcely been settled in our new habitation, when the Emperor changed his mind, and ordered us to return immediately to our boats, which, after making another night journey, we reached, after being absent from them only thirty-six hours. Two days afterwards, the Emperor sent down to Tongtchou some presents for the Regent, consisting of a Ya-yee, or sceptre of peace, a Necklace, and some Purses; and asked in return the pictures of the King and Queen, and some books of prints. This was the last official communication between the Court of Pekin and the Embassy; but we afterwards privately received from some of the Mandarins an edict of the Emperor, relating the dismissal of the Embassy, and throwing the blame upon Ho, whom he accused of transmitting false reports.

I cannot help here relating an anecdote which shows the politeness of the Imperial Court. When we were leaving the palace of Yuen-min-yuen, so great a crowd of Mandarins and attendants had assembled to see us that we could scarcely move.

Ho, perceiving this, snatched a whip from one of the soldiers, and began flogging, servants and soldiers, judges and generals, without the least distinction or mercy, till he had completely cleared the road. It was impossible to refrain from laughing, at seeing Mandarins in their full dresses intermixed with the meanest servants running pell-mell to avoid the whip of the Emperor's brother.

January 4th. — The "Hewett" sails to-morrow morning, and I must therefore make my letter shorter than I intended. We left Tongtchou on the 1st of September, and proceeded as far as Kwatchoo in the province of Kiangnan by the same route as Lord Macartney's embassy. But, instead of crossing the Yantzekiang at Kwatchoo and proceeding along the canal to Hang-choo-foo, we proceeded up the river 285 miles to Ho-kiu-Hien, where we entered the Poryang Lake, which we crossed, and then joined their route again near Nanchang-foo, the capital of Kiangsee. By this means we saw Nankin, several other large cities, and a considerable extent of country never before visited by Englishmen.

The "Alceste" left the mouth of the Peiho on the 10th of August, proceeded into the Gulf Leotang, and along the western coast of the Corea, where they discovered an immense archipelago of islands. The southernmost group was called Amherst Isles. From the top of one of these (Montreal) more than 200 islands were counted. The "Alceste" and "Lyra" then proceeded to Lieutchoo Islands, the principal of which Captain Hall* surveyed. They describe the people as an interesting race, totally ignorant of the use of money or offensive weapons. They were very much frightened at first, but soon became friendly, some of them learnt English very quickly. The ships then steered round the eastern coast of Formosa to Macao. The Viceroy of Canton delaying upon frivolous pretences to give permission to the "Alceste" to pass through the Boccæ Tigris, Captain Maxwell determined to pass through without it. He was fired upon by the forts and men-of-war junks in passing, but did not receive any material damage; two broadsides silenced the fort. The next day the Viceroy issued an edict stating that the firing was only meant as a salute, and he has been very civil since. We shall probably stay here a fortnight, touch at the Cape, and arrive in England very soon after the "Hewett." . . . . . Chas. Abbot.

P.S. The "Alceste" passed through at night, and without a pilot, which the Chinese thought impossible.

* Captain Basil Hall, Captain of the "Lyra;" Captain Maxwell commanded the "Alceste."

FROM THE SAME.

Cantonments at Weltevreeden, near Batavia,
March 25th, 1817.

Dear Father, — Before this can reach you, you will probably have heard of the loss of the "Alceste," and I shall therefore only tell you that we are all safe and in good health here, and give you a slight sketch of our proceedings since I last wrote to you, which was a few days before we left Canton.

The Embassy left Canton on the 20th of January, and the next day we dropped down the river, and, on the morning of the 23rd, anchored in Macao Roads. The Embassy landed here, and remained on shore till the 28th. The peninsula upon which the town of Macao is built is about three miles long, and is joined to a very large island by a narrow sandy isthmus, across which the Chinese have built a wall of fortification.

The town is built at the southern extremity of the peninsula, and is defended by several forts. It is tolerably clean, but contains nothing remarkable. The greater part of the population is Chinese. The Cave of Camoens* is no longer a cave, but its site is shown in a garden belonging to a Portuguese gentleman. The harbour of Macao is formed by several islands, and is very secure for small vessels, but the roads where we anchored are very open.

We left Macao on the 28th, and steered our course to Manilla, which we reached on the 4th of February. This city is situated on the north-east side of a very extensive bay, and is divided into two parts by a small river. That part which is situated on the left bank is strongly fortified, contains good houses, and its streets are clean. That part which lies on the right bank is called Santa Cruz, and consists chiefly of bamboo huts, thatched with palm leaves. The natives resemble the Malays in colour and features. The principal productions of Luconia are, indigo, sugar, coffee, and rice. Although a great part of the island is covered with forests, there are no wild beasts, and the communication between different parts of the island is rendered easy by the excellence of the roads. There are about 30,000 Chinese in the neighbourhood of Manilla, but they are not allowed to live in the interior of the island.

We sailed from Manilla on Sunday, February 9th, being exactly one year from the day we left Spithead. We here parted from the "Lyra," as she had received some injuries

* The Port.

which obliged her to go to Bengal to be docked. After leaving Manilla we passed in sight of the Natunas, the Simbelaus, and some other small islands lying in our route to the Straits of Gaspar.

We saw Gaspar Island bearing west from us about three o'clock in the morning of the 18th, and at half-past seven, being five or six miles from the north end of Middle Island, we struck on a reef not laid down in any of the charts. Every exertion was made to get her off, but in a few minutes the carpenter reported that she had made so much water that if she got off the reef she must sink instantly. To prevent this, an anchor was let go. The boats were hoisted out, and the Embassy sent on shore in them. Our next object was to save arms and provisions, but unluckily both the bread-room and the magazine were under water immediately after the ship struck. We, however, got some provisions, and, by drawing the guns, a tolerable supply of ammunition. Part of the crew were landed in the afternoon; we found the island entirely covered with trees and bushes, which grew even below high-water mark, and landing was very difficult from the reefs which everywhere surrounded it. During the 19th, the boats were continually going to the ship and returning with baggage, &c. In the evening Lord Amherst and his suite set out for Batavia in two of our boats. As yet we had found no water on the island, but at midnight we procured some by sinking a well to the depth of twenty-four feet.

The same evening we removed to a hill not quite a quarter of a mile from the place where we landed, and on the 20th cleared a sufficient space for an encampment. This morning a heavy shower of rain relieved us very much, as we had only half a pint of water each for the day's allowance. Boats still bringing things from the wreck. On the 21st, a small party who remained on board were driven out of the ship by the Malays, who took possession of her and plundered her. To-day the well gave a quart per man. We were employed during this day in surrounding our encampment with a fence, and arming ourselves with poles six feet long, whose points were rendered hard by putting them in hot ashes, as very few pikes and cutlasses had been saved. (This took place on the 20th.) Our boats chased two Malay boats, and the barge coming up with the sternmost sunk her. The Malays fought desperately, though inferior in numbers, and out of eight only two were taken; the rest were either killed or drowned themselves. In the afternoon of the 22nd other boats were sent to regain possession of the

ship; but before they reached her, the Malays set fire to her, and she burnt to the water's edge. During the 23rd, 24th, and 25th, our boats went backwards and forwards to the wreck, and saved a number of pikes and cutlasses, some provisions, and a quantity of wine. We were employed dragging these things up the hill, which was rendered very difficult by the heavy rain which fell, and rendered our roads almost impassable. We were also employed strengthening our fence and putting everything to rights. On the morning of the 28th the rencontre between our barge and the Malays took place, which I mentioned by mistake on the 22nd. On the afternoon of this day we saw seventeen boats coming from the coast of Banka, and we were in great hopes that they were come to relieve us, as they anchored at the rendezvous settled between the Captain and Lord Amherst. In this, however, we were mistaken: they however came to us, and made signs that they were friends; but the next morning they went to the wreck, which continued to hold together, and began to pick up what they could for themselves.

The Malays continued at the wreck during the 28th and the 1st of March; but, on the 2nd, twenty-nine boats anchored abreast of our landing place, and five more were seen at a small island about two miles from us. As they seemed inclined to attack us if an opportunity offered, we kept a strong piquet at the boats, and no man was allowed to go out of the encampment without his arms. As the tide fell, most of the Malays went away to the wreck; but one of those who came from Banka gave us to understand, by signs, that they meant to attack us that night. At sunset we were mustered under arms and the Captain made a speech, in which he said that we should probably be attacked in the night, but that if we were only steady we could overcome five times the number of Malays that we had seen. Our number at this time was 196 men and officers, of whom forty-two were armed with muskets, about fifty with boarding-pikes, and the same number with cutlasses. The rest had poles headed with iron, knives, nails, or any sharp thing they could get. Our fence was from eight to ten feet high, and platforms were erected at different parts for the sentries to look out from. The night, however, passed quietly; but the next morning we were blockaded by about sixty boats, which we supposed contained at least 600 men. An attack now appeared nearly certain, when fortunately a ship hove in sight from the southward, which proved to be the "Ternate," a Company's cruiser, sent to our relief from Batavia. The Malays immediately took to their heels, and we saw no more of them; but as

the "Ternate" could not approach within twelve miles of the spot where we were, we did not finally leave the island till the 6th. We reached Batavia roads on the 9th, and landed the next day. We immediately marched up to this place. The ship's company are lodged in a spacious and airy barrack, most of the officers are quartered upon the different English gentlemen who still remain here. I and five other mids. are living at the house of a Mr. Terreneaux, who has treated us with great kindness and attention. We all breakfast and dine with Lord Amherst.

We have been extremely fortunate in not having a single man taken ill since the ship was wrecked; although, while we were in Middle Island, we were often obliged to work exposed to the rays of a vertical sun that actually peeled the skin off our faces, arms, and feet.

The "Cæsar," an English ship of about 700 tons, has been hired to convey the Embassy and ship's company to England; and we shall probably leave this place in ten days. I send this by the "Surabaya," a Dutch ship. I have neither time nor paper to describe the beauties of the environs of Batavia. I have lost about half my clothes and books, and many of those that have been saved are damaged with salt water. Love to all.

I am your affectionate Son, CHAS. ABBOT.

P.S. I have saved my Chinese journal and sketches, but they are damaged.

I called on Lady Amherst, and saw her son's letter of March 2nd. Compared a map of Sir Byam Martin's with Arrowsmith's chart of the Indian seas, 1822, on a larger scale; the latter does not lay down any island called Middle Island, in the Straits of Gaspar, although the older map contains that and two others, which are in Arrowsmith's.

10th.—Attended the Committee on Dr. Sichler's process for unrolling the papyri. Several more pieces unrolled, but none yet with letters upon it. Directed Dr. S. to continue his operations, and to provide two more machines, so that he might superintend three at a time; that is, that he might work upon one whilst the liquid preparation upon the other rolls were getting sufficiently dried for operating upon them.

12th.—Parliament was prorogued.

CHAP. LII.

1817.

UNROLLING OF MS. FROM HERCULANEUM.—STATE OF RELIGION ABROAD.—LETTER FROM MR. BUTTERWORTH.—LETTER FROM LORD GLENBEVIE.—SOCIETY IN PARIS.—DEATH OF THE PRINCESS CHARLOTTE.—CHARACTER OF SIR W. GRANT.—LETTER FROM LORD HASTINGS FROM INDIA.—SUBMISSION OF THE PEISHWA.

JULY 18th.—Upon the second roll of papyri, Dr. Sichler has found several characters, and some entire words: Ἀπολλωνος, Μελος, Πιεριδες, &c.

EXTRACTS OF A LETTER FROM MR. D'ARCY MAHON.

Cork, July 19th, 1817.

My Lord,—Mr. Vansittart having notified in the House of Commons that he would visit Ireland this summer with a view to the improvement of our finances, I beg leave to have the honour of submitting to your Lordship a few observations upon the result of the measure for conferring the sales of stamps in the country parts of Ireland to the distributors of stamps and their underdistributors, and to fifteen persons to be licensed for that purpose in Ireland, the execution of which measure your Lordship in your arrangement of the Stamp Department in Ireland committed in charge to the Commissioners of Stamp Duties. The measure has been carried completely into execution *in the country*, where the produce has risen progressively and rapidly, but in Dublin the increase of produce has fallen infinitely short of the increase in the country, a disparity which never would have occurred if the sales of stamps in Dublin had been limited to the number prescribed in your Lordship's arrangements. The Commissioners thought proper to license every person to sell stamps in Dublin that applied for a license, and thereby facilitated the practicability of putting *forged and fraudulent* stamps into circulation, instead of impeding it according to your Lordship's intention. . . . . .

On the 28th of last month the Solicitor-General, in public

court, stated that "there had been an augmentation yearly of forged stamps, until it had so increased that in one year the revenue from this source of income had been from 200,000*l.* to 300,000*l.* deficient." Then how many millions have been lost in consequence of the non-performance of this part of your Lordship's arrangement! . . . . .

It is a melancholy subject for reflection that so much money should be taken from the pockets of the public, and not carried to their credit, and at a time too that we are 2,000,000*l.* short of our quota to the expenses of the empire. . . . . .

I have the honour, &c., D'Arcy Mahon.

25*th.*—Left London.

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER FROM MR. BUTTERWORTH.

Aug. 14th, 1817.

My Lord,— . . . . The author of the Protestant Catechism lately printed in the "Morning Post," wished to conceal his name, but I have reason to believe he is one of the Irish Bishops. . . . . .

Popery, from all I hear, is making great efforts on the continent. A sharp conflict may yet take place before it finally falls under the power of Protestant truth. This new election of French Cardinals is, of course, intended to strengthen the Papacy; but the system will be undermined by the dissemination of the Bible. This is felt at Rome, and hence the issue of the late Bulls; but they have created a powerful reaction in this country. The Roman Catholics are sadly annoyed at this, and they have now the audacity to deny the authenticity of these Bulls. . . .

Sir Henry Parnell had the temerity to state in the House, on the motion for the Maynooth papers, that the *Poland Bull* was issued in consequence of the proselytising system of the Protestants of the Polish Bible Society. I suspect he was so prompted by the Catholics under the gallery; but it happened unfortunately to him that I set the matter right, by stating that the Polish Bible Society was not in operation till after the Bull was published, and that the Bull was designed to prevent the formation of the Society. . . . . .

Amidst all the efforts of the See of Rome, there are strong indications of its declining power. The decision of the Roman Catholic States in Germany to have mass said, and the whole of their public worship in their vernacular tongue, will dissolve the charm which a foreign language produced over the common people.

Mr. Henry Drummond has been for some time in Italy, exerting himself to spread the Scriptures. He has obtained the Royal sanction to print a large edition of Martini's version of the New Testament at Naples. The Pope heard of this, and sent a prohibition; but the Court of Naples would not recall their sanction, the Pope having displeased them by demanding a renewal of the revenue which they granted him before the late revolution. Mr. Drummond is therefore going on rapidly, and the censor of the press has informed the Pope that Martini's translation not being Protestant, and having been sanctioned by a former Pontiff, cannot be prohibited. . . . . .

Your Lordship's faithful servant, Jos. Butterworth.

EXTRACTS OF A LETTER FROM LORD GLENBERVIE.

Paris, Oct. 9th, 1817.

My dear Lord, — I have been long desirous of finding something interesting or amusing to send you from Spa, or this town, at present more English than French, insomuch that it is a common saying here just now, that all London is in Paris, and all Paris in the country. After all, however, I must trust to your accustomed indulgence in taking the will for the deed, for birds of passage like myself can only make superficial observations, and acquire little knowledge of facts which is not anticipated in the newspapers.

I have been here ever since the 15th of last month, having previously passed a month at Spa. I can speak from personal observation of the goodness of the crops through the considerable extent of corn country through which we passed from Calais by the way of Brussels to Spa, and thence to Paris . . . . . The wines, except in the south, on the Rhone and the Garonne, where the vintage was successfully finished before the cold and frost of the last eight days—in Burgundy particularly, and Champagne, will it is thought, almost totally *fail*.

Here there was a great bustle (not of crowds and huzzaings in the streets, for of these their modes of election gave room for none), but in private societies during the week, while the eight new Members for Paris were choosing. The great efforts of the Government (to be distinguished equally from the Ultras and the *soi-disant* Independents) were exerted to keep out Benjamin Constant, La Fayette, and Manuel, a young and eloquent lawyer from Aix, who was the right-hand man of Fouché in Buonaparte's parliament, during the Era, as it now called, of the Hundred Days. For the first two days of voting there was great

reason to think that both the first and last of these would be returned, but on the third day, by great influence and exertion, all three were excluded. Yet the means employed, or which some thought might have been employed, are said to have occasioned warm discussion and altercation in the Cabinet; and new and considerable changes in the Ministry are still publicly talked of.

There is great heat, animosity, and ill blood between the different parties in private society. Every public character is at the same time, in the different companies where I sometimes find myself, both angel and devil, a genius and a blockhead. Of the three parties, Ultras, Ministerialists, and Independents, the greatest hostility prevails between the two former, and coalitions between the Ultras and Independents to overthrow the Administration are daily looked for, or at least talked of. This reminds one of the Papist Cardinal Richelieu fomenting the rebellion of the Scotch Presbyterians. A royalist (*i. e.* an Ultra) said the other day in a private company, "J'aime le roi, mais je déteste Louis XVIII." The Ministerialists call the Independents, Republicans, Whigs, Jacobins, Buonapartists.

I attended last week a trial before a jury of a conspiracy called "*Le Complot de l'Epingle Neuve.*" It lasted from Monday to Saturday inclusive. There were eight prisoners tried, on the evidence of an accomplice and their own confessions by previous written examinations and cross-examinations, *ore tenus*, in Court, by the President, when they were confronted with the oral witnesses, and with themselves by a sort of moral torture. Lord Ellenborough was there for an hour or two one day, side by side with Brougham. Two of the six advocates who harangued the jury on behalf of the prisoners, displayed considerable extempore eloquence. All the eight were acquitted, I think justly.

Another criminal trial at Rhodez, occupied all Paris for near a month. You will have seen a great deal about it in the newspapers. It is of a very interesting and dramatic nature, and I have thought you would like to receive the report which has been published of the proceedings. Frederick, who is obliged to return to England next Wednesday, will either deliver or send you a copy of it: it attracted much of our Chief Justice's attention and conversation.

M. de Souza, formerly Portuguese Minister in Sweden, afterwards at Paris, but now retired, whose son by a first marriage is appointed to succeed Palmella in London, and whose present wife is my old acquaintance, the celebrated Madame de Flahault, author of "Adèle de Senange," &c., and mother to General

Flahault, who has married Miss Maria Elphinstone, has just printed (not published for sale) a most magnificent, and, he says, most faultless edition of Camoens, with a critical preface, notes, and a life of the author, the types cast on purpose by Didot, and the prints from drawings by Gérard. He consulted me what public libraries he ought to send it to in England, and my first thought was the Museum. He has sent one to it accordingly, one to Oxford, to Cambridge, to Edinburgh, to Dublin, one to the Advocate's Library, and one to Lord Spencer. *He has given me one**; and for that, as indeed for other more solid reasons, I think him a very honest, sensible man. I used to see him often about twenty-five years ago in England, where he was above a year, and used frequently to dine at Lord North's and with us. He has expended 3000*l.* on this patriotic work.

I often meet at his house, and at Lord Holland's, and elsewhere, a M. Gallois, who was also above a year in England about the same time; indeed, I believe much longer. He was then very intimate with Jeremy Bentham, Romilly, George Wallace, Trail, and Dumont. They used to dine together every Friday; I knew him at that time. He is a great master of our literature, language, and history; and is very curious to see the Introduction to our edition of the Statutes, and spelt very much for a copy of the quarto edition of that Introduction. If you could allow him to have a copy, I will venture to say it will not be ill bestowed. And it would be doing me a great favour if you would let it pass through my hands to him, by directing it to me, and sending it by Sir Charles Stuart's courier.

I have another petition to prefer. Mons. Langlès, Administrateur de la Bibliothèque du Roi, and a great Orientalist, is about an elaborate work on Indian matters. Lord Holland has suggested to him that the papers printed by the House of Commons on the occasion of the late renewal of the Charter, and of the question on opening the trade, might be of material use to him. And they have jointly commissioned me to ask you if that favour is obtainable.

May I ask if your re-election† to the trusteeship of the Museum is yet settled. I feel scandalised, and so do many others, that any question was ever made about it; or, being made, that it was not instantly obviated.

I most earnestly hope that the air and waters of Malvern, and the concomitant regimen of exercise, early hours, "somnus et horæ inertes," have had the much wished-for beneficial effects on your health.

* Lord Glenbervie left this copy by will to Lord Colchester.

† As Speaker, Lord Colchester had been a trustee *ex officio*.

It will be the greatest satisfaction to me to receive a letter from you containing such agreeable intelligence. I give you joy of your Chinese voyager's safe return, and of his promotion in the navy.

Your most affectionate, GLENBERVIE.

FROM MR. BANKES.

Kingston Hall, Nov. 15th.

Dear Colchester,—After the first shock of any great public calamity * is over, one is naturally led to consider what consequences are likely to follow. I have no doubt that among the early sensations produced in the Regent's mind †, a strong desire to rid himself of his own wife, has not been the least prominent. Will his Ministers encourage him or resist him in such a project? And what will be the *popular* feeling if it should be brought forward?

We have not had any such schemes in the employment of the poor, as the agriculturists whom you mention in your neighbourhood. They seem to have adopted a part of Mr. Owen's project, which can only increase the evils which it is intended to remedy.

The additional grievance which you point out is a most serious one. The parish officers, with the assistance of two wild justices, may certainly ruin all the landed proprietors within those limits; and I cannot discover that there are any means of redress.

. . . . . .

Most sincerely yours, H. BANKES.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MR. C. M. SUTTON.

Palace Yard, Nov. 19th, 1817.

My dear Lord,— . . . . This day ‡ has been the most extraordinary I ever witnessed in London. The crowds of

* The Princess Charlotte died in her confinement, Nov. 6th.

† Mr. Bankes was not incorrect in his surmise. At vol. ii. p. 305, of *Twiss's Life of Eldon*, is given a letter from the Regent, dated Jan. 1st, 1818, expressly saying that "much difficulty in point of delicacy being now set aside in his mind by the late melancholy event which has taken place in his family, he (Lord Eldon) cannot be surprised if he (the Prince) turns his whole thoughts to the endeavouring to extricate himself from the cruellest, as well as the most unjust, predicament that ever even the lowest individual, much more a Prince, was placed in, by unshackling himself from a woman who . . . . . ." And, Mr. Twiss adds, "the result of the deliberations that succeeded this letter was the celebrated Milan Commission."

‡ The day of the funeral of the Princess Charlotte.

attendants at morning service, if I may judge of other services by St. Margaret's, where there was no particular attraction in Mr. Groves—the body of the church so full that there was not even standing room left unoccupied. The whole congregation, as far as I could see, in mourning.

In the streets *all* the shops shut; even those ordinarily left open on Sundays, such as pastrycooks. And yet, with this cessation of all trade and business, the streets very thin of passengers. Altogether this melancholy event has produced an effect on this metropolis such as I believe none could have foreseen; and for myself, too, I will add such as I do not quite know how to measure.

I wish it may not be pushed to an extreme to become offensive; because artificial; and mischievous in its tendency, if not with some mischief in its intention. The public press seems to me to have run raving mad upon the subject, and you must have been shocked to have heard with me to-day, the preacher venture to surmise that this was a visitation upon a guilty nation, for not having been sufficiently thankful for the peace of Europe, and illustrating this by an allusion to the treasonable conspiracies, and the trials at Derby and elsewhere.

. . . . . .

Yours very faithfully, C. MANNERS SUTTON.

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER FROM LORD REDESDALE.

Batsford, Dec. 3rd, 1817.

My dear Lord,— . . . . . The state of my health has disabled me during the last three months, but I hope I am recovering gradually though slowly. I have endeavoured to digest the papers I had collected for report on the peerage, but my health has not permitted my doing much. There is one point on which perhaps your reading may give me assistance. The House of Commons, composed of persons delegated to represent others, has clearly been an essential part of the legislative assembly ever since the 49th of Henry III., but by what authority it was constituted as it is and was in the reign of Edward I., from which time (that is, from the 23rd of Edward I.) we have the returns of representatives, ascertaining from what places they were sent, I am unable to discover.

Many places sent members in the reign of Edward I. which have sent none since. In 1640 the House of Commons ordered writs to issue for some places of no great importance, which had sent members in the reign of Edward, and afterwards had ceased to send any; but this order was extended only to few of many

places, some more considerable than those to which the order extended. I cannot discover on what grounds the House proceded thus partially in 1640. There was a reference to a Committee including *all places* which had sent, but *had ceased* to send. Why the few were selected I cannot find. Perhaps party had much concern in the business. Principle would extend to all. From time to time the Crown exerted its prerogative to restore and to grant the privilege of electing members to various places; and sometimes the privilege was granted by Act of Parliament, and particularly to Wales in the reign of Henry VIII.

This seems to me important to show that Parliament, constituted as it is, is to be considered as the child of custom rather than of principle; and that, at least till the reign of Charles II., the power of the Crown was conceived to extend to modify it, so far as to extend the privilege of electing members of the House of Commons at its pleasure. I therefore think that both Houses must be considered as existing in their present form rather by prescription than according to any settled principle established by ancient custom or by positive law; and that those who have considered the rights of the most ancient Peers as rights by prescription arising from enjoyment, have formed the only sound judgment on the subject. If you can give me any hints on this head I should be obliged to you.

My idea is, that the only safe ground on which the House can proceed on claims of peerage is, that custom has *now* made it, whatever it may *have been*, a personal dignity merely, to be governed by the rule on which the House has already decided against tenancy by the courtesy, the disability of the half blood, the incapacity to surrender a peerage, &c. &c.

I hope you will have leisure to look a little into this subject when we meet, as I must request you to look over the draft of my proposed report before it shall be submitted to others.

My dear Lord, truly yours, Redesdale.

FROM THE SAME.

Batsford, Dec. 9th, 1817.

My dear Lord,—I am much obliged by your kind offer of assistance, and by the information you have given me. I can find no explanation of the extraordinary proceedings in 1640, confined to a few boroughs, and presume the measure must either have been a party proceeding to favour the interests of the leading patriots of the day, or that the Committee was so engaged by the important business of various kinds that occupied the

House, that it had not leisure to report on more cases; the order of reference extending to all places which had sent members, and had ceased to send any, and had not been restored by the favour of the Crown. I have found nothing in Hatsell on the subject, which surprises me, as he has seldom overlooked any exertion of authority by the Commons.

I hope repose will restore your health; but absolute cessation from all business will scarcely do for one who has been so long engaged in it. You must not suffer a *dislike* to business to grow upon you. I am glad to find you are so happy in your sons, and hope your own health will soon be completely restored.

Very sincerely yours, REDESDALE.

P.S. I understand that Richards has refused the Rolls, that Plummer takes it, and Leach succeeds Plummer, and is to marry a daughter of Lord Ossory, and live in South Street.

17*th*. — Sir William Grant has resigned the Rolls, and is succeeded by Sir Thomas Plummer.

Sir William Grant was one of the most effective speakers of my time, and of a manner and merit peculiarly his own, with a marked character of deep-thinking, close reasoning, plain but forcible language, and a grave vehemence of action, under the most perfect real and apparent self-control.

A learned and incomparable judge in his own court, without a fault but that of seeming always to content himself with the case before him as stated by the counsel on each side, without endeavouring to know more of it than resulted from those statements.*

LETTER FROM LORD HASTINGS.†

Dinapore, Aug. 14th, 1817.

My dear Sir,—It would ill-satisfy me to offer no other acknowledgments for the kindness of your expressions than

* Compare Lord Brougham's account of Sir W. Grant in his *Sketches of Statesmen of George III.'s reign*, and in Mr. Twiss's *Life of Eldon*, vol. ii. p. 300.

† Lord Hastings was Governor-General of India, and it was recorded in the Diary in the spring of this year that he received the thanks of the House of Commons for his success in the Nepaulese war, to the communication of which by the Speaker the letter in the text is the reply.

what the formality of a public letter admits; let me, therefore, beg you to believe that I am sincerely obliged by the estimate you have put upon my efforts, partial as I feel it. The best return I can make to you is to communicate what has followed that Nepaulese war.

Our Resident is now on a footing of the greatest confidence with the Court of Khatmandoo. The Ministers do not appear to be solicitous of concealing from him anything relative to their politics. After having put the Nawab Vizier in possession of the territory agreed upon for the extinction [of a debt] of a crore of rupees, and having fixed on a defined frontier for ourselves, we have restored to the Gorkhas a portion of the plain, far beyond what they had ever ventured to hope. They really require it to prevent their being dependent on other countries for their subsistence, as the cultivated lands within the Hills would not supply the population with grain. They have been warmly sensible to this procedure. Though the fever constantly prevalent in the part of the Hills at this season, as well as the difficulty of passing the torrents during the rains, cuts off till October all ordinary intercourse between Nepaul and the flat country, the Government deemed it fitting to send an Envoy to Patna, to compliment me on my arrival in these parts. The person sent was the Raj Goroo, or high priest, Notwithstanding he and almost every man of his suite was seized with the fever, he persevered and met me. Nothing could mark greater eagerness to be well with us than sending an individual of such eminence, who is at the same time highly distinguished for talent. He delivered to me in public Durbar a message from the Ranee, mother of the young Rajah, and Regent of the State, purporting that she looked to me as her son's protector. This is a very different language from what we used to hear in that quarter, and it was gratifying, as it indicated there was no rankling in the wound which we had been obliged to inflict.

The business on which I am now proceeding must have a wider effect than any which has yet been undertaken in India. It is ostensibly the extirpation of the Pindarrees, but they are so intimately connected with Scindiah and Holkar, and Ameer Khan, that their expulsion must entirely alter the position of those chieftains. Then the endeavour must be so to modify the change as that it shall be impossible for any predatory body to rise again in Central India. Difficult as this arrangement may seem, I am sanguine in my hope of effecting it without any

contest beyond the desultory defence which the Pindarrees may make.

Seeing the unavoidable consequences of those operations against the Pindarrees which the Directors could not fail to enjoin, all my measures have been long taken silently, and they who would have wished to protect the Pindarrees find themselves so shackled as to render their movement perilous. A premature exposure of our means was forced by the desperate perfidy of the Peishwa. We had detected him in flagitious negotiations against us with the other Mahratta States. Having reckoned upon him, an ally, for co-operation in our efforts against the Pindarrees, I did not like to cast him off for a treachery to which we were so much accustomed that it does not irritate us. I therefore wrote to his Highness, apprising him of my being acquainted with his intrigues, imputing his aberration to the advice of bad counsellors, and offering to smother and forget the whole business could I be assured of his future honourable conduct. He answered me in a style of the greatest courtesy, acknowledged his having been misled, and plighted the most solemn promises of good faith. I had for some time been gradually and unobservedly getting troops forward from Hyderabad, in small bodies, to situations whence they could suddenly assemble on the Nerbudda, and natural doubts of the Peishwa made me carry the provision to a still greater length. Shortly after the Peishwa began to assemble forces in different parts of his dominions. On our Resident expostulating with him, he met the remonstrances with slight. We were more ready than he comprehended. I directed the Resident to allow his Highness four-and-twenty hours for the determination whether he would give security for disbanding his levies or would have a declaration of war. He treated the demand with contemptuous disregard. At the expiration of the four-and-twenty hours he found himself invested in his capital, not having been aware of the amount of force which was approaching, because it came in different columns from several quarters.

He surrendered at discretion, though he had 7000 infantry and a large body of cavalry with him. We have clipped his wings, have made a new treaty with him, and are as cordial allies as ever. Scindiah and Holkar had promised to aid the Peishwa, but they found another army had advanced and occupied a station where it cut off all communication between them and the Peishwa's territories. I pretend to know nothing of their intentions, I am on terms of most amicable intercourse with them both.

When such are the people that are to be managed, it is impossible to assure oneself that they will not break out. Still, by showing them a formidable force overhanging them, while one treats them with a soothing and bewildering courtesy, tempting their appetence at the same time with proper baits, one keeps them hesitating till one has established one's points, and made it too late for them to move. I have gained such vantage-ground for this play that I feel tolerably confident of doing all I wish without encountering any serious struggle. If I succeed, India will be tranquil for some years. At all events those scourges of humanity, the Pindarrees, will be dispersed.

I have the honour, my dear Sir,

To be with high esteem and regard,

Your faithful and obedient servant, HASTINGS.

The Right Hon. C. Abbot, &c.

CHAP. LIII.

1818.

LETTER FROM MR. MORTON PITT. — STATE OF THE SOUTH OF FRANCE. — LETTER FROM MR. PEEL ON IRELAND. — FROM LORD REDESDALE ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE COUNTRY AS TO COUNCILS, GRADUAL RISE OF THE PARLIAMENT, ETC. — INCREASED ALLOWANCE TO THE DUKE OF CLARENCE.—FROM LORD COLCHESTER TO MR. BANKES ON THE POOR LAW, ETC.

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER FROM MR. MORTON PITT.

Nice, Jan. 2nd, 1818.

My dear Lord,—The friendship you have so kindly and unremittingly shown me during so many years of our lives, and very particularly during the last year, when I had the good fortune to be placed in a situation of co-operation with you, persuades me that I need not apologise for troubling you with a letter from this remote part of the world. . . . . .

It would be taking up your time very improperly if I were to say much to you, who have had so many opportunities of receiving correct information on the state of France; but, after having travelled quite across it, you would hardly approve of my being perfectly silent upon the subject. I was surprised to meet with nothing unpleasant from any one individual. I never heard England or its natives spoken of but in terms of respect, and often of praise and admiration; and many times my name on my passport caused questions to be asked me as to my connection with our lamented departed friend*, and the highest compliments were paid to his merits. I found the good old breeding which used to pervade all classes very much as heretofore, and the only slight difference I observed was that people seemed rather *more grave* and *less dressed.*

There has been much distress all through the country during the last year; and the present winter is likely to be equally severe. The harvest was, almost in all the provinces I crossed, very unfavourable, and the oil, which is the only produce of any

* William Pitt, of whom Mr. M. Pitt was a distant cousin.

consequence in Provence, has wholly failed. There is very little employment either in manufactures or in agriculture, and the accounts of trade which I received at Marseilles were by no means favourable.

I heard no expressions of a revolutionary character, but many of loyal tendency, and though there must no doubt be *some* disaffected minds, yet I am much inclined to believe that the existing government is rising in estimation; and I have heard it remarked that, if there was an assurance given by the whole of the reigning family that property *purchased* during the revolution would *not* be *disturbed*, almost the whole population would be loyal.

Another point which will interest you is, the state of religion. I understand that there is some little alteration for the better; some of the men in the country villages frequent the churches, though not many. Women and children are become regular in their attendance; and, I suppose, from the appearances in Paris, and in the provincial towns, about half of those people who keep shops or work at trades have discontinued their temporal employments on Sundays. I think *full one half* are *seven days in the week men.* The Protestants in the southern provinces seem to be under no anxiety; and during the week I was at Marseilles I attended a Protestant French chapel, which was very respectably frequented, and I was assured that at the great hospital, the Hôtel Dieu, in that city, and likewise in all the other charities, there is no distinction made, but of this I have a doubt.

Very little has yet been done as to national education, but I have heard that plans are in agitation. I did not learn that there has been any unusual number of crimes committed. I heard of no brigands about, but the police seems to be very alert; and the laws against robbery and theft of all sorts are, I believe, very rigorously enforced. The usual mode of punishment is the galleys, and even for inferior larcenies: and the number of galley slaves at Toulon and Brest is, I am told, very considerable. During the month that I was at Paris, waiting for cooler weather to go to the southward, I visited most of the prisons, and had much conversation with gaolers, &c. In mentioning our *Penitentiary* principles, I was much pleased to find much conformity in *opinion*, though not much in practice hitherto.

But the great object of all is education. I heard that some grand plan is in agitation, but I never could ascertain that the fact is so. If our *Bell* Society was to offer its assistance at Paris,

I think such a proposal might be accepted, and that it might accelerate so beneficent a measure. . . . . .

Always most truly yours, W. M. PITT.

FROM LORD COLCHESTER TO LORD AMHERST.*

Kidbrooke, Jan. 5th, 1818.

My dear Lord,—Upon a question so nearly concerning the happiness of Lady Amherst and yourself, no apology whatever can be necessary for desiring me to furnish or collect any further information which may finally guide your choice.

Of Westminster and Christ Church it is needless for me to say what I think in their favour, except that I ought in honesty to remark that I have found the hopes of improvements at work in one and the other to depend not only upon the qualifications of those who are at the head of it, but also in the mode pursued in superintending the progress of those under their care.

Of Sandhurst generally, I would say, that the sort of instruction received there has the same advantage in my eyes as it appears to have in yours, that of qualifying not merely for the military profession, but also for civil employment, if such should eventually be the destination chosen. It is, however, but right to bear in mind that education for the army is the public object for which Parliament grants the means for defraying the expenses of the establishment, and that such should be the primary intention of the person admitted into it.

My opinion of Sandhurst is substantially the same now as when it was first mentioned between us, and I think still more favourably of it in respect of the recent extension of its studies in other lines of learning not military; which extension, in truth, did not surprise me, because, from my former communications with Sir Alexander Hope†, I knew him to be strongly impressed with its importance as a principle never to be lost sight of in the education of British officers, and that there should be no more of military habits or discipline practised than merely the extended forms of a college, denominated military, must be supposed to require, and, to use his own phrase, to make them not corporals nor sergeants, but gentlemen.

* Written in reply to a letter from Lord Amherst, in which he stated his inclination to send his son to Sandhurst, and asked Lord Colchester's advice, inquiring at the same time what he *knew* of the system pursued there and at other places of education.

† The Governor.

Assuming, therefore, that a commission in the army is intended at the age of eighteen, I have no doubt in my own mind, that for a young man destined also in the course of nature to hold an hereditary peerage, there can be no better education than what is to be had at Sandhurst.

Moral and religious instruction form an indispensable portion of their studies. The chaplain is exemplary and diligent in his department, and I believe I may venture to say that vice of all sorts is almost unknown there. There is also a reading-room, with maps, and a considerable collection of useful books, open to those who chose to resort to it; swimming, rowing, and cricket are amongst their relaxations; sword exercise; no fencing, nor dancing.

It is difficult to say what opportunities there may be at Sandhurst for forming such connections as may be formed at public schools; possibly there may be, in some respects, fewer, as the young persons sent there have all of them the same declared professional object, and are probably, in a great proportion, the sons of military men; but this cannot be universally true, as I remember seeing a son of the Archbishop of York there; Lord Combermere's eldest son is there at present; Lord Cork has a younger son there; Sir Harry Calvert, Sir David Baird, &c. . . . . .

As the age of Mr. Amherst will be only sixteen when he goes there, and he cannot stay after eighteen, it will be material for his comfort and advantage to qualify himself beforehand with mathematics, as the cadets are placed, upon their admission, in the higher or lower classes of the college, according to their proficiency in that branch of learning. . . . . .

Ever, my dear Lord, yours with the most sincere regard,

COLCHESTER.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MR. STURGES BOURNE.*

Testwood, Southampton, Jan. 25th, 1818.

My dear Lord,—. . . . . I sometime since sent to Lord Castlereagh, by his desire, the heads of a Bill or Bills, that we might be prepared at the opening of the session to do what is right to be done respecting our system of Poor Laws. For no benefit will be derived from further delay, the consideration of the subject by the whole kingdom during the recess not having, I think, furnished any new suggestion.

* Then Under-Secretary; subsequently, in 1827, Secretary of State for the Home Department.

I quite concur in your opinion that Parish Farms would in most instances be ruinous. I thought, however, that it would in some instances, be expedient to enable parishes to bring to the test, by hard work, the professed willingness of some of their able-bodied labourers to work, for which purpose small parcels of land might be convenient, as well as to let some industrious persons cultivate small lots at a low rent on their own account. . . . . Ever yours most truly,

W. STURGES BOURNE.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM THE SPEAKER.

Palace Yard, Feb. 5th.

My dear Lord,—. . . . . One word, before I conclude, of *Chair* business. When a Committee is chosen by ballot, after the scrutiny has taken place, and the report been made of the result of the ballot, *can any name retained in the list be changed by the House*? If so, by what process? Is it by moving to leave out one name for the purpose of substituting another?

Hitherto we have been tolerably quiet and moderate, more so perhaps in hours than in language; but not, for modern times, extravagant in the latter. . . . . .

Yours very faithfully, C. MANNERS SUTTON.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM MR. LEGGE.

Navy Office, Feb. 5th, 1818.

My dear Lord Colchester,— . . . . . If Ministers are wise, I think they will suffer the present Parliament to sit another year, as it is not likely they should find a better by an earlier dissolution. I have seen nobody, in or out of the House of Commons, who seems to know their intentions; but the bustle which is beginning in various parts of the kingdom implies a general inclination to be prepared for whatever may happen. Rumour is busier than you suspect, for it says moreover that Lord Sidmouth is about to retire; that Vansittart is to go with him; that Peel is to be Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Lord Colchester Secretary of State for the Home Department. Of all this you will believe as much as you like.

Lord Anglesea, I believe, has the blue ribbon. Lord Grenville's friends in the House of Commons behave, I hear, as if they did not know to which side of the House they belong Lord Buckingham went out of town, I am told, after a meeting of the Opposition, in which he said that if either of three

gentlemen, proposed for leaders in the room of Ponsonby*, were appointed, he should give his support to the Administration. In the beginning of the winter Phillimore laughed at the report that Lord Grenville will join the Administration; but I have not seen him since he returned from Dropmore, where he may perhaps have heard a different story.

Sir George Hope is not only tired of the Admiralty, but is also very unwell; and, as relaxation from business in his native air has been strongly recommended to him, I have no doubt that he may have the command at Leith, when his cousin's time is out, if he chooses it. I have heard no successor named for him.

Of Lord Dartmouth's marriage I know nothing but what I have seen in the newspapers. At present I am inclined to believe the report.

I feel more confident about Princess Elizabeth's; which nobody denies. On Saturday se'nnight I am going to Windsor, where I may possibly see the bridegroom elect, the Hereditary Prince of Hesse Homberg, who is forty-nine years of age, and as fat as his intended bride.

Why Fred Robinson† is in the Cabinet I do not know; nor do I recollect to whom he is supposed more particularly to belong. Perhaps he may owe his promotion merely to Lord Liverpool's opinion of his useful talents, of which I think you must have seen some favourable specimens in Parliament. His appointment as Treasurer of the Navy gives great satisfaction at this board. . . . . .

Your very affectionate friend, H. Legge.

FROM MR. PEEL.

[Private.] Irish Office, Feb. 28th.

Dear Lord Colchester,— . . . . . Nothing has been done for the better regulation of parish registers in Ireland. I am satisfied that great inconvenience occasionally arises from the want of an accurate registry of births, baptisms, and burial, in Ireland. And yet I have always found considerable difficulty in the way of providing for such a registry by legislation, from the same cause that makes it so embarrassing to legislate on many other points connected with the domestic policy of Ireland, —the immense majority of the Roman Catholic population.

A registry confined to Protestants of the Church of England

* Mr. Ponsonby had died in the autumn of 1817.

† Afterwards Prime Minister and Earl of Ripon.

would be very incomplete, as far as any national object is concerned; and possibly (though I am not quite clear upon that point) it is scarcely justifiable, at least not wise, to impose on parishes wherein nearly the whole population is Roman Catholic, the expense to which parishes are subjected by the 52nd George III. cap. 146, for the purpose of providing for a registry confined to the Protestant births and burials.

The expense of providing books, iron chests, &c., may be trifling, but I fear it would be very reluctantly submitted to by many parishes.

If we attempt to apply the measure generally, and to require an accurate registry of all births and burials, Protestant, Presbyterian, and Roman Catholic, what machinery shall we make use of in carrying the regulations into effect so far as the two latter branches of our population are to be affected by it?

What officer corresponding to the Diocesan Registrar shall be appointed to receive copies of the parochial registers? Who shall attest the signature of the priest to the declaration of the accuracy of the register, or certify the default of the priest to sign the registry? In our Church the churchwardens perform these duties. May not the Roman Catholic clergy protest against the imposition of such duties upon them; nay, possibly consider it an unwarrantable interference on the part of a Protestant Legislature with concerns which they may affect to consider of a spiritual nature?

I am sure, however, that I am chargeable with a very unwarrantable interference with your time; and fear you will repent of having provoked so long an answer to the short question you put to me.

I feel, and have always felt very strongly, the importance of the subject, and the substantial advantage which would be denied to the inhabitants of Ireland from the adoption of any measure calculated to insure an accurate registry. Possibly your Lordship may have turned your attention to the details of some plan when you were in the situation in which I am your unworthy successor, and may be enabled at some moment of leisure to convince me that I have greatly overrated the difficulties of providing a remedy for the admitted evils which result from the want of a registry. I can only assure you that should you take the trouble of offering me any suggestions upon the subject, I shall consider them with an impression in their favour quite sufficient to outweigh the objections which at present occur to me.

I have the honour to be, &c., yours most faithfully,

ROBERT PEEL.

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER FROM LORD REDESDALE.

Harley Street, March 17th, 1818.

My dear Lord,—I find from Caley * that your Lordship has kindly consented to look over a very rough draft of a part of the report which I have prepared for the Committee on Peerages. This part relates to the inquiry what was the Constitution of the Legislative Assemblies in this country in early times? a subject, as you know, formerly of much controversy. The result of my researches has been a full persuasion that the kings after the Conquest for a long time legislated for all purposes, *except those of taxation*, as the King still does for Jersey, Guernsey, &c., by himself in his Privy Council; although for important changes he assembled a Great Council to give a more solemn sanction to his acts; and that when a *burthen was to be imposed on the people*, the sanction of that Great Council was generally used.

The Great Council consisted, after the Conquest, of those persons commonly termed the King's barons, who were (in the largest acceptation of the term for this purpose) all who held of the King *in capite*, as of his crown. All of whom held by military service, according to the policy of the Conqueror. And that the Great Councils of the Conqueror and many of his successors *resembled the Parliament of Scotland*, which originally unquestionably consisted of tenants *in capite* of the crown only. When taxes were to be imposed, as these tenants were by the charters of William and his son Henry exempted from all services except those due by the terms of their tenures, all were to give their consent to an extraordinary aid. And when the services due according to their tenures were to be commuted, their consent to the commutation was also necessary.

As all the lands of the kingdom not holden of the King in chief as of his crown, were holden of him as of an escheat, they took upon themselves to bind their sub-tenants, and indeed all the people of the land, with the King; who had a right to talliage his demesne lands without their concurrence, and without the consent of the tenants of those demesne lands, including the cities and boroughs which were holden immediately of the crown. It appears from Domesday Book, that the tenants in chief of the crown were originally few in number, but by subdivisions of estates, by forfeitures and regrants in parcels, and by alienations, escheats, and other means, the tenants in chief of the crown became very numerous. It seems from the

* Mr. Caley was Secretary to the Record Commission.

charter of John, that all these were to be summoned. And it seems from some proceedings in his reign, which you will find in Brady, that he acknowledged that all were entitled to have special writs for the purpose; this became impossible, and the clause in John's charter that the greater barons should have special writs, and the others should be generally summoned, was calculated to obviate this difficulty. This clause in the charter of John was omitted in all the subsequent charters, and the charter of the 9th Henry III. is now clearly the Magna Charta.

But though the clause was omitted in the subsequent charters, it was necessarily in some degree adopted in practice. And with respect to military service the same practice was clearly adopted. The greater tenants had special writs, but all were also generally summoned to perform their military services. Attendance on the King in his Great Council must have been burdensome to most of the smaller tenants; and they therefore seldom attended such councils, except perhaps when holden in their immediate neighbourhood; or when holden at a place where they had been also assembled to perform their military services.

By degrees, therefore, the greater barons acted for the whole; the smaller who attended being comparatively few in number, and of little consequence personally.

Thus the constitution of the General Councils seems to me to have stood till the latter end of the reign of Henry III. And the assembly in which the provisions of Oxford were made seems to me to have been thus constituted. The barons summoned by special writ gradually gaining the appellation of barons "par excellence;" and the whole being termed the Community of the Barons, for which community a few were, by the Assembly at Oxford, delegated to act. The conduct of the Earl of Leicester and his party becoming tyrannical and oppressive, the rest were disgusted, and joining the King's party overthrew the power of the Earl of Leicester and his adherents; and the Assembly in the 49th of Henry III., consisting almost wholly of the Earl of Leicester's party, was intended by the Earl to meet the opposition rising against him, by giving to the smaller barons representatives in Parliament, and by giving to the cities and boroughs holding of the crown also representatives. The battle of Evesham put an end to this establishment, and there is no trace of any such assembly during the remainder of the reign of Henry III. And I much doubt whether any trace of such an assembly can be found in the early years of Edward I.

The great object of Edward was to break the power of the

great barons; and giving to the smaller barons representatives in Parliament, and giving representatives also to the cities and boroughs, was apparently the best means of doing this. It is said by Camden that Henry III., after the battle of Evesham, took upon him to summon by special writ such persons only as he thought fit to summon, and that a law was made for this purpose. This is combated by others, and there is no trace of such a law; but the practice of Edward I. was in this subject very arbitrary; summoning men to one Parliament who were not summoned to a subsequent Parliament, and men whose descendants were never summoned. The instances are numerous, and the case of Lord Fraschеville is directly in point.

By the statute of *Quia emptores* he effected a subdivision of the great estates in all alienations, by prohibiting mean tenure; so that any tenant in chief of the crown, after that statute, aliening an acre of land, constituted a new tenant in chief of the crown, and destroyed the integrity of his own tenure. And Edward adhered rigidly to the terms of this statute, refusing any license to alien otherwise, and declaring he would allow of no mesne tenure.

The necessities of the great Lords compelled many alienations, and all alienations after this statute increased the number of the tenants in chief.

When the election of the knights of the shire were made in the county courts, all the freeholders who owed suit to the county court claimed a right to vote; and thus the idea of composing the legislative assembly of tenants in chief of the crown was gradually lost. With respect to cities and boroughs, the crown seems to have assumed a power of giving a right to send representatives to such places as the King thought fit. Thus the principle on which the Scotch Parliament rested till the Union, and on which the Scotch representation, in some degree, rests at this day, was lost in England; and the Parliaments of England were constituted on principles unknown to the kingdom before the 49th of Henry III., and in some degree probably before the 18th Edward I.

I have given you this detail to lead you in the considerations of what I have collected. I have not always had precisely the same ideas, and therefore you will probably find passages not perfectly conformable to them. Your talent for arrangement and your general knowledge of the subject will enable you to give me much assistance, which I entreat.

Faithfully yours, Redesdale.

April 16th.—The marriage incomes of the Royal Dukes were this week debated in Parliament. See Bootle Wilbraham's account of the meeting at Fife House. It ended in 6000*l.* a year to the Duke of Clarence, which he declined to accept; 6000*l.* a year to the Duke of Cambridge, and 6000*l.* a year jointure to his Duchess. The proposed grant of 6000*l.* a year to the Duke of Cumberland negatived; jointure to the Duchess granted.

LETTER FROM MR. BOOTLE WILBRAHAM.

Portland Place, April 15th, 1818.

My dear Lord Colchester,— . . . . . I write chiefly to tell you of the proceedings in Parliament and out of Parliament. In consequence of a circular letter from Lord Liverpool, nearly seventy M.P.s, chiefly of the country gentlemen, met at Fife House on Monday, when he explained that the death of the Princess Charlotte had rendered it desirable to have a direct heir to the throne, and that the Prince had encouraged his brothers to marry. It was therefore proposed that the Duke of Clarence (as the one through whom an heir may be expected) should have his income, now 20,500*l.*, made up to 40,000*l.*, by an addition of 19,500*l.*, and should have an outfit to the same amount on his addition. The Duke of Kent (whose marriage with a Comtesse de Linanges is not so far advanced, and therefore not notified in Parliament) should have 12,000*l.* additional, and the same outfit; and the Duke of Cambridge the same. It is also proposed to put the Duke of Cumberland on the same footing as his brothers.

When Lord Liverpool had explained this, nobody said a word, but everybody rose up and went away; and I never saw disapprobation more strongly marked than by that silence. Some few mentioned their opinion privately to the Minister; but this seemed to have no effect, till the message was given to the House of Commons, and various county members got up one after another, and gave their opinions as you will see by the *Courier*.

Yesterday Lord Castlereagh moved to postpone the consideration of the message till to-day, which was opposed, but finally agreed to. And I expect that to-day the original sums will be much pared down, to the great dismay of Carlton House. Indeed, I am convinced that, if the whole plan had been proposed

as originally intended, there would not have been fifty members in the House who would have supported it.

This little history may serve as a sort of key to the debates on the subject. This disappointment will not render the Prince more inclined to hold a levée. Indeed, he is too lame for it now. The Queen, however, will have a drawing-room on the 23rd. . . . . .

Yours truly, E. B. W.

FROM MR. STURGES BOURNE.

Bolton Street, April 15th.

My dear Lord,—I must say to you very hastily that I did submit to the Committee the policy of restraining parishes from taking farms, but it was thought unnecessary, from the extreme improbability of their having the disposition or the means of doing so; and in that case it was deemed inexpedient to make a limitation which might be ill-adapted to different parishes; and nothing can be further from our intention than to do more at present than leave the law where we find it, respecting the employment of those who resort to the parish for it.

I certainly look to a time when this may be done away, but it is impossible at present; and it is most desirable to enable parishes to make those labour who receive their money.

With respect to your last suggestion, the evil is new to me, and the remedy is not obvious. It is difficult to prescribe to every parish where their poor-house should be situated. And I have sometimes thought that much of the embarrassment in the execution of our laws arises from their going too much into unnecessary details. Some caution in this respect is particularly necessary on the subject, and affords an answer, if I could give it, to the majority of the numerous suggestions which I receive.

Yours most faithfully, W. Sturges Bourne.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM LORD COLCHESTER TO MR. BANKES.

Kidbrooke, April 2nd.

Dear Bankes,— . . . . . Now that you are again assembled in full senate, some business, I suppose, will be found or made for your occupation. The Budget and the Poor Laws; of the latter I do not augur very well, from the framer of the Bills which have been presented, and which must, I should think, undergo much alteration before they can or ought to pass. The grounds so well laid down in the report, seem to me

to have been departed from *very essentially;* and, as all new legislation is in itself an evil, when it is to be expounded by so many and such various authorities, unless the benefit be very clear and important, I do not think the alteration to be very desirable. But you will hear enough, and more than enough of it.

. . . . . .

Most truly yours, COLCHESTER.

FROM THE SAME.

Kidbrooke, April 19th.

Dear Bankes, — Now that you have splashed through the Royal Grants, and after you have also taken a plunge into the Budget, I suppose the principal remaining business will be the Poor Bills.

Of the Report from the Poor Committee I thought very highly. The points were well stated, the principles sound, and the suggestions for the most part wise and practicable. But of the *Bills* this year I cannot speak so favourably.

The Parish Vestry Bill stands upon a good principle, to give voices and weight to those who attend them in proportion to their property; so far, so good.

But the Poor Law Amendment Bill has in it, with some useful minor regulations, one novel and mischievous project, which may bring an intolerable and irretrievable burden upon the landed interest. I mean the project of Parish Farms, for which there are enactments proposed, which (in addition to the poor rate,) will create a parish debt; bringing an irredeemable burthen upon the inheritance, and bringing it, by the hands of the occupiers and other rated inhabitants, upon the property of the absent landlord, often without his knowledge, and always without his consent, for he is not allowed a voice upon the question.

By Stat. 22 George III. c. 83, it was not unwisely permitted to parish officers, with the concurrence of two-thirds in value of the owners and occupiers, to hold as much under certain circumstances as twenty acres. The very limitation of quantity excluded all questions of stocking, and cropping, and teams, and barns, and farm-houses, and it gave the means of a sort of garden, or spade cultivation, for such hands as might be casually out of employ.

Now look at pages 8, 9, &c., of the new Bill, with its latest amendments. All limitation of quantity is taken away, and also the bare majority, (not two-thirds) may raise any sum

for farming purposes as far as a shilling in the pound, upon all property also rated to the assessment. And with two-thirds of the persons rated (no regard for the absent landlord, whose inheritance is to be loaded) they may go as far as *five* shillings in the pound for borrowing money or granting annuities.

That the *occupier alone* should be enabled to raise money for the *current year*, or for portions of the year, was reasonable enough; but that the tenant for years, or (as it may be) from year to year, should lay on a burthen *beyond the time of his own holding*, upon his lessor's estate, seems to be highly unjust. The tenant removes himself, the debt remains charged upon the rates, and when the landlord looks out for a new tenant, he must lower his rent in consideration of his estate being subjected to two burthens instead of one,—to a rate for the ordinary purpose of giving a current support to the poor and also to this increase of rate for the interest of the parish debt.

And what is all this for? It cannot be for frugality. The first step is to make *sure* of a positive *increase to the rate;* in order to take possession of the farm, and in *the hope* of a future *reduction.* It is not very clear that all farming speculations are necessarily profitable, and I have no faith in the profits of farming where the business is to be managed by a parish bailiff or steward, who has nothing to gain or lose individually by his success or his failure. All he has to do is to go and dip as deep as he pleases in the parish purse, for the charges of labour, seed, and stock of all sorts, not omitting repairs, of which he will not be sparing.

In short, I would say upon this matter, be content with the Act 22 George III. c. 83, and strike out all these clauses for farming in the present Bill. The twenty acres will not ruin any parish which may want them; whereas (I talk not of imaginary cases) we have a parish in these parts where the speculation in hand is a farm of not less than 500 acres. See to what endless jobbing and ruin all this leads.

If this subject presents itself to your mind in the same light, perhaps you may think it worth while to talk to some county members, whose estates lie scattered at a distance from their own residence, and who may open their eyes to these consequences, which they may otherwise only see when they feel them.

The main evil in all this sort of policy is, that you undertake to relieve the active and able-bodied poor (for it applies only to them) from all dependence on their own exertions, which in

every other class of life is found to be the best spring of action, as well for the advantage of the individual himself as for the general interests of society. . . . .

Most truly yours, COLCHESTER.

FROM LORD REDESDALE.

Harley Street, April 20th.

My dear Lord, — I thank you most sincerely for your kind attention to and observations on the rough draft of part of the Report I proposed for the Committee on the Peerage Reference.

I take the different characters in which the peers of the realm now stand to be distinct; and not only distinct in their nature, but in a certain degree, in their origin. I date from the Conquest, persuaded that it is vain to attempt to go further back; and, I think, the distinct characters of peers have grown gradually from circumstances. We have now a legislature composed of King, Lords, and Commons, who are the common legislature for all purposes. Originally, I believe, the king, acting by advice of his select council, was sole legislator for many, and particularly for all that affected only his rights and prerogatives. For legislation affecting the rights between man and man, that the king in his select council, *with the assistance of his judges,* was the legislature. That for purposes of imposing charges on the subject, a more general authority was required, but varying according to circumstances.

If the charge was *scutage,* those whose tenures made them liable to the consequences of tenure were the persons whose consent was necessary. And the consent of all the military tenants, either given or presumed, was required. And this extended to the aids consequent on tenure.

In a charge of a different nature, affecting movables, the same persons seem to have been considered as having also authority: for all who did not hold of the king in some shape or other, held of the military tenants of the crown, mediately or immediately.

The demesnes of the crown, and the demesnes of mesne lords were liable to talliage by their respective lords according to law; but this was regulated by limits not very precisely defined; like the fine on copyhold tenants, not reduced to certainty. It was to be reasonable, and was generally commuted for an offer on the part of those liable to it. These circumstances made the character of legislative assemblies different according to the purposes for which they were assembled.

In the reign of John, and during the preceding reigns, much had been changed. Great estates had escheated to the crown. The tenants of those estates, who before held of the mesne lord, then held immediately of the crown. If they derived little under the former lord they were tenants in chief of the king, but as of his escheat, and not as of his crown. Thus a vast property became not represented by an assembly of immediate tenants of the king, as of his crown.

The kings granted escheated lands often in parcels; not to hold as of the escheat, but immediately as of the crown. Thus the immediate tenants of the king, as of his crown, were greatly increased.

The partition of estates among copiers increased the subdivision; and, in the reign of John, the number of persons holding of the king immediately, as of his crown, must have greatly exceeded the number in Domesday. And those holding of the king, as of escheat, were a new kind of proprietors, not provided for in the ancient scheme of legislation. This produced a necessity for change. Many cities and boroughs had been granted to the citizens and burgesses in fee-farm, and were immediate tenants of the crown, though liable still to talliage under certain circumstances. Thus, at the time of John's Charter, a new state of things had arisen. That charter was superseded by Henry III.'s first Charter, and particularly as to the assembly stipulated by John's Charter, to be assembled for aids and scutage. The disturbed state of the reign of Henry III. produced, before its conclusion, further changes. The temper of the Parliament of Oxford was to restrain the crown improperly. And the Parliament of the 49th Henry III. was assembled under the prevalence of this temper while the king was a prisoner. The battle of Evesham, and its consequences, gave the king an authority of which he was inclined to make improper use, but the people were tired of civil war, and inclined to submit to much to avoid it.

Edward I. succeeded under these circumstances, and all is obscurity during the first part of his reign. In the 23rd Edward I. the Commons were clearly called to Parliament, and have been ever since called; but I doubt whether they assumed general powers of legislation. But Edward did much to change the state of property, particularly by the statute of *Quia emptores*, the effect of which was to facilitate alienation, and to destroy subinfeudation. Every great lord who sold a tenement to pay debts dismembered his estate, and made a new immediate tenant of the crown. Edward would license no alienation con-

trary to this statute. He declared in Parliament he would have no middle men; no mesne tenant. This tended to break the power of the large proprietors, and to add to the number of small proprietors holding immediately of the crown. The representation of the counties in Parliament was almost a necessary consequence. But the effect of these changes was progressive. It increased year by year.

In the reign of Edward III. very revolutionary principles prevailed; the language of Parliament was almost that of the French Revolution. Edward III. ascended the throne in consequence of a revolution somewhat resembling that of 1688, and his wars in France made him constantly dependent on his people for aids; and thus the consequence of the higher citizens and burgesses from whom such aids were desired, greatly increased.

It was not, therefore, till sometime in the reign of Edward III. that the constitution of Parliament assumed, in effect, its present form. In the reigns of John and Henry III. the barons were the patriots. The barons were the limiters of the king's authority. In the reign of Edward III. the Commons *impeached the king's ministers:* clearly, therefore, a new order of things had taken place, and the lords were become the protectors of the throne, the check on the growing influence of the Commons. John and Henry III. might call all the Baronage, including the Barones Minores et Majores, to a Parliament. Edward I. and his successors called those whom they designated as Barones Majores, by special writ, and they summoned representatives of the Barones Minores, and of the cities and boroughs. It seems to me that from that time the king's selection decided who were to be called by special writ, and there was then no idea that a writ gave to any man an inheritance in, or right to be a member of, the legislative assembly.

This induced me to think a statement of the progression from the Conquest to the Parliaments of Edward I. and his successors necessary, to put out of view all that existed before by showing that Parliament in the latter reigns differed so importantly from legislative assemblies of different descriptions in former reigns. This also led to the necessity of some statement with respect to the House of Commons, to show that they were an assembly not formed on principles derived from tenure, but either from some distinct principles, or probably in a great degree from the will and pleasure of the crown exercising an extraordinary prerogative, till a very late period, of increasing the number of that assembly, and granting the privilege of repre-

sentations to persons who could have no claim distinctly derived from tenure. I wished also to show the extreme uncertainty whether these proceedings were founded on any clear principle as their basis; the great obscurity which hangs over the whole, and the necessity of adopting principles nowhere clearly laid down or proved by a series of concurrent decisions, but in many instances to be opposed by contradictory decisions, and often by proceedings merely arbitrary, either as the will of the Crown or the prevalence of party dictated. In fine, it is important to make the House acquainted with the confusion and obscurity in which the subject is involved.

These have been my objects—the result is a chaos, from which I think it will be necessary to extract principles which must be sufficiently arbitrary, but may lead to future consistency.

. . . . . .

Yours truly, REDESDALE.

CHAP. LIV.

1818.

ILLNESS OF THE QUEEN.—WESTMINSTER ELECTION.—LETTERS FROM LORD REDESDALE ON EARLY HISTORY.—DEATH OF SIR S. ROMILLY AND OF MR. W. ELLIOTT.—CHANGES IN THE FRENCH MINISTRY.—DEATH OF THE QUEEN.—THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON RETURNS TO ENGLAND, AND BECOMES A CABINET MINISTER.

MAY 18th.—Came to London.

22nd.—House of Lords. Bill for Amending the Regency Act, on account of the Queen's precarious state of health.

June 2nd.—Went by appointment to Lord Liverpool, who desired to see me upon the subject of the Church Building Commission. He wished me to take charge of the current business of the Commission by correspondence with the secretary to be nominated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and to superintend the execution of such measures as should be agreed upon by the rest of the Commission at their general meetings, &c. This I declined on account of my necessary absence from London (where I had no present intention of having a fixed residence), and more especially as I should now set out for the North, where I meant to pass some time at Harrogate. My name and occasional attendance might be had if desired, but I could not undertake such a charge which I could not effectually fulfil; and so we parted.

The Commissioners are to be fifteen ecclesiastical and sixteen laymen.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MR. BANKES.

May 6th, 1818.

Dear Colchester,— . . . . . The Bill for Amending the Poor Laws is improved by several alterations made in the

Committee, and the checks now placed in the hands of the landed proprietors will, I think, obviate the extravagant extent to which both farming and building might have been carried according to the first draught. The Settlement Bill will hardly fall under debate next week. . . . . .

Most sincerely yours, H. Bankes.

9th. — Returned to Kidbrooke.

10th. — Parliament was dissolved.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MR. BANKES.

Kingston Hall, June 28th.

Dear Colchester, — . . . . . Your county seems to have been most unexpectedly carried by a *coup de main.** I left our county to itself, having twice burned my fingers in meddling with it, and I am again representing my Old Castle, with Sir George for my colleague, by the kindness of my first colleague Bond.

The turn which the Westminster election† has taken vexes me, and I apprehend that it is irrecoverable; what renders it more provoking is the expectation raised by the early days of the poll. The City election I cared less about, but I had not the least suspicion that Sir W. Curtis could have lost it while turtles, and turbot, and venison, are in request within the precincts of the City.

There may be many things arise in the course of the next twelve months to make Ministers wish that they had kept their old friends together as long as they could.

Lord Falmouth has just saved Truro from the grasp of the Duke of Cornwall and Lord Yarmouth by a neck, for the voters for his two Members were no more than twelve against eleven. A petition, indeed, is threatened, but many such threats never bud into recognisances, and many recognisances never shake those who are in possession. Lord Yarmouth has failed also in all his other Cornish attempts, in some of which he had more reason to calculate upon success.

. . . . . .

Most sincerely yours, H. Bankes.

* Sir Godfrey Webster was unexpectedly opposed by Mr. Sugden, now Lord St. Leonards.

† Sir Murray Maxwell, after being for some days at the head of the poll, was finally beaten by Sir Francis Burdett and Sir S. Romilly.

LETTER FROM THE SPEAKER.

Addington Park, Aug. 1st, 1818.

My dear Lord, — I have this morning received a letter from Mr. Rickman, enclosing another from Mr. Hansard on the following point: —

Mr. Brougham, it seems, applied to Mr. Hansard, to deliver to Messrs. Longman, booksellers, "sheets of the Education Reports from his presses, as printed off, for the purpose of their being reprinted concurrently with the Parliamentary printing, and being published as these are put into circulation among the members."

This Mr. Hansard refused, and he states the attempt is not a new one. It has been often pressed from Sir Fletcher Norton's time down to the present, and uniformly refused; and, he adds, that the last attempt was in your Lordship's time, when Mr. Rose wished the same thing with the Mad-House Reports.

May I presume upon your Lordship's offer to assist me in difficulties, and request your opinion on this subject for my *future* guidance? On the present occasion, if Mr. Brougham refers to me, I shall decline all argument upon it; first, because I have no authority, and next, because the precedent of refusal is uniform and positive.

I went to Town yesterday with the Archbishop, being one of a Committee appointed by the Commissioners under the Act for building churches, to draw up rules and regulations for our future guidance.

We did but little, not at present having sufficient information for the purpose. Our report, therefore, will be short, stating this difficulty, recommending a public notice in the "Gazette," that we are ready to receive applications under the Act; recommending also an application to all the Archbishops and Bishops to form Boards in their dioceses; suggesting the expediency of taking the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown on some points of the Act, and two or three other minor recommendations.

This, I think, was all we did. Our Committee consisted of the Archbishop, Lord Grenville, Archdeacons Wollaston and Pott, Dr. Wordsworth, Dr. Mant, and myself. . . .

Yours most faithfully, C. Manners Sutton.

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER FROM MR. HATSELL.

Marden Park, Oct. 11th.

My dear Lord,—. . . . . In Mr. Seward's Anecdotes of Distinguished Persons, vol. i. p. 246, is a very curious letter from Sir Edward Coke to the University of Cambridge, to acquaint them, "that at his (Sir E. Coke's) request, James I." (the letter is dated March 12th, 1603) "had granted letters patent under the Great Seal, to allow the University to send Members to Parliament, together with a writ for the present election, *having found by experience*, particularly when I was Speaker, how necessary it was for our University to have burgesses in Parliament." This letter is copied from the archives of the University.

I suppose that this was the last exercise of the Crown *without* the aid of Parliament, summoning members for places that had not been represented before. Lord Cecil, then Chancellor of the University, made this application to the King, at Sir E. Coke's request.

I never met with this anecdote before, although I see in the Appendix to vol. ii. of Precedents, that King James granted this privilege to *both* Universities. . . . .

Yours faithfully, J. HATSELL.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM LORD REDESDALE.

Batsford, Oct. 7th.

My dear Lord,—. . . . . I have to thank you for your kind anxiety for the report which I am preparing, and your intimation of Mr. Hallam's treatise on the state of Europe in the middle ages, which I have sent for. Robertson viewed that subject with a Scotch eye, and supposed England to resemble France and Germany. I am persuaded it differed materially from both, and materially also from Scotland; but rather from circumstances than from the same causes which produced the disturbed state of France and Germany, and of Italy, which resembled neither France nor Germany, except perhaps in the kingdom of Naples and Sicily.

I presume you have read Sismondi on the Italian republics; if not, I recommend it to your perusal, not as a perfect work, but as giving information otherwise only to be collected from a vast mass of Italian histories. M. Sismondi is a great admirer of the republican system, upon which his history seems to me to be the best comment. Often, undoubtedly, great public

prosperity with generally great individual misery, and with very little of real liberty for the mass of the people. It was Wilkes and liberty, or the domination of an aristocratical faction, which, for its own purpose, proscribed all nobility. The nobles, driven from the cities, lived in their castles, sometimes dependent on, sometimes independent of, the republics by which they were always proscribed. Our Constitution has been the result of the necessities of *our* Kings. Their dominions in France, though vast, and balancing in power that of the French monarch, were yet a burthen to them. They were considered in their French dominions as strangers, and therefore always open to the invasion of the kings of France.

Their French wars were expensive, and could not be carried on without money. To raise money for this purpose they were compelled to conciliate the people of England, even then a trading country and one of the richest in Europe. They sacrificed power to this necessity, and Edward I., having added to his distresses by attempting to unite Scotland to his dominions, was compelled to court the people of England, to induce them to give him those aids which he wanted to repel the invasion of his French provinces by the King of France, and to enable him to subjugate Scotland.

This I take to be the true origin of our Commons in Parliament. According to the ancient charters he could obtain no pecuniary aid without their consent, as well as that of the higher orders. The great distinction, however, between England and other countries in Europe was, that the Kings of England were always, in England, supreme; their nobles were not princes, but mere nobles, powerful indeed, but not such vassals as the Princes of Normandy, Anjou, Touraine, Aquitaine, &c., the states of the House of Plantagenet, the Dukes of Burgundy, &c., all assuming royal power within their own states. The Kings of England allowed no royal power to any of their vassals in England, and the right of private war was never *acknowledged by law* in England, though the nobles frequently assumed the right, and sometimes with impunity.

To balance the power which the nobles derived from their great property, Edward I. was compelled, as his father had been, to court the Commons. His father had found a combination of nobles too powerful for him, till their own indiscretion raised the people in his favour, and restored him, a captive, to his throne. But, having done so, they felt their own strength; and Edward felt it also, and was compelled to submit. Edward seems to me to have been as much inclined to exercise

arbitrary power as any prince who ever sat on the English throne; but the wars in which he was involved with France and Scotland compelled him to submit to restrictions to which he was by no means disposed to submit. He was a great and politic prince, but unfortunate in aiming at the subjugation of Scotland. On that rock he split; and that I take to be the true cause of his finally submitting to the dictates of his Parliaments, to which he called representatives of counties, cities, and boroughs, to obtain grants of money which he could not otherwise obtain. He would have acted as William the Conqueror had done, if he could have done so. William had a vast revenue, and he was economical. Edward had a small revenue comparatively, and was expensive. William did what he pleased to do; Edward could not do so, because the crown had become in his time comparatively poor. If Mr. Hallam has taken this view of the subject, I think he is right. If he has taken a different one, I am persuaded he is wrong.

The result of all my researches is that the Constitution of England was greatly changed in the course of the reigns of John, Henry III., and Edward I. Richard had alienated a great part of the royal demesnes to obtain money for his purpose. John was extravagant, and always poor; and lost Normandy. Henry III. was more extravagant, and always in the greatest necessity. The civil wars in his time had raised the people into consequence, and particularly London, and other great towns. The partition of great estates had raised a powerful gentry in the country; and all united to oppose the tyranny of Henry, who endeavoured to reign by an army of foreign mercenaries. Edward was compelled to reign by other means; to dismiss all foreign troops, and to rely on his own people. To obtain their assistance, he was compelled to court them; but he did so on compulsion, and his popular legislative assemblies were the consequence. This, I am persuaded, is the true history of the rise of the British Constitution of Parliament.

The influence which the remaining Saxon institutions gave to the people contributed to this end; but the first Norman princes, William and his son Rufus particularly, were almost absolute monarchs. They wanted no Parliaments to give them money, and there is no trace of an aid from the subjects in their reigns.

I wish for your thoughts on this subject. Such is the impression on my mind; and with this impression I am preparing a report. I have been compelled to have recourse to history, to supply the defect of authentic documents, and to explain those documents that are extant. Without this assistance, I think the

remaining documents would scarcely be intelligible. Your thoughts on this subject would assist me much, and I should thank you for them. The idea of a legislative assembly, founded on tenure after the reign of Edward I., I am persuaded is mistaken. His nobles were creatures of the crown, at least during great part of his reign. The Commons were creatures of the crown till a much later period; indeed, till the Revolution of 1688.

. . . . . .

Very truly yours, REDESDALE.

FROM THE SAME.

Batsford, Oct. 18th, 1818.

My dear Lord,—I am much obliged to you for mentioning to me Mr. Hallam's treatise. I have read the part to which you referred me, rather cursorily, with a view to collect his general sentiments on the subject of our inquiry. I give him credit for ingenuity and labour, though I cannot always perfectly agree with him in his conclusions. In the main his opinions are not very different from mine, so far as I have gone. I think he is a very strong Whig, though he does not go so far as some of the modern Whigs; and I think he is more disposed to abuse Brady than is consistent with fairness. Brady's work was professedly a party history, dedicated to James II., and written in opposition to publications which are certainly less fair than Brady's. The truth lies probably between the two parties; and Brady does not deserve to be treated as an unconstitutional writer. In his preface, he gives the King a lesson, which, if James had observed, he might have remained on his throne.

Mr. Hallam fails, as Brady and all his opponents have failed, in stating the true condition of the country in consequence of the Conquest. It effected a great subversion of property; but that Domesday mentions all the possessors of lands at the time of its compilation seems to me utterly improbable. The army of William, which effected the Conquest, is said to have consisted of 60,000 men, all expecting plunder as the reward of their adventure. That reward in lands should have been confined to the few Norman and other foreigners, immediate tenants of the crown, mentioned in Domesday, is inconsistent with that expectation. Every captain of a band who remained settled in England (and evidently many did remain to preserve the Conquest), and all the soldiers of the band who also remained, would expect something. These cannot have been the servi, villani,

bordarii, &c., or the socmanni mentioned in Domesday, who were probably all Saxons.

There must have been a large body of Normans and foreigners proprietors of land not mentioned in the survey. These were probably enfeoffed by the great proprietors in parts of their demesne lands. The survey therefore, I conceive, mentions the immediate tenants of the crown, and the superiorities granted to them over the servi, villani, &c., of the Saxon proprietors; but it does not notice those who claimed under subenfeoffments of the demesnes, who must have constituted a great body of Normans, French, and other foreigners who had accompanied William in his Conquest; otherwise the few proprietors mentioned in Domesday who were not Saxons must have been at the mercy of the Saxon inhabitants, whose number must have been so great that the proprietors mentioned in Domesday could have borne no proportion to them.

If these proprietors, and the servi, villani, &c., mentioned in Domesday, with the inhabitants of towns, were all the inhabitants of the country, the country must have been much more thinly peopled than any representations in history will warrant us in imagining it was. Supposing only 6000 of William's army of 60,000 to have obtained lands in England, where are they to be found in Domesday? Where are 1000 persons of this description to be found? When almost the whole county of Chester was granted to one earl, and almost all Shropshire to another, is it to be supposed that they had no Norman or foreign subtenants? Or were all the Normans and other foreigners who guarded their possessions against the conquered people merely soldiers in pay during the whole reign of William? It is utterly improbable that many of them should not have become landed proprietors. But of what was the army of England composed which William Rufus employed against his brother Robert? Who were the English whom Henry conciliated by his marriage with Matilda? Were they all servi, villani, &c.? I think the truth must have been that there was a vast body of landholders, both foreigners and English, who held by some species of subtenure not noticed in Domesday, but comprehended under the description of their superior lords, holding lands either by subinfeudation from the foreign grantees, or Saxon proprietors not disturbed in their possessions, but free tenants of the manors granted to the persons named in Domesday, and not mentioned in that survey because their lands yielded no profit to the King's immediate tenant of the manor, though they may have owed suit to it; or because claiming under subinfeudation

from the lord of the manor, the lord was alone responsible to the King for the King's services.

You will find from the returns in the Blackbook of the Exchequer, that in general those who held of the King by so many knight's fees had generally an equal, sometimes a greater, number of knight's fees held under them; so that a man called upon to serve with fifty knights had fifty knights ready to answer to the call or to pay him escuage if he was required to pay escuage instead of personal service. It has been said that there were 60,000 knight's fees in England in the reign of the Conqueror. I have no doubt the number has been greatly exaggerated; but suppose 30,000, how were those knights to be found on an emergency if there were no proprietors of land but those named in Domesday, and their servi, villani, &c.? This is a subject on which I have long sought for information, and can obtain none.

It is observed by Brady, and I believe truly, that it is evident from history as well as from record, that no Englishmen, for many years after the Conquest and final subjection of England, was in any office or employment of consequence. Were all the persons employed sent for on every vacancy from Normandy? They must have been generally residents of Norman or other foreign extraction; and there could not be such a population not possessing land.

On the whole I conclude that foreigners, or persons of foreign extraction, possessing lands by some tenure, were numerous even when Domesday was compiled; and that there must also have been Saxon proprietors of land above the condition of servi, villani, &c., at the same time in considerable numbers. The nation could not have been composed of 600 or 700 great lords, the few small tenants named in Domesday, and a herd of servi, villani, &c., and the inhabitants of towns, besides soldiers serving for actual pay. This seems to me to be a matter deserving more attention than has been bestowed upon it. I think it most probable that a very large body of Normans and other foreigners settled in England, and obtained lands there; and that there remained a large body of Saxon proprietors, not of sufficient weight to be much distinguished individually, but of sufficient weight as a body to be considered by Henry I. as necessary to be conciliated. It is not suggested in history that the Norman conquerors reduced all the Saxon proprietors who survived the contests for the country to a state of slavery, or compelled them all to leave the country; what then became of them and their families? It seems to me most probable that they remained in

great numbers, plundered, and many of them dispossessed of parts of their lands, but still retaining sufficient to make them of some consequence; to become finally united as one people with their foreign invaders, till all distinction at length was lost in the name of Englishmen.

I have troubled you with a long incoherent letter upon a subject on which I have long sought for information in vain; and you will much oblige me if you can suggest any.

. . . . . .

Very truly yours, REDESDALE.

FROM THE SAME.

Batsford, Nov. 5th, 1818.

My dear Lord,—I feel much obliged by your kind interest on the subject of the inquiry in which I have been engaged. I am at present so busy with the important reign of Edward I., which I take to be the period from which light is principally to be obtained, that I have not leisure at this moment to look into Domesday, &c.

The Assembly of Commons at Shrewsbury in the 11th of Edward I., seems to me a strong proof that there existed no constitutional law at that time on the subject. If you look at the places which sent Members, you will find the list very different from that of those which sent Members in the 25th of Edward I., of which the writs and returns have been preserved, and are in Prynne. The language of the writs of 23rd Edward I., especially of those to the prelates, is remarkable, and seems to import the formation of a new form of legislative assembly. It resembles some of the King of Prussia's addresses to his people, expressive of his intention to form an assembly of the same description.

The distresses of the Scottish and French war, and the arbitrary measures attempted by Edward to supply those distresses, I apprehend produced and confirmed the present system of our legislature. The tenants in chief of the crown, if then assembled, would have been a mob. The crown, therefore, selected those to whom special writs should be directed, and substituted representation for the general summons stipulated by John's Charter; and the boroughs to which writs were directed by the sheriffs being many of them not holden by the burgesses immediately of the crown, but of mesne lands, the idea of a legislative assembly depending on tenure of the crown, preserved in Scotland, was lost in England. This accords with the idea of the

Privy Council in Charles II.'s time, in the case of Fitzwalter v. Collins, that whatever might have been the origin of the peerages, they were then to be considered as personal dignities by the result of time and practice, a right gone, and not fit to be revived. That resolution is itself perhaps sufficient to answer Mr. Dymocke's claims; but I think it important to show that the resolution was founded on just grounds, notwithstanding the cases of Arundel and Abergavenny, which I shall fully discuss.

I do not mean to avoid the cases of St. Albans and Barnstaple, and I think it possible to make considerable use of them in one point of view, namely, the little credit due to assertions, and to the loose language of many instruments. I am afraid of getting too deeply into this subject, if I were to pursue the subject with respect to every borough which has sent or now sends representatives to Parliament, and the manner in which those representatives are elected, and the resolutions of the House of Commons on the subject.

I believe a full examination would produce such a heap of inconsistency as ought to lead to a conclusion that no certain principles were ever resorted to; and that accident, expediency, personal influence, and various causes, perhaps, not to be discovered, have produced a great part of the present representation; and that the royal prerogative has constantly interfered in a manner totally inconsistent with any idea of original right.

The use which I think is to be made of this with respect to peerages is, that we must abandon all idea of original constitution of legislative assemblies, and recur to the effect given by modern resolutions to writs of summons, and patents, both considered as creating mere personal dignities, hereditary in a particular course of descent, not consistent with the ordinary course of descent of land in the case of co-heirs. The impartibility of the inheritance, its capability of resting in abeyance, and the rights of the crown to take it out of abeyance by selection of any one of many co-heirs, by what is termed in the Abergavenny case in the Lords, "by way of restoration," seem all inconsistent with Sir Edward Coke's doctrine that a Peerage is a tenement within the Statute *De donis*.

His application of the Statute to the title of baronet, because the person created is named of some place, becomes quite ridiculous when reference is made to patents creating many baronets of London, many baronets of places abroad, and some with limitations describing the original grantee as of one place, and the remainderman of another, &c. &c. The Lord Frascheville's case, and the other cases of persons summoned, whose descendants

were not summoned, seem to show that in the reign of Edward I. at least no certain principle was adopted. 'If a man was a Peer by writ in the reign of Edward I., and that Peerage was a tenement within the Statute *De donis*, descendible to heirs general, no length of time could destroy the title. It seems to me pretty clear that the House, in the Lord Frascheville's case, proceeded on the ground that to resort back to the times of Edward I. for principles on which to decide in Peerages would involve infinite difficulties, and that the law was then far from settled.

The writs of summons to attend *cum equis et armis*, issuing at the same time, or nearly the same time, with writs of summons to Parliament, containing many persons not summoned to Parliament, goes a great way to show that a writ of summons to Parliament did not depend merely on tenancy in chief of the crown, as many of those summoned to attend *cum equis et armis* were tenants in chief of the crown, and were not summoned to contemporaneous Parliaments. Much confusion has arisen, I apprehend, from the various significations of the word Baro. I believe there was a tenure called tenure *per Baroniam*, distinct from simple tenure by knight service; perhaps not originally, but certainly in later times. When De Braose alleged he was not to be fined as a baron, because he held the district of Gower by the service of one knight's fee in lieu of all services, and that was admitted as not being a tenure *per Baroniam*, it is clear that it was conceived that holding merely by knight service did not constitute a baron. It is clear also that being summoned to Parliament did not constitute him a baron for this purpose, because he had been regularly summoned to Parliament.

But what tenure *per Baroniam* was I cannot discover, and Madox seems to have been at a loss to discover, though he shows that De Braose did hold the Castle of Bramber *per Baroniam*, and ought to have been annexed as a baron. It is clear from this case that the summons of De Braose to Parliament was not considered as depending on his seisin of Bramber, which he held *per Baroniam*, though he did not admit that he so held it. But all is obscurity; and I think the House must finally be of opinion that to go back to baronial tenure would involve them in inextricable difficulties.

If the right of the Lords depended on tenure originally, and nothing has been done to destroy that right, the King could have no right to give equal right to others by summons or by patent, and such summonses and patents must have been origin-

ally illegal. If the rights of cities and boroughs depended originally on custom, the King could have no right to grant the same privilege to those who had no right by custom, for each of these acts of the crown giving to others an equal right of vote with persons in possession by tenure, or by custom, infringed the rights of those so in possession. To be consistent we must suppose that all rights of summons to Parliament belonging to individuals were originally granted by the crown, independent of the tenure of lands, and then the King might grant to A. as he or his predecessors had before granted to B. And if we suppose all rights to send representatives for cities and boroughs to have originated in grants by the crown of that privilege, expressed or implied, the King might grant to other cities and boroughs the same privileges. And this prerogative the King exercised to the time of Charles II.; and the King exercises the prerogative of calling new Members to the House of Lords to this day.

Whatever, therefore, may have been the fact originally, the practice seems to show that in and from the time of Edward I. the right of the crown to add to the numbers of both Houses has been acknowledged as a legal right, vested in the crown by its prerogative, and is inconsistent with the existence of any right not derived from the same source.

What a miserable end poor Romilly has made, evidently for want of that resignation to misfortune which religion alone can produce in an ardent mind.

Believe me, very truly yours, REDESDALE.

Nov. 2nd. — News of the death of Sir Samuel Romilly by his own hands; in a deranged state of mind from his affliction for the death of his wife.

4th. — News of the death of the Right Hon. W. Elliot, the last surviving Parliamentary friend of Burke and Wyndham. A man of the loftiest and gentlest spirit, the most cultivated understanding, and eminently distinguished in debate by his dignified sentiments, by the force and correctness of his language, by depth of reasoning, and impressive eloquence; commanding always the profound respect of all parties by the combined weight of his talents and character.

17th. — After many weeks of hopeless debility the Queen died at Kew; her will, executed the day before her death, disposed of her property (chiefly consisting

of jewels, and sworn by the executors not to exceed 140,000*l.* in value) between her unmarried daughters. Lord Arden and General Taylor are her executors.

The King continues in the same state of good bodily health, cheerfulness, and tranquillity; but there is no abatement of his mental disorder.

The French Ministry is changed. The Duc de Richelieu is succeeded by the party of M. Decazes. General the Marquis de Dessolles is ostensibly the first Minister.

LETTER FROM LORD REDESDALE.

Batsford, Nov. 28th, 1818.

My dear Lord, — As you have expressed anxiety that the cases of St. Albans and Barnstaple should be well considered, I have been endeavouring to trace the history of both places as far as I can find documents for the purpose. St. Albans, I think, is easily explained, if I can ascertain what I believe to be a fact, that the first returns of that place were the consequence of the temporalities of the Abbot having been seized into the King's hand. The petition of the borough asserts a falsehood, that the borough was holden of the King, whereas it appears clearly from Domesday and a variety of documents, that it was holden of the Abbey, and that the charter of the borough was granted to the burgesses by one of the Abbots. That pretending to hold of the King, under what title does not appear, they obtained a confirmatory charter from the King, the object of which probably was to exempt them from the services which they owed to the Abbot. After their petition they did not return Members during the remainder of the reign of Edward II. They did return Members in the three first years of Edward III., which were times of great confusion, and their contest with the Abbot ended in their coming into Chancery to have the King's charter cancelled, acknowledging that it had been improperly obtained. From that time they sent no Members till after the dissolution of the monasteries, when the Abbey of St. Albans was vested in the crown, and the burgesses became immediate tenants of the crown, and they obtained a charter from Edward VI. This charter I think it may be important to see.

I have little doubt that the case of Barnstaple may be also cleared of difficulty. Barnstaple was clearly in the hands of William the Conqueror, as appears by Domesday, and was ancient demesne of Edward the Confessor. What pretence Lord Audley

had to the borough I have not discovered. I suspect he made an unjust attempt against the burgesses, as the burgesses of St. Albans did against the Abbot. If I can clear the ground well on these two cases, I think the tendency will be to show that the origin of borough representation was tenancy in chief of the crown. If that can be clearly shown, it will remove great difficulties. There will then appear a system adopted from the Conquest, perfectly uniform till the variations were produced by the necessities of the crown, and various events, through the reigns of Henry III., his son, grandson, and great grandson, till the time of Richard II., when an express law was made, founded on a right supposed to be supported by custom.

All the common councils of the realm in the early reigns are represented in history as Councils of Barons; that is, as I apprehend, of tenants in chief of the crown, the Great Charter of John distinctly acknowledging tenancy in chief of the crown as creating the right to be summoned to such councils. This will explain the words baronage and community in the proceedings at Oxford in the reign of Henry III., and in the ordinances of the 5th of Edward II., and leads naturally to the representation of the counties, and of such cities and boroughs as held immediately of the crown. Edward I. endeavoured in various ways to destroy mesne tenures, and to make all hold immediately of the crown, which was one great object of the Statute *Quia emptores*.

I have set Caley to work on this subject, but I do not expect much assistance from him. In truth, I think he has so many employments that he has not time to give the necessary assistance. His collection of Dugdale's summons to Parliament is very imperfect, and there are many to be found which are not in his collection, and much information to be obtained from bundles of writs and returns which have escaped the observation of Prynne. I have endeavoured to engage him in this search, but I doubt whether I shall succeed.

I think Mr. Hallam has treated his subject more fairly than most of his predecessors. The time of controversy is past, and I believe he has sought the truth. I apprehend the fact to be that Edward I. had felt the power of the nobles in the time of his father, and wished to counteract it by raising a power against it; but his embarrassments were such as frequently to defeat his purpose, and the power of the purse being constitutionally with the baronage, he attempted to manage it by introducing amongst the upper class inferior persons, by not summoning by special writ such of them as he dared to omit,

and by requiring as many cities and boroughs to send representatives as he might hope to have an influence over: in fine, that he endeavoured to produce a new system, in which he might have more influence and more control.

He had a right, according to the ancient constitution, to talliage his own cities and boroughs. They were conscious that he had that right, and were flattered by being put in some degree on a level with the more powerful barons in a national assembly. They always granted more than the barons, with whom, in taxation, the knights of shires were always included.

The tenants in ancient demesne were always liable to be talliaged by the King. When they became voters for knights of shires they by degrees became exempt from this talliage. They were content when put on an equality with the first persons in the country.

I believe this is the true history of the rise of the House of Commons. They were originally only the communauté of the tenants *in capite*. Confounding with them the King's cities and boroughs, and the freehold tenants of his demesnes, he counteracted the great influence of the ancient baronage, in which the *majores barones* were everything and the *minores* comparatively nothing, which seem evident from the transactions which produced the provisions of Oxford.

No other suggestion seems to me to account for the creation of Peers, whose dignity was confessedly derived from the crown without reference to tenure. The title of Earl I believe to have been long before a mere dignity, unconnected with the tenure of land; though, in correspondence with the ancient Saxon custom, the Earl generally had a grant of the third penny of his country, or an annuity in lieu. The third penny, or annuity, were no objects of feudal tenure, and are mentioned in no inquisition *post mortem* that I have discovered. It was an inheritance on which no precipe could be brought. It was an inheritance not within the Statute *De Donis*, as Lord Hardwicke conceived of an annuity out of the Barbadoes duties. There was no remedy for it but a petition to the King to order the payment in pursuance of his grant.

The Earldom of Arundel I take to be a mere fable. The Albion family were Earls of Sussex, and called Earls of Arundel as the Earls of Pembroke were called Earls of Strigull, and the Earls of Derby Earls of Tutbury. The Earls of Albemarle and Richmond were nominal Earls in England, as the Earl of Eu was. All the first of the family were not called Earls of Richmond. I have exhausted my paper, so farewell.

Truly yours, Redesdale.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM THE SPEAKER.

Palace Yard, Dec. 26th.

My dear Lord, — . . . . . The Chancellor of the Exchequer came to me two days ago with this dilemma.

In the last Session, the *number* of seamen voted and provided for in pay were 25,000 men (no matter the precise number). By some subsequent arrangement with the Board of Customs, 3000 more, employed on smuggling duty, were transferred to the Admiralty books, put under the orders of the Admiralty, officered by the Admiralty, paid in the same way, and subject to the same rules and regulations (Mutiny Act, &c.) as the *other seamen;* and a running account was opened between the Customs and the Admiralty to indemnify the latter for the pay of these men.

The question is, whether this additional 3000 men should not be included numerically in the vote, though no pay is provided for them. It was *not* so done last Session; but a blot is no blot till it is hit, and I say they ought to be included, with an explanation of the arrangement.

I am perfectly aware there is not the same constitutional jealousy about seamen as soldiers, and therefore the precedent of the army of occupation in France is not strictly in point; still, however, I think voting the number to be employed under Admiralty orders is a mere mockery if these numbers are to be avowedly incorrect. Am I right?

Yours very faithfully,

C. MANNERS SUTTON.

The army of occupation has been withdrawn after grand reviews of the several corps of each nation.

28*th.*—The Duke of Wellington was gazetted Master-General of the Ordnance, and became a Member of the Cabinet.

CHAP. LV.

1819.

NEW PARLIAMENT. — LETTER FROM MR. BANKES. — COMMITTEE ON BANK RESTRICTIONS. — WESTMINSTER ELECTION. — DIVIDED STATE OF THE MINISTRY. — VIOLENT MEASURES OF THE KING OF FRANCE. — LORD COLCHESTER GOES ABROAD. — LETTER FROM MR. RICKMAN, WITH ACCOUNT OF PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS. — GRATTAN'S LAST SPEECH. — ARRIVAL OF THE PERSIAN AMBASSADOR. — TIERNEY'S MOTION ON THE STATE OF THE NATION. — RIOTS AT MANCHESTER. — LETTER FROM MR. B. WILBRAHAM.

THURSDAY, *January* 14*th* — Parliament met. Mr. Manners Sutton was rechosen Speaker of the House of Commons. The Chief Baron sat by Commission as Speaker of the House of Lords in the absence of the Chancellor. This is said to be in accordance with the precedent of Sir Robert Atkins in the reign of King William.

17*th*. — Received the new Sandhurst regulations for enforcing discipline (a circular), and wrote a letter *private and confidential* to Sir Alexander Hope, representing the necessity of upholding the authority and respectability of the professors by leaving to *them absolutely*, the ranking and classing of the cadets for public examination, and the awarding of honours and rewards for proficiency in their studies.

Saturday, *February* 20*th*. — The Westminster election is proceeding in Covent Garden, ever since Monday last. Mr. George Lamb opposing Hobhouse, who, with his friend Sir Francis Burdett, are reviled and insulted every day by Hunt and Gale Jones, &c. Government, who refused their support to their own candidate, Sir Murray Maxwell, now supporting the Opposition candidate, Mr. Lamb.

23*rd*. — In the House of Commons the Poor Law

Bill was brought in by Sturges Bourne, as amended last year by the Lords.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM MR. H. BANKES.

Old Palace Yard, Feb. 24th, 1819.

Dear Colchester, — . . . The division on Monday was more favourable to Ministers than I expected, as it seemed probable that a larger proportion of unattached Members would have voted for charging the Duke of York's allowance upon the Privy Purse, in preference to throwing it as a burthen on the public. Never was a greater parade of solemn nonsense displayed upon the sacred character and inviolability of private property; and the best of it is, that Lord Castlereagh thought so differently as to the control which Parliament might exercise over this fund not many days before, that he stated to the Committee his intention of throwing upon it an allowance to Colonel Taylor, 4000*l.* for four of the Princesses, which used to be paid by the Queen, and the whole superannuation to the Queen's menial servants, who are to be discharged.

The first project of continuing the full salaries for life to all Her Majesty's officers of State, servants, and household, would certainly not have been carried, and the previous Committee did some good to the public in lightening that charge, and to the Government in opening their eyes as to the impression which was likely to be made in the House. Two out of six equerries were abolished, but not without a division in the Committee of 9 to 7. We had an extremely clever speech from Mr. Scarlett.* Brougham has been unaccountably silent. Tierney † supports his station very creditably, and discourages frequent and insignificant debates and motions.

It will be impossible to avoid an inquiry into the great and extensive questions of our criminal law; and it may reasonably be doubted whether it can be carried on or stifled by a Committee to whom the easy task of examining into all the gaols of the United Kingdom, and the slight question of transportation, together with the management of the colony in New South Wales, are to be committed.

I am going presently to give my vote for G. Lamb, whose

* Afterwards Attorney-General in the Duke of Wellington's Administration, and Chief Baron of the Exchequer, with the title of Lord Abinger.

† He had been recognised as the leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons since the death of Mr. Ponsonby.

ultimate success is rendered very problematical by the exertions of his opponents within the last two days. He gave great offence to the friends and dependents of Government, by calling the Government corrupt in his first speech, which was injudicious enough, when he might have expected support from all parties except the democrats.

Our Secret Committee upon the Bank restrictions is likely to continue long, as I really do not yet conjecture what recommendation it may be likely to lead to. The theory of the Bullion Committee is more generally admitted than it was some years ago, so that the cure or mode of treatment for one part of our disorder is known and allowed, viz., by a considerable diminution of bank paper; but, in applying this remedy, we are warned by the same voices against the tremendous effects which may be produced by the distress amongst merchants, manufacturers, and commercial men of all descriptions, and these apprehensions are not, I believe, exaggerated.

Upon Catholic claims we have as yet no notice. All that I know of the Pope's health, in Sir John Hippesley's absence, is from the newspapers, which announce his recovery.

Sturges Bourne has revived his Committee and his Bill, the latter of which he presents in the size and shape to which the Lords cut it down.

. . . . . .

Dear Colchester, sincerely yours, H. Bankes.

FROM MR. BOOTLE WILBRAHAM.

Park Place, Feb. 24th, 1819.

My dear Lord, — . . . I do not believe that Government actually support G. Lamb, or take any active steps in his behalf, but such Members of it as choose vote for him. Lord Castlereagh, I was told, sent to offer to vote for him if he chose, but the offer was declined. So little energy has hitherto been shown for him, that I was told two days ago by Mr. Birch (of Nottingham), that of the parishes of St. George and St. James, containing 8000 voters, only 1300 voted. There has been a hard run against him for the last two days, and it will be hard fighting, especially if, as is now said, Sir F. Burdett has subscribed 10,000*l.*

. . . . . .

The Opposition have begun their campaign, and to-morrow are to have another attack on the subject of the Duke of York. They have not as yet mustered quite so strongly as they ex-

pected, having intended to be within fifty of Ministers. Peel's speech was of the greatest service, and the Solicitor-General* spoke well too, as did Scarlett and Tierney. We had the best of the argument as well as of the division, which is more than I expected.

When I mention a want of concert and co-operation among the Ministers, I only meant that their habits and connections do not agree, and there certainly is a want of a superintending and controlling head. *On dit* that the Duke of Wellington is dissatisfied at this want of energy, and that Peel is awaiting the event of the Catholic question, and is then to come in under the Duke, who is to be the nucleus of a new Administration; but this may perhaps be, like many other *on dits*, perfectly unfounded. The great and obvious questions of the Session, I agree with you, are *not* such as involve the fate of an Administration; but if their opponents feel themselves strong, they will make many opportunities for divisions. . . . . .

Nobody seems to know whether we are in mourning or not. The Prince tells people different things, and we are in perfect uncertainty. . . . . .

Believe me, yours very truly, E. BOOTLE WILBRAHAM.

Thursday, March 4th. — Westminster election ended this day: Lamb, 4463; Hobhouse, 3861; Major Cartwright, 38.

Riots at night.

10*th.*—News of the King of France† having created at once fifty-nine peers, including many of Buonaparte's marshals and creatures, to outvote the Royalist party in the Chamber of Peers upon the Election Law, &c.

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER FROM MR. RICKMAN.‡

My Lord,— . . . . I am afraid I have appeared inattentive in not answering your Lordship's late letter, but, in truth, our work at the House of Commons costs full twelve hours a

* Sir John Copley, now Lord Lyndhurst.

† The French peers having rejected several measures of the Ministry, the King, on the 8th of March, created sixty-three new peers, all of the Liberal party; among them were Marshals Davoust, Suchet, Lefebvre, and Jourdain, with Generals Rapp, Latour Maubourg, &c.

‡ Mr. Rickman, who had been Secretary to Lord Colchester, was now one of the Clerks at the Table of the House of Commons.

day, and I am forced to apologise to my own conscience for many defaults as well as I can. . . . .

The Chancellor of the Exchequer fulfils the *semper idem* which was applied in the feminine gender to Queen Anne. He went into the Committee of Supply (miscellaneous services) with thirty-seven M. P.s behind him; among them one Lord of the Treasury, not one of the Admiralty; the Opposition mustering about fifty in front of him. When they came to the Caledonian Canal, I remembered that poor Mr. Arbuthnot, in his distress, once referred to me* in the debate, so I prudently left the Committee in care of Mr. Brogden† and Mr. Ley, and retreated to one of the Serjeant's dogholes, where I heard quite enough. However, the grant will be had hereafter; no thanks to the generalship of Mr. Vansittart and his aide-de-camp, Mr. Arbuthnot, who is in himself quite enough to overset any Administration. Equal in small things as in great, having moved an Irish writ a day too soon, he forgot it for a fortnight, and, I think, has not moved any writ this session without some blunder; once in the place.—

I think the Opposition has a good chance to come in, at least if it be considered that they will always be sure of the support of the friends of the present Administration in the impending battle between the mob and their betters, the newspapers and the Parliament; and that themselves and the mob, in spurious alliance, can and will hasten that crisis. I do not see how they can fail to arrive at this.

To be sure there will be an awkwardness in their turning short about to oppose Reform of Parliament (now in commencement at Penryn‡), and Juries (as now in practice of usurped power), and the liberty of the press (incompatible, as now practised, with the liberty of any other thing, and already more powerful than Parliament); but *all this will be done with effrontery enough* doubtless, and good men will have to rally under the guidance of the incendiaries when all is in flame.

Mr. Brougham does not show himself much; but, in fact, he is ill, low-spirited. . . . . His absence, however, keeps concord as yet undisturbed among the Opposition. They muster well. Lord Castlereagh, in passing Mr. Tierney the other eve-

* Mr. Rickman was Secretary to the Commissioners of the Caledonian Canal.

† Mr. Brogden was Chairman of Committees.

‡ Penryn was disfranchised for corruption, and the cause of Mr. Huskisson's secession from the Duke of Wellington's Ministry, in 1828, was the dispute to what place the vacant seat should be transferred.

ning, said, "I should like to learn the secret of your association." The Opposition has, I think, gained in number many more than the Government will allow, and gained much more in M. P.s who always attend. . . . . .

Always your Lordship's most obedient servant,

J. RICKMAN.

25*th*.—Received a letter from Ryder, with no apprehensions that the Roman Catholic question will go differently in the new Parliament than in the last.

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER FROM THE SPEAKER.

Palace Yard, March 22nd.

My dear Lord,— . . . . . Our Houses are, I am sorry to say, assuming a later character than they began with; but, what is worse, our subjects of discussion (the Royal Household* and Mr. Grady's petition†) have been both painful and mischievous. How the last will end I cannot anticipate; I should guess unsatisfactorily to both sides. . . . . .

Yours most faithfully, &c., C. MANNERS SUTTON.

FROM LORD REDESDALE.

Harley Street, March 27th.

My dear Lord,—I thought it advisable to mention to the Speaker the motion for a Report, &c. before it was made . . . I presume, upon a former occasion, the same motion was made in both Houses . . . . .

I think I shall get Thomson‡ to give a little assistance in Subdivision 5, which you have not seen, and which relates

* A proposal had been made to give the Duke of York the custody of the King's person (which the Queen had had during her life), with an additional allowance of 10,000*l*. a year, which the Opposition highly disapproved in general, though Tierney was favourable to it.—See *Court of England during the Regency*, vol. ii. pp. 299-324.

† Mr. Thomas William Grady had charged Mr. Quin, M.P. for Limerick, who had lately been made Custos Rotulorum for the county, with having deprived him of his office of Clerk of the Peace for corrupt motives, &c., and subsequently Mr. Thomas Grady, his father, wrote a threatening letter to Mr. Quin; but Mr. Quin completely justified himself in the opinion of the House by stating the facts of the case, and reading some of Mr. Grady's letters on the subject. Eventually the father, who had been committed by the House, was released on expressing his contrition, and the affair was allowed to drop on the parties being reprimanded.

‡ A Scotch lawyer employed under the Record Commission.

solely to the Parliament of Scotland; and when I can complete it it shall be sent to you. It will not be long, and if you will look into the Scotch Election Act of 1681, I think you will see that, till the Union, and in some degree to this day, the Scottish Parliament stood on the same ground as I suppose the Parliament of England to have stood in the reigns of Edward I. and several of his successors.

Yours most truly, Redesdale.

Monday, May 3rd. — Left Kidbrooke for Oxford, Harrogate, &c., and the Continent.

In the House of Commons the Roman Catholic question was brought on by Grattan, and a motion for a Committee on the State of the Laws affecting them was negatived by 243 to 241. The supporters of the Roman Catholic claims having brought on the division by surprise at twelve o'clock at night, when a longer or an adjourned debate was expected.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM MR. RICKMAN.

Palace Yard, May 4th.

My Lord,—I fear the election petition business of the morning will allow me but a few moments to tell our last night's history.

Mr. Grattan made *his last speech;* so he said before the day came. Mr. Croker made an odd speech, blaming oaths because not enacted at once. He ought to have a Code in reward of his ingenious perversions. These spoke two hours each; afterwards Leslie Foster an hour; others brought it to twelve o'clock; and then Mr. Lamb, Mr. Peel, and Mr. Plunkett, all charged and primed, reserved their fire for half an hour, mutually wishing the others to speak first, till the gallery and under it were pretty well cleared (for the popish priests, in both places, exhibited the silent impudence and perverseness of so many Quakers on this occasion). The Opposition had directed an assemblage at twelve, it appeared; so that all those of the other side, who expected a late division or adjourned debate, were absent. After one negative voice given, Plunkett pretended that he wished to speak, but this Mr. Wynn's solitary point of order withstood, and it was not permitted. The division took place: Opposition, 242; Anti-Catholic, 248. And

from the surprise practised, some of the last (sent for in haste) came in while the dispute about Mr. Plunkett lasted and the door opened to let out some of the most tardy of the Papists. Then all M.P.s were directed to state whether or not they were in the House when the question was put, which had been done at twelve; disputed if final till half-past; put finally afterwards: so that what their statements referred to no man could tell. A fine confusion, which terminated at half-past one. Ayes, 241; Noes, 243, as corrected.

The Opposition had counted 252 instead of 242, and were sadly chagrined at finding themselves in a minority, after a thousand congratulations *inter se*, wagers won and lost, and the supposed decision reversed, &c.

They are, however, well convinced they have no chance another time, if fair play; and the most rational of them are glad that they did not prevail, to be beaten in the first question in the proposed Committee. Even Sir W. Scott and Sir J. Nicholl were not present to vote, so certain was the expectation I have stated. . . . . .

Yours most obliged, J. RICKMAN.

FROM MR. BANKES.

May 6th, 1819.

Dear Colchester,—You will be no less dissatisfied than we all are with the event and circumstances attending Mr. Grattan's motion, but I have still more reason than others to be so, because my unfortunate vote was not allowed to contribute to the small majority of six which appeared upon telling.

You know how little I am usually absent from a debate, but when Sir Robert Wilson rose I began to think that my own dinner would be better than anything which I could gain from his speech, and no one could have the slightest conjecture that there was the least disposition on either side to close the debate, nor indeed was there, for this constituted the chief absurdity of the proceeding.

Mr. Plunkett was eager to speak after the question was fully put, but there was no mode of evading the established rule of order.

You would laugh to see the importance of Mr. C. Wynn upon all such occasions; and to be sure, never was any Session productive of so many glorious opportunities for the display of his supposed learning and Parliamentary research. Tierney says that

every day is a triumph to him, but he adds that there would be no living under such a Speaker.

Mr. Holmes, our great calculator upon relative numbers, assured us that we were certain of having from thirty to forty majority, and he still perseveres in saying that there were Members enough so disposed at one time in the House. I much doubt the fact, but there may perhaps be some occasion before the Session ends of bringing it to the test. Our election ballots have been made with a facility beyond all precedent. . . .

The Report from the Secret Committee will at last, I believe, make its tardy appearance to-day. Mr. Ricardo's plan is the basis of our recommendation; and we understand that the Bank will not object to making payments in bullion as proposed, beginning on the 1st of February next.

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Very sincerely yours, H. Bankes.

20*th*.—Received an account of the debate in the House of Lords, on Monday last, on the Roman Catholic question. Motion of Lord Donoughmore for a Committee of the whole House negatived by 147 to 106. The Duke of Wellington spoke against the motion, and chiefly with reference to Ireland, and to the property and security of Protestants there.

21*st*.—Received an account of the debate in the House of Commons, upon Tierney's motion for a Committee on the state of the nation, negatived by 357 to 178. Total present, including Speaker, tellers, &c., 530, being the largest attendance since the Union; besides that, 4 of the Grenville party went away before the division.

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER FROM LORD SHEFFIELD.

Portland Place, May 19th, 1819.

My dear Lord,— . . . . . We still labour under the botheration of Bank, Bullion, Circulation, &c., and folks neither know what to say or do. There is no chance of a rise in the funds until the Budget is exposed. The value of gold has nearly fallen to the Mint price, and I am confirmed in my opinion that it is not wise to limit the Bank directors in the manner proposed, as it points out to the speculators in gold and money the

times at which they are to make their efforts, and raise the price on the Bank. It is said that Ministers do not intend to admit any modification of their plan, which I do not believe; and I think it would be eminently silly so to persevere.

I believe I told you in my last that we were to have no property tax, no inquisition (Lord Liverpool repulsed both). They talk of a tax on malt, sugar, and tea. The first will be unpopular; but nothing but taxes on general consumption ever produces much; and all assessed taxes are foolish, and principally answer *ad captandum vulgus*.

I believe I also mentioned that the Sinking Fund is to be abolished, and a new one established. It is differently reported that we are to raise 1,800,000*l*., and some say 3,000,000*l*.

Mr. Wakefield came to town last night from the west of England, passing through Bath and Bristol. He said the country was completely astounded, not knowing what to do; that the consternation was complete; that the Bank of England paper would not pass at Bristol, but the preference of country bank paper had prevailed for some time, because the country banks do not refuse the forged notes.

For my part, I wonder the country is not more tranquillised by the extraordinary circumstance of all persons in both Houses having agreed in a measure that not one person in ten thousand will comprehend. Notwithstanding that extraordinary unanimity, everybody seems to differ.

I rode to Holland House yesterday. Lord Holland (whose looks were as bad as I have ever seen them) seems bothered; but says that if he had been able to attend, he should not have opposed. The great Ashimgur just arrived with precipitation from Derbyshire, and called on Wakefield this morning, at eight o'clock, in positive consternation, saying everything is completely suspended. I learn from another quarter that country banks decline advancing money to persons of the first credit; and in particular that a person of that description, who might have had 5000*l*. at any time, obtained with difficulty 200*l*. If this continues, it will play the devil with our great manufacturers.

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The reception of the Persian Ambassador has been prodigiously fine. I suppose you know that the Ambassador speaks English very well; and that when the Emperor Alexander and he met some time ago, the only language through which they could communicate was English. . . . . —

Most truly yours, SHEFFIELD.

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER FROM MR. RYDER.

Westbrook, May 30th, 1819.

Dear Lord Colchester,— . . . . . Your House behaved better than ours on the Roman Catholic question, but, in spite of appearances, I believe there is less chance than ever of its being carried, even in the latter, in our time.

The effect of the commanding majority on Tierney's * ill-advised motion, will probably make the remainder of the Session pass more easily than was expected, and it is supposed will not a little facilitate the financial operations of the year, notwithstanding the alarm at the reports on the Bank. That alarm will, I hear, soon subside, and, though I am old-fashioned enough to be an anti-bullionist, I am inclined to believe, as well as hope, that the evils attending the very gradual return to cash payments contemplated by the Committee are much exaggerated.

I quite agree with you on the subject of Arbuthnot and Ambrister's † execution. It has had the effect, and it is not surprising it should, to increase the national feeling against America. But Jackson was too powerful to allow of his conduct being questioned, and that is republican virtue!

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Yours most truly, R. Ryder.

FROM LORD REDESDALE.

Harley Street, June 1st, 1819.

My dear Lord,—I think it necessary to say to the Roman Catholics "So far we have gone, but we will go no further." I am convinced that every concession must lead to further concession, and that no concession will produce conciliation. The declarations with respect to transubstantiation, &c., were introduced because the Oath of Supremacy was taken and interpreted

* May 18th, Mr. Tierney had moved for a Committee on the state of the nation. He was supported by Mr. W. Lamb and Lord John Russell, who expressly called the motion a vote of censure on the Ministry, but triumphantly answered by Lord Castlereagh and Canning, and his motion was lost by 357 to 178.

† These were two Englishmen, who, having engaged with the native Indians of Florida in their war with the United States, were taken prisoners and executed, by the order of General Jackson, as pirates.

in their own way. The declarations do not admit of interpretation. The Act of 30 Car. II. c. 1, for disabling Papists from sitting in either House of Paliament, recites that the laws for preventing the increase and danger of popery had not had the desired effect, by reason of the liberty of which, of late some of the recusants had taken to sit and vote in Parliament, and therefore provided the Declaration against Transubstantiation, &c.

I fear the Session will be long; and I hope Mr. Thomson will enable the Record Commissioners to make a report without stating his default. The Peerage Report of this Session must be confined to the first part, and even that will not be so perfect as I could wish. The result will be, I think, to persuade the House that the obscurity which hangs on the subject is such that they ought to consider all peerages as they would a peerage created at this day by patent.

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Truly yours, REDESDALE.

Monday, June 3rd.—Account of the Pitt Club anniversary in London. The Duke of Wellington in the chair. Protestant ascendency was drunk, Mr. Peel's health, &c.

7th.—In the House of Commons, Finance resolutions were passed for taking 13,000,000*l.* from the Sinking Fund to make good the deficiency of annual income, and to lay on 3,000,000*l.* of new taxes, in addition to the remaining 2,000,000*l.* of Sinking Fund. Total, New Sinking Fund, 5,000,000*l.* Division: For the resolutions, 320; against them, 132.

10th.—In the House of Lords, Lord Grey's Bill for Abrogating the Declaration against Transubstantiation, &c., was negatived by 141 to 82.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM THE BISHOP OF KILDARE.

Glasnevin, near Dublin, June 12th, 1819.

My dear Lord,— . . . . . I cannot permit the opportunity thus given me to pass without adverting to a subject which in my judgment requires attention. The matter was but slightly touched upon by the Commissioners, in the early part of

Mr. Peel's connection with the commission *, and though he seemed impressed by the arguments by which the propriety of a measure for registering the population of this country was enforced, no other opportunity has since occurred for its special discussion. Difficulties of no ordinary kind are doubtless to be overcome; but I still entertain a hope that the fertility of your mind, and your perfect acquaintance with the embarrassments which, in the execution of any plan of this nature, may arise, out of discordant clerical persuasions, will suggest not only to Mr. Peel, but to Mr. Charles Grant, some adequate considerations by which they may be overcome.

I have not failed to charge Mr. Shaw Mason to bring this topic before your mind, if you have health and leisure to hear him.

. . . . . .

Your most faithful friend, C. KILDARE.

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER FROM MR. RICKMAN.

Palace Yard, June 14th, 1819.

My dear Lord,— . . . . . Last week we had hard work, fifty-three hours' sitting. This will not be quite so heavy. The Treasury estimate of the termination of the session, a fortnight ago, was the 20th of July; now they say the 7th of July, and only prove their own ignorance of their own affairs by such vague prognostics. . . . . .

Your most faithful servant, J. RICKMAN.

FROM MR. BOOTLE WILBRAHAM.

Portland Place, June 22nd, 1819.

My dear Lord,—You charged me to write you word what matters are going on in the parliamentary world, and I obey your commands, though I have nothing particular to relate more than you will learn in the "Courier," or "Morning Chronicle," in the Harrogate news rooms.

You have seen and read that the bad success of the Opposition has encouraged Ministers to take the vigorous step of looking their pecuniary affairs in the face, and they have felt the advantage of acting decidedly, having been rewarded by majorities which have enabled them to carry measures such as they could hardly have imagined had not Tierney befriended

* The Record Commission.

them; their taxes meet with little opposition, and the House of Commons thinks and appears to care little on the subject of wool, whatever you may hear about it in the neighbourhood of Leeds, where, I doubt not, it is a serious topic of consideration.

The two Members* and the ex-Member† for Yorkshire fought very hard for their constituents, and brought forward many strong arguments against the tax, but in vain. I hope that we have not done wrong in imposing it; and if we have, we must repeal it next year. As to the malt tax, it is opposed by the Suffolk and Norfolk Members, and by those who oppose all taxes whatever, but to no great purpose, it being decidedly carried.

The Foreign Enlistment Bill passed the House of Commons last night by 190 to 129; and there is nothing else to occasion any division of importance. The business therefore may be considered as over; and Members are going into the country, the prorogation being expected to take place about the 12th or 14th of July. . . . . .

The dinner at Carlton House, which had excited speculations and suspicions, seems to have had no consequences, and the party was much mixed, for though the Duke of Bedford and Lord Darlington were there, Lord Lowther was also invited. It is said that the Duke of Bedford's having been at Brighton accidentally led to this *rapprochement*, and possibly this may have been the case.

The report of somebody coming over with intelligence about the Princess of Wales was mentioned to-day, and was then forgotten for some other tale; I fancy that matters are carried on cautiously enough, and the people about her are sufficiently interested in her having her large annuity continued to prevent any spies from being introduced into her family; nor is it to be expected or wished that there should be sufficient proofs of her guilt to warrant a divorce, as we have now branches enough of the House of Brunswick to perpetuate the line.

His Royal Highness held a Drawing Room at the house once called the Queen's Palace, but now re-named Buckingham House; all the world was there, and he received people, kissed the young ladies, and played the part of Queen, his two sisters standing by him. No improper company more than usual found their way in, and the whole was managed with perfect decorum.

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Yours very sincerely, E. B. W.

* Mr. Stuart Wortley (afterwards Lord Wharncliffe) and Lord Milton.

† Mr. Wilberforce, who had lately given up the county, and now sat for Bramber.

Sunday, July 7th. — Left London, and proceeded to Switzerland and Italy.

Thursday, August 1st.—Seditious meetings in London, Yorkshire, and Lancashire; also in the west of Scotland, about Glasgow, Paisley, &c.

16th. — A seditious meeting at Manchester is dispersed by force.*

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER FROM MR. LEGGE.

Blackheath, Aug. 28th, 1819.

My dear Lord Colchester,—Your letter from Geneva reached me on the 24th. . . . . I have no doubt that the old soldier spoke the truth when he told you of the force which Buonaparte would easily muster by beat of drum, if he were to escape from confinement, and once more set foot upon the sacred soil. It seems too as if his foolish father-in-law were determined to keep his name alive, by placing his image and superscription upon new coin. One is almost inclined to ascribe such conduct rather to treachery than to bad policy.

. . . . . Her Royal Highness† has unquestionably given notice of her intention to return to England. The Duke of Kent, I believe, has taken care that she shall not occupy all the apartments which she had at Kensington, as he has appropriated a considerable part of them to his own use and that of his Duchess. As yet she has not arrived, and there are persons who think that she will not venture her head among us. Lord Guildford tells me that she has taken a house at Paris for the winter, and is inclined to think her notice a mere hoax, which is not now practised for the first time. St. Leger will obey the summons to attend her whenever he hears that she is at Dover or Calais, on her way; but Miss Garth has pleaded illness as her excuse, and desires to be no longer considered as belonging to her family.

. . . . . Government seems at last disposed to stir

* This was the meeting at a large field near the town, called St. Peter's Field, but nicknamed Peterloo from this riot. It is said that nearly 80,000 men assembled on the pretext of petitioning for Parliamentary Reform. The magistrates demanded the assistance of the yeomanry, who dispersed the crowd, but not without the loss of four lives. Hunt, the chief promoter of the meeting, was prosecuted, with some of the other ringleaders, for his share in it, and they were all convicted and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. *See* below, Mr. Wilbraham's letter of Sept. 1st.

† The Princess of Wales.

against the seditious. What Mr. Hunt's overt act of treason is I have not learnt; but there cannot be a more seditious libel than Sir Francis Burdett's infamous letter to the electors of Westminster. . . . . .

Ever most cordially yours, H. LEGGE.

FROM MR. BOOTLE WILBRAHAM.

Lathom House, Sept. 1st, 1819.

My dear Lord,—I am in perfect ignorance of your movements; but as I remember your saying that you had taken a house at Geneva, where you meant to remain till the approach of winter compelled you to cross the Alps, I venture a letter to that place in order to let you know how we are going on in this part of the world, which I believe to be at this moment the most unquiet and unsettled spot in Europe. As the newspapers contain nothing but Manchester news, you are doubtless acquainted with the outline of our proceedings, such as the numerous meetings held in various places to consider of Reform; and latterly the peculiar character which those meetings assumed in consequence of the populace marching in with bands of music, and with red or black flags, bearing such inscriptions as "Death or Universal Suffrage." At a great meeting at Manchester, the magistrates thought themselves called upon to interfere, and after giving notice, to disperse the meeting, first taking the leaders into custody. The Riot Act having been twice read, the populace resisted, and some lives were lost by the squeeze, and by the trampling of the yeomanry horses. This has, as might be expected, produced a great clamour; but I have no doubt that it will subside. Hunt, who officiated as chairman, was taken and conveyed to Lancaster, where I understand he is bailed, and an indictment is to be preferred against him for a conspiracy to overturn the Constitution of the Realm by force. We really are in an awkward situation in this manufacturing district, for trade is very low, so as to admit of very low wages to the workmen, who are therefore more inclined to lend a willing ear to the doctrines of the Radical Reformers, or Revolutionists, who are extremely audacious; and I am persuaded that their object was to overawe the quiet and well-affected subjects of the realm, had it not been for the unexpected resistance they met with, which has had the effect of postponing some other meetings at Preston, Bolton, &c., *ad Græcas Calendas.*

I fear, however, that the winter will not be suffered to ass quietly, but that we shall be liable to constant disturbances which

must be kept down by military force, of which, thanks to the Finance Committee, we have a smaller proportion than I wish. That the people in general are loyal and well affected, I believe; but they are supine and passive, while the bad ones are active and enterprising, and lose no opportunity of forwarding their views and cause. In case anything material comes to my knowledge, I will let you know. . . . . .

Yours very truly, E. Bootle Wilbraham.

FROM MR. H. BANKES.

Kingston Hall, Oct. 10th, 1819.

Dear Colchester,—It gave me great pleasure to receive a letter from you from Geneva, and I trust that you will find in the climate of Genoa all that is required for the complete re-establishment of your health. I recollect no view with greater delight than that of the port of Genoa from a boat, at the distance of a mile or half a mile. No picture is more complete, and better comprehended by the eye, than the Bay of Naples. "Lunäi portum est operæ cognoscere," says Persius after Ennius. I think, however, that Luna was the far less beautiful Gulf of Spezzia. I went formerly, and not very comfortably, by sea in a boat from Lerici to Genoa.

Our prospects at home are by no means cheering, although we have had the blessing of a good harvest, and the finest continuance of dry weather for carrying in all the crops. There is an alarming and mischievous spirit abroad, which seems rather to gain ground than to decrease, in various quarters, and the *good Whigs* of course are blowing it up, with a profound detestation of Hunt and his associates, but with a more radical dislike of the present Government than of all the Reformers put together. What has happened at Manchester has certainly been done unfortunately, and perhaps injudiciously. But I declare to you that I and most other persons are very imperfectly informed as to what really passed on that day. A coroner's inquest still continues sitting for the seventh or eighth day, upon the case of one of the men who was killed, and there seems to be a determination to keep that inquiry depending for as long a time as possible.

I am not sure what will be done with regard to the meeting of Parliament. When I chanced to see the Lord Chancellor at his house near Corfe Castle about a fortnight ago, I collected from him that it was intended to assemble it in the next month; but he spoke of it rather as a matter under consideration than as resolved.

Our laws certainly require some alteration, if the times will bear it, to meet the circumstances of the times; and one obvious improvement naturally occurs, which is, to make the trials for misdemeanours more speedy by taking away the right of delaying them by traversing. It appears also that some more effectual check is necessary to be devised against seditious and profane publications, unless the Crown lawyers should prove more successful in their prosecution of Carlisle next week for an offence of the latter description, than they have been in most of their late attempts. . . . . .

Most sincerely yours, H. Bankes.

CHAP. LVI.

1819.

EXPECTED ARRIVAL OF THE PRINCESS OF WALES. — LORD FITZWILLIAM DISMISSED FROM THE LORD-LIEUTENANCY OF YORK. — MEETING OF THE SENATE AT GENOA. — DEAF AND DUMB COLLEGE. — OBSEQUIES OF KING VICTOR EMANUEL. — LETTER FROM MR. B. WILBRAHAM ON THE TRANSACTIONS IN PARLIAMENT. — DEBATES ON THE CONDUCT OF THE MANCHESTER MAGISTRATES. — IMPROVVISATORI. — INAUGURATION OF THE BISHOP OF GENOA. — LORD BYRON. — LETTER FROM BANKES.

FROM MR. LEGGE.

Blackheath, Oct. 31st, 1819.

MY dear Lord Colchester . . . . . The visit of Sir Thomas Fremantle* and the French Admiral to Algiers, was (as it is supposed), intended to inform His Highness the Bey of the resolutions agreed upon by the Maritime Powers of Europe with regard to the conduct to be pursued in future towards the Barbary States, that his Highness and his neighbours might know what they have to expect if their piratical practices are continued. Some account of this unusual embassy will probably be laid before Parliament; and in the meantime the good subjects of England must be content to remain in ignorance of the specific measures threatened. . . . . .

The Princess of Wales is not arrived, nor do *I* expect her, though her intentions to return are frequently signified, not only by the newspapers but by herself. Lady Sheffield seemed confident that she was coming "to defend herself at the bar of the House of Lords," according to her own account, against a charge which perhaps has never been thought of. The other day we heard she was at Calais; but I believe that she is still at Lyons, and there, or at an equal distance, she will remain if she is wise. Her presence just now would certainly add to the confusion already existing, which would be more formidable than it is, but for the quarrels among the demagogues and the vigour of

* Commanding the Naval Forces in the Mediterranean.

Government shown by the dismissal of that foolish old man Lord Fitzwilliam.*

Ever truly and affectionately yours, H. LEGGE.

FROM MR. HUGH LEYCESTER.

Durham, Nov. 11th, 1819.

My dear Lord,— I was much gratified by your kind letter of October 21st, and am extremely glad to hear of your improved health. . . . . .

From all I have heard, I have very little doubt of its appearing, upon a full investigation, that the Manchester magistrates were perfectly justified; and I hope no *extraviam* will be proved against the actors. It is a very strong circumstance in their favour, that, with all the industry of virulence, Pearson and Co. have not been able to bring any case before the Coroner but that of Lees, who had a wound from a sabre on the elbow, but of which it seems clear that he did not die.

The donation you allude to shocked me, and the character of it is not much improved by the printed reasons for its justification. I wish the donor may have been informed of what was lately said by Johnston (a man confined in Chester Castle under a judgment for sedition), in a conversation with Mr. Curwen, in the presence of the jailer, viz., "I am a Reformer. We want a more equal distribution of property. Here is ——, with fortune enough to make thousands happy, and he sends us a pitiful 50*l*. There is nobody held in more contempt amongst us than he is." A useful lesson!

If I had written upon this subject a month ago, it would have been with a serious alarm from the increasing diffusion of revolutionary and agrarian principles under the effects of the press, itinerant oratory, intimidation, &c., without any apparent adequate barrier to check their progress; but the division among the Radicals, the many loyal meetings, the approaching Session, &c., have had a material effect; and I have reason to believe "the good cause" begins to waver. They begin to find that nothing may be got by these reforming associations but loss of work and empty stomachs; and I have just heard of a Manchester hatter having received fifty white hats † to be dyed black.

* Lord Fitzwilliam was dismissed from the Lord-Lieutenancy of Yorkshire for taking a prominent part in a county meeting convened for the purpose of passing votes of censure on the magistrates of Manchester with reference to their conduct at Peterloo.

† At that time a white hat was considered an especial mark of a Radical.

Sir Charles Woolesley attempted last week to make a tumult at Warrington, at the head of a thousand or two of Manchester worthies; but was hissed and pelted out of town, and obliged to apply to Dr. Blackburn to escort and protect him to the end of it. After all, I am not sure whether it would not have been, on several accounts, better for Hunt and Thistlewood to have jointly made a bold trial of their strength at once, as the latter wished to do, when a little *grape*, properly applied, might have extinguished a flame which will now be left to smother.

The Radical-Whig meetings have by no means been approved of by all the Opposition party, and I hope there will be a material division of them with Government upon this occasion.

Yours most sincerely, H. Leycester.

FROM MR. HATSELL.

Marden Park, Nov. 13th, 1819.

My dear Lord,— . . . . . Our friend Lord Sidmouth is still lame and unable to get on horseback, or to walk without limping. His time is sufficiently occupied by the public meetings in the manufacturing counties, to which, however, I think, they have hitherto been confined; but I trust that, if the measures of Government when Parliament meets are not *too violent*, good may come out of these mischievous attempts, and that the people at large will learn the extent of the evil, and may be more firmly attached to the Constitution. There is to be a *simultaneous insurrection*, that is the term which the agitators use, on the 15th, for considering a reform in the Government. Administration have sent troops, with *cannon*, into Cheshire, Lancashire, and Yorkshire, and I suppose they will call out the Yeomanry Corps. . . . . .

I understand that the great difficulty of the Session will be for money. Yours very faithfully,

J. Hatsell.

Saturday, Nov. 16th.— Genoa. Attended the opening of the Senate, or High Court of Justice, at the palace, formerly ducal, now royal. The President and Senators, or Judges, being seated on each side of the table, the Advocate-General read a long discourse in Italian, upon the duties and qualifications of judges, advocates, solicitors, &c. And they afterwards individually took the oath of their office; the secretary read-

ing it once aloud, and the advocates, &c. coming separately to the Book of the Gospels, which was laid upon a table opposite to the President, and each in his turn, when his name was called, kneeling and laying his hand upon the book. I rode afterwards up the valley of the Besogno, a fine flank view of the eastern walls, the Eperon, forts, &c., and also of the aqueducts. This work was begun by the French, but carried only three or four miles towards the mountains in the direction of Parma.

Snow is upon the hills beyond the Scoglietta.

Between three and four o'clock Count D'Ison took us in his carriage through the Acqua Sola Gate to the Royal College of Deaf and Dumb, under the instruction of Father Asserotti, who showed us the proficiency of some of his scholars; to whom we put questions in arithmetic, history, and the metaphysics, which he communicated to them by signs, and they answered readily by writing the answers in French or Italian upon a long slate fixed up against the wall. Asserotti told them how to write Lady Colchester's name, by bidding them first set down the letter which began the name of the earliest King in English history who bore the name of Great (meaning Canute). This they put down without hesitation; then the third letter of the name of the present King of Great Britain (George), and so on. Upon being asked the product of 44 multiplied by 44, one of the boys immediately put down 1936, and afterwards set down the operation at length. I asked one of them what was the beginning and end of Eternity. He immediately wrote down, that Eternity had neither beginning nor end. My question was explained by Asserotti, who first told the boy that he was to consider of the quality ascribed to God, as existing for ever, &c. &c. We then were desired each to name any person in history, any animate or inanimate thing, &c.; and when seven such words or names were set down, one of the boys immediately composed a regular sentence, in which each word found a place. In two

months they learn the alphabet and system of signs, and then they are taught all the elementary branches of learning, with religious instruction, and in some instances they are also taught trades. We saw an engraver, or rather carver of cuts on wood for printing; also several shoemakers. Some have been placed in merchants' counting-houses as clerks.

There are also girls upon this institution, but we did not see them. All the boys were gay and lively, with sparkling eyes; and affectionately fond of the old Father Apostle, who is in bad health, but is assisted by two teachers, who have been trained up under him.

20*th.* — This day the funeral obsequies of the late abdicated King Charles Emmanuel were performed in the church of the Annunciata at the expense of the city. They had been put off for several days successively on account of the rain, and the impossibility of parading the garrison in such weather.

The church was distributed into three parts for this ceremony. Behind the high altar was concealed a numerous orchestra of vocal and instrumental performers; and the officiating priests, with their attendants and the pulpit for the preacher, were placed upon the altar platform within the rails. In the centre under the dome a clear space was kept from the altar to the principal aisle, and on each side of this clear space were four rows of seats for the public officers civil and military. The lieutenant-governor and the commandant of the garrison, with their staff and aides-de-camp, were seated on one side, and the president of the senate and senators, &c., on the opposite side. At the head of the great aisle and fronting the altar, a lofty catafalque was raised in wood painted to imitate grey and white marble. The bottom, to the height of eight feet, was an oblong pedestal which nearly filled the breadth of the aisle. Upon that was placed an altar of a square form about twelve feet high, crowned with a truncated pyramid, and upon that was the cenotaph, or sarco-

phagus, upon which were laid the crown, sceptre, and badges of the royal orders, the whole surmounted by a canopy of black and gold drapery, suspended by cords attached to the side columns of the aisle, — the whole object rising to the height of thirty or forty feet.

In front of the great altar were sixty candles of different heights, and double that number round the catafalque, with a large vase of fire burning upon each angle of the pedestal. Upon the sides of the square altar which supported the sarcophagus were colossal figures veiled in white drapery, and a Latin inscription upon each side of this altar in commemoration of the deceased monarch, his piety, &c. &c.

The ceremony consisted of a mass at the high altar, followed by a long performance of vocal and instrumental music, much in the style of Handel's "Dirges;" then a tedious and dull discourse in Italian, relating all the actions of the deceased; his education, marriage, abdication, retirement to Rome, &c. &c. And the whole was closed by a procession of the priests five times round the catafalque, with crucifix, lights, incense, &c., accompanied by solemn music and chanting. The whole lasted four hours. Masses were saying the whole time at every other altar round the church.

Few Genoese of distinction attended, except the persons in office, and these few were ladies in mourning.

22*nd*. — The fête of Santa Cecilia. Went to hear High Mass in the oratory of S. Filippo Neri accompanied by vocal and instrumental music. Three orchestras; the band good; the singing indifferent. The music resembling some of Handel's church music.

25*th*. — Went with Captain Fuller on board a new steam boat, under weigh for Naples and Venice, from whence it is to navigate up the Po to Pavia, and to be employed on that river for the transport of merchandise. It was built at Savona. The outside is oak, the inside fir; it cost about 750*l*., is fitted with boilers, cylinders, &c. from England, which cost about 800*l*. more. It is of 14 horse power, draws three feet of water. In length

130 feet long, 16 feet wide below within, and 30 feet wide above, where the side gangways are laid upon the wheels on the outside of the vessel. The tonnage for merchandise is 130 tons, the machinery with boilers and fuel occupying 22 feet in the centre of the length. Navigated with lug sails, goes at the rate of six knots an hour: the length of her intended voyage up the Po is 220 miles. The master who was to navigate the vessel round the Adriatic was an Italian, furnished with Berthelot's old charts of the Mediterranean, and Roux's French plans of ports and roads published in 1795.

FROM MR. BOOTLE WILBRAHAM.

Portland Place, Nov. 26th, 1819.

My dear Lord,—I wrote to you about a month or five weeks ago and gave you an account of our Lancashire proceedings. We are now come to Town in consequence of the meeting of Parliament; and, indeed, I arrived a week sooner, by the desire of Lord Liverpool, to consider what was to be done to bring the manufacturing part of England to peace and quiet.

What has passed already in both Houses you will see by the newspapers, and that the discussion has turned mainly and principally on two things, neither of which had to do with the immediate state of the country; namely, the conduct of the magistrates at Manchester, and the dismissal of Lord Fitzwilliam. On the first of these I was obliged to take the part which Blackborne should have done, and to defend the magistrates and yeomanry from the unfounded attacks made upon them; and enough was said in the course of the debate to satisfy those who knew nothing on the subject that the House of Commons is not a fit place for such an inquiry, which indeed seems to be the general opinion except among the Opposition.

The debate was adjourned, which is not usual on the Address, and last night, when the Report was to be brought up, there was no House, so that I hardly know when the Crown will receive the Address from its faithful Commons. Plunkett's and Canning's speeches I recommend to your particular attention as remarkably good.

We are to have no Green Bag Committee, but certain documents have been printed and laid before us sufficient to show that there is some treason going on in the country. Bills are to

be brought in to prevent training and drilling with or without arms, except under certain provisions, to prevent persons from assembling at meetings out of their own parishes or townships, except at such meetings as may be summoned by competent authorities. This will not prevent large assemblies in large towns; but it will prevent itinerant orators from attending, and will prevent the population of a whole neighbourhood marching to a given spot. There is also to be a Bill to prevent the right of traversing in cases of misdemeanour; a measure which, as I am informed, has been in contemplation for some years, but, owing to the "precipitation" with which the Chancellor conducts everything, has not yet been proposed.

Nothing has been settled as yet on a point the most important of any, which is the liberty, or rather the licentiousness, of the press. This certainly requires some consideration; but without such a measure all the others which we are about to take are of no avail.

The numbers on the Address were 381 to 150.; on which, I am told, the Opposition rejoices, as they had calculated on from 130 to 140; but, on the other hand, the majority was near thirty more than on Tierney's celebrated motion last year. I do not apprehend any serious opposition to the measures in contemplation, but when the press comes to be restricted, which will be after the adjournment, we shall have a great fight.

We shall sit till near Christmas, and, as it is said, then adjourn till the 1st of February; Tierney told me till March, but I think that he must be mistaken, as the delay can be no object with the hunting part of the community.

Sir Mark Sykes has desired me to send him some political intelligence, and I shall therefore be obliged to you to let him know what I have told you, and to inform him that Egerton * spoke very well two nights ago.

With regard to the state of the manufacturing districts, I fear that it is not improved, though it is quiet. Its present tranquillity is by the order of Mr. Hunt, and does not appear to be ensured by the large collection of *pistols* which have been purchased from Birmingham; and of pikes, which have been made from old scythes and other pieces of iron. There certainly is an intention to explode; but whether courage will be found at the time proposed—namely, when these Bills are to be passed into a law, remains to be seen. . . . . .

Yours very truly,

E. Bootle Wilbraham.

* M.P. for Cheshire, married a sister of Sir T. Sykes.

Genoa, Sunday, Dec. 1st.—This day, Santa Elisa, being the festival of the goldsmiths, their shops were all shut, and they had a High Mass, with music, vocal and instrumental, in two orchestras, erected between the columns on opposite sides of the church of La Madonna delle Vigne. Numberless candles and silk hangings and ribbons all over the church. Music moderate.

News of a change actually made in the French Ministry, and Decazes announced as Prime Minister. Dessolles out, also Louis and Gouvion St. Cyr.

3rd.—Mr. Thomas, an English merchant resident in Genoa, called. According to his information the trade of Genoa has increased of late, but the chief vent is with the Milanese, as Nice continues to supply Piedmont from Marseilles; and if the Austrians should adopt an exclusive policy, now so much practised by other Continental States, Genoa must fall into insignificance.

LETTER FROM MR. BANKES.

Old Palace Yard, Dec. 3rd, 1819.

Dear Colchester,—You will naturally be desirous of learning what complexion and aspect our public affairs wear upon the opening of the session, and the introduction of the Bills which are judged necessary for securing the peace of the kingdom. I therefore do not wait for an answer to my letter written from Kingston Hall, but proceed to put you in possession of my observations, such as they are, upon what has hitherto passed, and is now passing.

We have, I think, acted rightly in refusing a Parliamentary inquiry into the unfortunate and rather mysterious transactions of Manchester on the 16th of August last; but in the course of our debates the circumstances have been gradually developed and explained in a way which, if not completely satisfactory, places the magistrates and yeomanry in a much more favourable point of view than they stood in before any discussion had taken place. Lord Stanley's testimony to the propriety of their conduct and the urgency of the case has been of the greatest service to them; and Lord Grenville has pronounced an unqualified encomium upon their proceedings, which not a little surprised me. He, Lord Grenville, has become upon this occasion a most useful and efficient supporter of the measures of Government;

and I am told that the speech which he made the other night was perhaps the best and most powerful that he has ever delivered.

We are probably indebted to Lord Grenville for the very able assistance of Mr. Plunkett, whose speech, however, is much overrated. He also brings in his train Mr. C. Wynn, and two or three more, but Lord Nugent remains unconverted. Mr. Lyttleton has given an unwilling and ungracious support; but the majority (which was considerable last night,—351 against 128) upon the second reading of the Bill for preventing seditious meetings, will be considerably reduced in the subsequent stages, if Lord Castlereagh persists in making it permanent instead of temporary. He sets the Whigs at defiance, but on this point they have more reason on their side than in most of their objections.

Young Perceval divided last night with the Ministry, when so many of their own friends made a temporary defection; but he did it without speaking to assign his reasons. Your successor, Peel, deviated from his usual discretion in rejoicing at the issue of the Manchester meeting; alleging that more blood must have been spilt hereafter if none had been drawn upon that occasion. Should he ever become Secretary of State for the Home Department, he will repent of this honest avowal.

What we are doing will, I believe, be in time to prevent the progress of mischief, and to keep it under; but if some *partial risings* should take place before the passing of the Bill, it will not surprise me, as I cannot doubt that drilling and arming are going on to a considerable extent in some of the disturbed districts; and that there exists a system of dangerous secrecy and large combination.

. . . . . .

Most truly yours, H. BANKES.

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER FROM MR. F. BURTON.

Upper Brook Street, Dec. 10th.

My dear Lord,— . . . . . Your Parliamentary correspondents will tell you so much better than I can what is observable in both Houses, that I shall refrain from touching on that subject further than to express my satisfaction at seeing the part which has been taken by most of the Grenvilles and several of the Opposition; while I am ashamed to see that the majority of them are willing to court popularity by opposing measures which they believe to be necessary, and which they themselves

would gladly support if the majority were not strong enough without them.

What is to happen without-doors in the next few weeks I cannot contemplate without apprehensions of serious mischief and some bloodshed; yet in spite of numbers, good drilling, and secreted arms, I have no doubt that any insurrection would be soon quelled, unless the insurgents should find better leaders than Mr. Hobhouse and Sir Robert Wilson. For the radical cure to the grand evils of excessive population, want of employment, weight of taxes, and defective poor laws, I am little able to look to anything except that Providence which has so often rescued us from peril, by rendering the most unpromising causes productive of effects the most beneficial.

December 16th.

A pretty general expectation of some serious struggles at Manchester on the 13th induced me to keep this open for the next foreign post day; and the reports which prevailed last night and early this morning of yeomen killed and terrible slaughter, made me apprehensive that I should have to conclude with bloody news. Happily, however, these reports appear to have had no other ground than an accidental fire and a burglarious robbery of fire-arms in a gunsmith's shop.

On the 14th the Bishop of Chester received a letter from Dr. Whitaker, Vicar of Blackburn, and an active magistrate, in which he stated it to be his belief that the Bill now passing would effectually suppress the symptoms if not the spirit of insurrection; and his expectations seem to have been realised, for instead of the meetings which had been announced, nothing appeared except placards notifying that for prudential reasons they had been adjourned *sine die*. I begin therefore now to hope that, if juries do their duty, the military will incur little danger, unless it should be incurred in the seizure of fire-arms.

. . . . . Every kind wish from your old friend,

F. BURTON.

13*th*.—*Genoa*. I went to the Jesuits' Church, Santo Ambrosio, to see the cenotaph of the late King Charles Emmanuel, upon which was laid a crown and sceptre, and above it were two angels, of whom the uppermost held aloft the Jesuit's cap. Upon the base of this temporary monument erected for the funeral obsequies were several inscriptions, one of which began:—

"Tanto nomine cohonestatum
Jesu Sodalitium," &c.

And in the Paris newspapers of the same day was an article from Rome, alleging that the late King of Sardinia was *not* a Jesuit. It is, however, well known that the Jesuits have refused to deliver his body to the King of Sardinia, who had sent a sloop of war to fetch it from Rome; and the sloop is just now returned into this port without it.

17*th*.—Giorni called, and left with me copies of the protestation of the Provisional Government of Genoa against the Union with Piedmont, and their Act of Abdication, dated Dec. 26th, 1814, — two powerful documents.

20*th*.—Leoni came. He read to us his narrative of the robbery of himself and his travelling companion, young Count Brignoli, near Fondi, about five o'clock in the morning of the 1st of October last. His companion was carried off to the mountains, and kept there as a hostage for three days, till Leoni could procure his ransom, which at first was stipulated at 10,000 crowns, and finally settled for 1000 crowns. The robbers, though well known by name, family, and connections, seven in number, were not apprehended or even pursued afterwards by the Neapolitan Government. Leoni himself was stabbed in two places.

The new Archbishop of Genoa, Lambruschini, has obtained leave from the King to dispense with his public entry into Genoa, that the city may not be put to the expense incidental to the usual ceremony: of horse, mule, trappings, street decorations, altars in the churches, processions, &c.

In the evening we went to Madame Pallavicini's Faro table. Music in another room. I was introduced to M. Galaffi, formerly a Jesuit, then professor in the university at Genoa; then put out of his professorship by the King of Sardinia; now consulted as a lawyer, but not allowed to hold any civil office, on account of his original ecclesiastical character. His memory is wonderful, and his power of composing Latin verse impromptu still more so. Upon one occa-

sion M. Fabio Pallavicini gave a subject for a tragedy to an Italian improvisatore, who immediately, that is, after about twenty minutes' reflection, recited an entire tragedy, with regular choruses in Italian verse; and when he had finished, Galaffi recited a poem in Latin verse founded upon the tragedy just recited. M. Pallavicini had chosen a subject never before dramatised, and kept it entirely to himself till the moment appointed for the trial of skill.

Upon another occasion, an Italian improvisatore, having delivered off hand a poem in thirty-six stanzas of eight verses each, Galaffi immediately afterwards recited the whole word for word. In Buonaparte's time, a literary supervisor of his academical establishments in various parts of his empire coming to Genoa, mentioned some epigrams of Voltaire in *four* lines, as a composition in the French language inimitable in any other within the same compass. Galaffi said, that might be, but he could express the same thing in Latin in *two* lines, which he did off hand, to the great surprise of Buonaparte's visitor. And then Galaffi said, "But that is not all, here is another way;" and then produced the same thought in another Latin distich still better than the former.

23*rd*.—From the windows of the Ducal Palace saw the procession of the Archbishop from his palace to the cathedral to take possession. The narrow street round to the church was lined with soldiers, and hung with crimson and white drapery and gold lace trimmings. First went five livery servants in full dress, liveries of blue, laced along the seams in grave colours, apparently with arms; then five gentlemen in black; then two or three score seminarists in black cloth robes, with white tippets; then the four sets of canons of the four collegiate churches—those of S. Lorenzo being all declared to be bishops by Pius VII. when at Genoa; then the Bishop of Savona, who had officiated as Vicar-General during the vacancy of the see, and lastly by the Archbishop with three attendants, under a white silk canopy

upon gilt poles, borne by eight of the municipal magistrates. The Archbishop, his vicar, and three attendants in white and gold dresses. Himself, with the mitre on his head, a large silver crosier in his left hand, and a large diamond cross upon his breast. The procession was closed by a few attendants dressed in black.

Upon entering the church the organ played, and the Archbishop, &c., after advancing to the altar, and kneeling with his mitre off, returned, amidst a full chant of all the clergy, to the middle aisle, and from the pulpit delivered, sitting, a discourse in Italian, to tell his flock that he was now in full function, &c. &c. At the close he gave them all his benediction, and, returning to the altar, near which he was undressed, he came back, in his ordinary episcopal habit of violet, by a private passage to his palace.

In the pulpit with him were his three attendants, who employed themselves in adjusting his cope, and his sleeves, and his handkerchief whilst he was reading his address, which he did with some dignified action of his right hand, but in a very monotonous voice, and in substance chiefly about himself. His figure is above the middle height, a regular and manly countenance. His age about forty-five. His name is Lambruschini. His order in the church, Barnabite. His family, Genoese, but of the inferior order of citizens.

In consequence of the abridged ceremonial of his entrance into the city, and the scanty illuminations, a Genoese lady said, the whole reception had been *Rumfordised*, to make it snug, comfortable, and cheap.

The great bell of S. Lorenzo, which used to toll for summoning together the Great Council in the time of the republic, tolled again to-day for the first time since the democratic revolution which abolished the old government, and put down the office of doge in 1797.

24*th*.—At twelve at night went round to see the *natale* solemnised at the churches of the Annonciade, S. Simon, Santa Maria delle Vigne, and S. Lorenzo. In

the latter the Archbishop in his robes and mitre said the High Mass.

At midnight a salvo was fired by the guns, from some of the principal batteries, and the mass began. There were orchestras in the Vigne and the S. Lorenzo, and the two latter were well lighted up. Crowds of people in both, and in the streets, the coffee houses and apothecaries' shops, which have always been a great rendezvous for idlers and politicians.

Saturday, Christmas Day.—After church walked to the Capucins; saw a large presepio in the church, seven or eight yards long, and twenty feet high, a complete stage representation of mountain scenery, rocks, evergreen oak, ivy, &c., roads, cottages, a brook, &c., fifty or sixty figures dressed in country shepherds' dresses, some on mules, others on foot, men, women, and children, all travelling forward to a cavern in front, where the Virgin, Joseph, and the infant Jesus were grouped in front of a manger; the figures, human and brute, including goats, &c., all exquisitely carved and dressed.

This church is the burial place of many noble Genoese, Spinola, Grimaldi, &c., and was thronged with visitors of all classes to see the presepio.

26*th.*—Went to hear the "Dottrina," or catechism and lectures for the parish children at San Carlo. The catechism was performed by two lay servants, who, standing opposite to each other, one with a boy, the other with a girl, made the children question and answer each other, and prompted each if they were wrong or at a loss. The lectures were by two priests, who taking opposite chairs, first one rose, and delivered an animated explanation of the Christian precept of forgiveness of our enemies; and when he returned to his chair, the other advanced and continued the subject. In the catechising of the children, each who did well received a little print upon some scripture or sacred subject as a reward.

27*th.*—News from England that Hobhouse was committed to Newgate for a libel on the House of Commons.

28*th.* — Byron has written to Douglas Kinnaird to say, that "if there was a *good row* in England, he would travel day and night to put himself at the head of a squadron of cavalry. Angelo knew he was good at the broad sword; and he would give the *New Government* a full and true account of Lady Noel's acres, stock and crop." This I had from Mr. Brodrick.

31*st.* — Snow. By our English letters and news it appears that all the Bills for putting down the assembling, training, arming, and publishing, by the seditious, will be passed by this time, and Parliament will adjourn till February. The King's health, by all private accounts, is rapidly declining.

LETTER FROM MR. BANKES.

Old Palace Yard, Dec. 17th.

Dear Colchester,— . . . . It is impossible to say that the temper and disposition of the ill-affected are altered or mended; but the infection does not seem to spread, nor is there the same alarm which existed some days ago, that this seditious spirit would show itself in brute force, either at Manchester, Newcastle, or in the manufacturing part of Scotland. The well-disposed and loyal are arming in several districts, and forming themselves into yeomanry corps; and, what is more material, a sufficient number of regular troops can be marched within a very short time into any of the suspected counties. The different Bills in their progress through the House of Commons have met with more opposition than could have been wished; but the numbers of the minority, both positive and relative, are diminishing. Nothing more remains for us to discuss except the restraints which are to be put upon the press and printers, which may justly be deemed the most important subject of all, though the most difficult to deal with.

In the House of Lords not one division has been hazarded upon either of the Bills. Lord Grey has left London, and was taken ill upon the road. It will be difficult for him and Lord Grenville to act together again.

We intend to keep Mr. Hobhouse in Newgate until we can keep him there no longer; and there are some of the newswriters who have republished his seditious paragraphs, who ought to be sent thither also. But I am not sure what will be

20076

done with regard to them, nor whether it will be prudent to bring the matter under the notice of the House. There was a rumour yesterday that Sir Francis Burdett was to bring up a petition from a meeting at the Crown and Anchor, in favour of Mr. Hobhouse, but nothing of that sort was offered.

Lord Byron is expected home immediately, hoping, as I am told by one of his correspondents, to find this kingdom upon the brink of a revolution. His last poem was an amusing burlesque poem, loosely written in every sense of the word, called the Two First Cantos of Don Juan. . . . . .

Most truly yours, H. BANKES.

FROM MR. BOOTLE WILBRAHAM.

London, Dec. 20th, 1819.

My dear Lord,—I wrote to you not long ago, and gave you an account of public matters up to that time, and of the measures which Ministers were proposing, in order to repress the tendency to disturbance, which prevails in the manufacturing districts of England and Scotland. Those measures, as you have seen in the paper, have been brought forward, and some of them have passed, which were supposed to be most urgent in their nature. The Bills which are intended to impose restrictions on the press are now going through the House, and are undergoing a severe opposition; many of that party who were gone into the country for the holidays having returned for that purpose. Parliament, it is supposed, will adjourn at the very end of this month, till the 10th or 12th of February; and those holidays I look forward to with much satisfaction, though they will be passed in London.

As to the general state of the country, I hardly know what to say about it. An insurrection was expected about a week ago, on the 13th, and, I believe, was fully intended, but when it came to the point there seemed to be a want of courage, and perhaps a want of leaders; and nothing took place. This state of constant preparation for service is very irksome and fatiguing for the military, whose duty is more severe than even during the time of war. Lord Lascelles writes me word from Yorkshire that he does not think things mended in that quarter; and as to Lancashire, the spirit and disposition of the people are as bad as ever, though not shown in direct acts.

They have purchased great numbers of pistols, which, being portable articles, will not easily be got at by magistrates who may search for arms; and, in truth, I do not expect much from

the operation of that Bill, though from some of the others I do; particularly that for preventing seditious assemblies. Open revolt will become more difficult every day; but I fear that the possession of clandestine arms will lead to private assassination and mischief of that sort; and, if any opening is afforded by a diversion, it will burst out where there are not troops enough to overawe the disaffected.

I have just been informed that the miners in Cornwall have shown a disposition to turbulence, and, if so, Government will be rather at a loss, for all the disposable force in the kingdom is in the north. We every day hear less and less of the conduct of the Manchester magistrates, which, at the first meeting of Parliament, was loudly arraigned; but the subject has not been much insisted on since Lord Grenville declared that they ought to receive the thanks of Parliament.

Lord Lascelles I expect will soon be called up by writ to the House of Lords, his health not being equal to the long sittings of the Commons. He was ordered down to his Lieutenancy* ten days ago, and remains there.

Parties have gone on much as usual, but the Grenvilles support the Ministers at present; and, on the other hand, we have lost Lord Normanby, who, in the summer, was bit by the Opposition. Spencer Perceval also has voted and spoken against the Seditious Assembly Bill, which is rather a surprise to many of us; but it is attributed to oddity, which is an excuse for much. . . . . .

Davies Gilbert has been ventilating the House of Commons. He has removed all the bulk-heads from above the House, and the hot air is admitted into that cavity and let out gradually. It seems to answer tolerably well. The dining-rooms are shut up, and are to be pulled down, as dangerous in case of fire, and we dine in a committee-room in the upper lobby, the kitchen being in or near the prison room. . . . . .

Yours very truly, E. B. W.

FROM MR. BANKES.

Old Palace Yard, Dec. 31st.

Dear Colchester,— . . . . . Lord Grey was taken ill upon his road homewards, and his health appears to be impaired. Mr. Tierney also failed while he was speaking on the last of our late nights, and left off rather abruptly, so that he cannot be

* He had succeeded Lord Fitzwilliam as Lord-Lieutenant of Yorkshire.

depended upon for constant work. No rumour has reached me with regard to Lord Lascelles' peerage, nor does it seem to me probable. Lord Wellesley may perhaps be sent to Paris, which I make no doubt would be extremely acceptable to him; but it comes to me only as a matter of report, or rather indeed of conjecture. It is time that Sir Charles Stuart should be removed; he gives satisfaction in no one particular that concerns his mission.

We have great reason to be satisfied with all that has been done in this short session. The disturbed districts, if not improved in disposition, are in a much less alarming state than they were when Parliament was called together; and the two Libel Bills,—the first imposing stamp duties, and obliging the printers to enter into recognizances; the second making the punishment for a second offence banishment for an indefinite term of years, may be regarded as more likely than all the other measures to restore tranquillity to the whole country.

My only doubt is whether we have gone far enough in our endeavour to restrain and correct the licentiousness and abuse of the press; it is a tremendous engine in the hands of mischievous men, of which the crop never fails; and the universal rage for spreading education among the poor renders them more exposed to ill impressions, through that medium, than they were in our younger days.

I said something to that effect the other day, which of course excited plenty of misrepresentation and reprobation; but I find that more Members agree with me than choose to speak out, and there is in truth no other possible remedy against this new state of knowledge but vigilance and strictness, as to the matter which issues from the press.

The speeches of Sir James Mackintosh and Mr. Canning upon one of these Bills were singularly brilliant and entertaining; the advantage, both in splendour of diction and in argument, being decidedly in favour of the latter. He made a very hasty return from Rome for the opening of the session, which has thrown him into ill-health and gout. . . . . .

Most sincerely yours, H. BANKES.

CHAP. LVII.

1820.

VIGOUR AND SUCCESS OF THE MINISTRY IN ENGLAND. — LAWS OF GENOA. — DEATH OF THE DUKE OF KENT AND KING OF ENGLAND. — CONDUCT OF LORD W. BENTINCK IN 1814. — PRINCESS OF WALES.

MONDAY, January 3rd, Genoa. — I called on M. Girolamo Serra, who in 1814 was at the head of the Provisional Government, and sat with him some time. In the evening he returned my visit, when we were at tea, and talked English very fluently. He leads now a very retired life, seldom mixes in society, and his dining yesterday at Pallavicini's was the first time of his meeting the heads of the present Government and its Sardinian officers in any private society. His manners are gentle and reserved; he is intimately conversant with all literature, ancient and modern, and has been in England. He enters willingly into general questions of policy, political economy, colonies, &c.; but touches with pain upon any allusions to the former fortunes of Genoa, or its present state.

6th. — Twelfth Day: a holiday; all flags flying in the port, all shops shut, all churches open, music, sermons, &c.; all the world in the streets. At the Capucins a change in the front figures* — three kings, three horses, pages, soldiers, squires, flags, trumpets, blacks, &c.; one of the kings in a wig, some in red boots, some in blue, &c.

9th. — Went to the Fieschine Conservatoire, where we were received by the Marchese Balbi, who has married the daughter of Count Fiesco, the last of that ancient family so distinguished in the factions and civil wars of Genoa. This establishment is for the maintenance of

* Of the presepio.

single women, who are employed in making artificial flowers. There are now 120 in the house, but none have been admitted for the last five years, the family funds, by which this noble building is entirely maintained, having been greatly reduced by the French Revolution and consequent wars. The funds in France were cut down to one third; and those in Milan have been entirely suppressed by the Austrian Government, who refuse to pay any interest upon those funds to any foreigners. The women admitted here may marry, or retire at any time. If they marry they receive a portion — 500 livres de Genoa, from this foundation, and a share in the profits of the manufactory, of which one half goes to the house, and the other half to the benefit of the manufacturers themselves.

9th. — Fabio Pallavicini called; he told us many curious anecdotes of Buonaparte's last days at Fontainebleau, in 1814. His own journey from thence to Marie Louise, at Blois; his own going with Buonaparte to the last post near Paris, to confer with Hulin, Joseph, &c., upon defending Paris. He was three times backwards and forwards into and out of Paris, while Buonaparte was at Fontainebleau. Young Napoleon had no natural affection for his mother, but was always making excuses to get away from her. Berthier remained at Fontainebleau, attending in Buonaparte's cabinet, after he had sent to Paris his adhesion to the act for deposing him; which act Pallavicini saw in the Chancellerie at Paris, upon one of his journeys, and upon his return to Fontainebleau found Berthier at Buonaparte's bedside. Buonaparte asked, "What news from Paris? Are there any more traitors?".

10th.—Hard frost; ice in the streets two inches thick.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM MR. HATSELL.

Marden Park, Jan. 2nd, 1820.

My dear Lord,— . . . . . As the Court of Sardinia is probably at Genoa, where therefore you must, from some of the foreign Ministers, see the English newspapers, I need not

inform you that, by the energy of Administration, supported by *very great* majorities in both Houses, Bills have been passed which his Majesty's loyal subjects hope will put a stop for a time at least to the tumultuous meetings of the Radicals, and to the blasphemous publications. Lord Sidmouth has had a most fatiguing time of it. . . . . .

The Opposition have been strangely mistaken in their judgment; they should have assisted in framing these Bills instead of opposing them, as the country is decidedly against the former riotous proceedings. It is said that Lord Grey and Mr. Tierney are both unwell. But what shall we do with 846 millions of debt? Mr. Ricardo, and the merchants and bankers, propose to take 15 per cent. of our principal, if a mode could be found of laying hold of our landed property and disposing of it. Lord Grenville and Mr. Plunkett have both published their speeches.

. . . . . .

Yours faithfully, J. HATSELL.

FROM LORD REDESDALE.

Batsford, Jan. 4th, 1820.

My dear Lord,— . . . . . We have had some brushes on the subject of the Bills for *suppressing the Radicals*, but with great majorities. Lord Ellenborough has spoken sensibly, coolly, and well. There is a very bad spirit abroad, but I think it will be kept under. I doubt whether it would not have been fortunate for the country if half Manchester had been burned, and Glasgow had endured a little singeing. We shall again only scotch the snake, not kill it. So we did in 1794. I would have permitted the National Convention at that time to have met, but the Ministers did not dare to hazard the consequences. Actual rebellion is generally subdued. Smothered rebellion lurks long under the ashes.

I know not what to say of Spencer Perceval; his intimates have been too much of the Fox school. . . . . The Chancellor, I think, seems tolerably stout, and has fought the battles in the House with spirit. Others seem in general as usual. Lord Guildford stayed to give his vote, but I presume is now on his way to Corfu. He is a pleasant, but very singular man. . . . . .

The state of the country is, I think, not pleasant; but I see no ground for despairing of a change for the better, and shortly — as Lauderdale has said and protested, the prevailing distress is the necessary consequence of our great expenditure during the

war. That expenditure created a great demand for labour; the demand encouraged increase of population, and labour was found to answer the demand. When the demand ceased the increased population remained, and the distress which must have arisen from this circumstance was increased by the absurd *importation of corn and other produce*, which at one blow destroyed above 50 millions of agricultural capital, and disabled the farmers from employing even the hands they before employed; and disabled them and their landlords also from purchasing the manufactures they had been used to purchase. We have added to this evil by 3,000,000*l.* of additional taxes, which we imposed from impatience to compel the Bank to pay in gold.

We have, therefore, in my humble opinion, been acting on a mistaken policy ever since the first peace. We should not have been so impatient for economy by reducing all establishments, and thus throwing vast numbers *at once* out of employ. We should have kept the income tax, and paid with it a large portion of the debts to the Bank, which would have enabled the Bank to resume cash payments without hazard. But Opposition has been too strong and Ministers too weak. We want at this moment a daring Minister — one who will not fear to act for the best, in spite of clamour. But for this purpose he must have talent to show what is best. We want another Pitt, but where is he to be found? . . . . . .

Most truly yours, REDESDALE.

Genoa, 23rd.—The Piedmontese Government have determined on suppressing the current coin of Genoa, and substituting the Piedmontese currency, apparently as another step towards obliterating the traces of the ancient independence of the Republic, as the operation must be expensive, and the trading accounts, &c., are now kept with the Levant in Genoese money.

24th.—Fabio Pallavicini called. He spoke of the "MS. de Ste. Helène" as certainly written by Maret, Duc de Bassano, but entirely in the style of thought and expression in which Buonaparte used to converse upon the same topics.

25th.—Dined with the Pallavicinis, and met a literary party, including M. Pareto, a principal person in the Provisional Government of the Revolution, and under the English upon the surrender to Lord William Ben-

tinck. When Buonaparte sent to *require* the consent of the Genoese to be united to France, M. Pareto signed his refusal; but Buonaparte had the good sense to appoint him Mayor of Genoa in the following year.

Wednesday, Feb. 2nd.—When the present King returned from Sardinia, he found his revenue doubled by the French, and all *debts* abolished. Has since received from France the money due from thence to the Piedmontese, &c., together with all the money in the Bank of St. George, and has taken upon himself the payment of the interest. The shares sell now at 45 per cent.

All the religious orders are restored, with their property.

An edict has been prepared and signed for levying a forced loan of five millions of francs upon individuals, according to their reputed fortune. But the news of an insurrection in Spain has arrived, and the publication of the edict has been suspended.

The great families of Genoa reckon their receipts and expenses upon an average of ten years, which they call their *Decennio*, and they lay by one-tenth of their income as a security against casual diminutions. This they do not invest in any fixed purchase, but keep it in floating securities at low interests, by bills of exchange on a few of the principal commercial houses in different parts of Europe. This they call their *caisse*, or strong box, or rather their portfolio. Besides their individual property, most of the great families have a trust fund, vested in a body of trustees, which they distribute at their discretion among the poorer branches of the same name, born and resident in the Genoese territory. The Pallavicini's trustees are at this time fourteen in number. They grant small pensions, *e.g.*, one thousand livres per annum, to some; they portion the daughters of others; and defray the expense of the education of others.

The law of succession during the French dominion was that of the Code Napoleon, making an equal par-

tition of property among all children. In Genoa they retain the whole of the Civil Code Napoleon, except that of succession, for which they have restored the old Genoese law. By this the females do not share equally with the males in case of an intestate parent, but have small portions. The males share alike, but entails and primogeniture are not prohibited, though few entails are at present practised.

The want of profitable professions for younger children has kept on foot the custom of partition among the sons. Illegitimate children are also frequently treated as of the legitimate family, and were formerly recognised in wills and inscribed in the Golden Book, with the distinction only of a red cross. The King now exercises the power of legitimatising natural children; and has done so not long since in prejudice of two legitimate daughters older than the illegitimate son, and to their exclusion.

The riches of Genoa, in the middle ages, were invested chiefly in loans to Naples and Spain, afterwards to France, Sweden, and Denmark, and, last of all, were invested in the funds of Austria and England. By a law of the Neapolitan monarchy, about one hundred and fifty years ago, the property of all absentees was subjected to a triple or quadruple assessment of all taxes; and ten or twelve of the great families of Genoa have since settled in Naples.

Of foreign funds, Denmark and England are the only countries which have not confiscated or reduced the sums due to their creditors.

7th.—The news of the Duke of Kent's death came by this day's post.

8th.—Read the proclamation of Lord W. Bentinck, dated April 26th, 1814, establishing the Provisional Government in M. Serra, &c., which they resigned on the 26th December following. In this proclamation, by which Lord W. Bentinck declares the old Genoese republic to be reinstated, he alleges only "*mi sembra*" that this restoration is in conformity with the declared

intentions of the Allied Powers to restore all peoples to their ancient rights; and no specific instructions on this point as to Genoa, or other states, were ever produced by him here or in England. The proclamation is also prefaced by a "*mi pare*" that the Genoese people desire it. The phrases "*mi pare*" and "*mi sembra*" are become proverbial with the Genoese for anything vague and undefined.

The extract from Lord Castlereagh's despatch, published by General Dalrymple, in the December following, upon the reunion of Genoa to Sardinin, holds out the assurance that the happiness and prosperity of Genoa will be secured upon fixed and liberal principles under the "*governo paterno*" of His Sardinian Majesty. This phrase has also become proverbial, upon the promulgation of any new and unpopular measure.

It was curious to see the King of Sardinia a visitor in Genoa, upon his return from Sardinia, during the Provisional Government, and present at the great *fêtes* given in the Ducal Palace to celebrate the restoration of the independence of the republic. He went about everywhere, talking to everybody of all classes with the most unreserved affability; visiting also all the public establishments, and making liberal donations, having lately returned from Sardinia without a shilling in his purse,—in such a degree of indigence, that, when he took post-horses from Genoa to Turin, an inhabitant of Genoa was obliged to give security that the horses would be returned.

The Princess of Wales changed horses to-day at Genoa, at noon, on her way from Marseilles, by Savona, Genoa, and Pisa, to Rome. Her travelling party consisted of herself, with the Baron Courier, and a Frenchwoman, in one carriage; and the Baron's brother and sister, and William Austin, and another female in a second carriage; both battered old German *calèches*.

9th. — By the Paris papers news came of the King of England's death on the 29th of January.

CHAP. LVIII.

1820.

RESUMPTION OF CASH PAYMENTS. — PROPOSED ESTABLISHMENT OF A BRITISH FACTORY AT GENOA. — ASSASSINATION OF THE DUC DE BERRI. — DANGEROUS ILLNESS OF GEORGE IV. — HIS WISH FOR A DIVORCE. — CONDUCT OF QUEEN CAROLINE. — ACQUISITION OF WEALTH BY BERGAMO. — THISTLEWOOD'S CONSPIRACY. — THE KING OF SPAIN ACCEPTS THE CONSTITUTION OF 1812. — PROSECUTION OF HUNT, ETC. — ILL-TREATMENT OF ENGLISH BY ITALIAN POLICE. — NEW ELECTIONS IN ENGLAND. — LETTERS FROM MR. BANKES AND MR. WILBRAHAM. — VIOLENCE OF ENGLISH AND SCOTCH RADICALS. — MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION IN GENOA.

LETTER FROM MR. B. WILBRAHAM.

Portland Place, Feb. 7th, 1820.

MY dear Lord, — I am not aware that I can communicate much more information than the newspapers, if so much, but as a letter from London at a moment like the present is supposed to be interesting, I write a few lines.

The death of the poor King was not expected by the public in general, but those who were about him saw a rapid change taking place, and a loathing of nourishment and other symptoms; and when I was at Windsor three weeks ago, the Duke of York, who had not seen him for five or six days, was much affected at the change.

He died without any pain, spoke a short time before his death, and had no gleam of returning reason, which Dr. Willis then told me he would not have. Since his death we have been in some danger of losing the present King, who has been very ill of an inflammation of the chest, which was cured by his losing 130 ounces of blood. This loss would have killed you or me, but he is so accustomed to being bled, that the day after the operation was performed his pulse was at 84. He is now recovering, but I expect that his constitution will not be the better for this violent, though necessary, discipline.

He held a Privy Council two days after the King's death, and was forced to exert himself, which I believe was rather against

him; but he has not done anything of the sort since, and I hope he will soon recover his strength.

No political change has taken place under the circumstances of the country, but we look forward to a dissolution of Parliament; and whether it will be early or late, before the ensuing session of Parliament or after it, it is the question about which we are very anxious; though I am not of the number, it being a matter of indifference to me when I visit my Dover * friends.

Brougham, it is said, has sent the Queen a detailed account of her patronage, which, as you know, is considerable, and a blank patent for the office of her Attorney-General; when this returns filled up he will form a third party in the House of Commons, and probably will be very troublesome to both the others; though the Whigs will contrive to agree with him as often as they can.

You will be glad to hear that we are as peaceable and quiet as lambs in Lancashire; that seditious printers, drillers at night, and others were found guilty by the juries at the Manchester Sessions, and were sentenced to various punishments without a single murmur being heard in court. I understand that this implicit obedience to the laws has produced a sensation of considerable surprise on the Continent, where people imagined us on the eve of a revolution. I confess that I imagined we should not have been so quiet in the North as we are. Hunt and Co., you know, are to be tried at the Spring Lancashire Assizes. . . . . .

The Bank resumed bullion payments on the 1st February, in ingots (to the amount of 300*l.*), commonly called Ricardos; and I understand that in the first three days only three were applied for. One for Lord Thanet, one for a country banker, from curiosity, and the other I know not for whom. The price of gold is from two to three shillings below the Mint price, which accounts for this little demand.

Yours very truly,

E. B. WILBRAHAM.

Genoa, Feb. 17th. — Dined at Mr. Hill's.† In the evening had a full conversation with him upon the politics of Genoa; and he agreed to the policy of establishing a British factory here, which, it appears, did

* Mr. Wilbraham was M.P. for Dover.

† Mr. Hill, brother of Lord Berwick, was our Minister at the Court of Turin.

formerly subsist here in the time of the Republic, and ought now the rather to be established and protected, as it is the great wish of the Sardinian and British Courts to consider Genoa as a fortified tête de pont—a strong place of arms for the refuge of the Sardinian Royal Family in time of war, and the British key of Italy. The establishment of a factory here would likewise cut off all the minor difficulties about places of worship, chaplains, &c., which have been so long in suspense, and now only rest upon a tacit consent of the Turin Government, which presents no sufficient invitation to any permanent residence of any clergyman from England.

Lord W. Bentinck admitted to Mr. Hill at Turin that he ought only to have taken a military possession of Genoa in 1814, and waited afterwards for further instructions; but there was some vague phrase in Lord Bathurst's old despatches which had left a vague option of the course to be adopted in Italy, &c.

21*st.* — Comte D'Ison brought intelligence of the assassination of the Duc de Berri as he was coming out of a masked ball at the Opera in Paris. The assassin, a young man, a saddler, was apprehended with the stiletto in his hand. The cause not known.

In Sardinia, when the King went over to escape from the French, the annual average of assassinations in that island was 500. When he left it to resume his Piedmontese Government, they amounted to 1200 annually.

Before the French Revolution assassinations were frequent in Genoa, and I am assured that instances have occurred of a man going into a public coffee-houses desiring the bystanders to make way, that he might take aim at another man, whom he then shot dead with a loaded blunderbuss, and afterwards took refuge in the hall of a private palace, where he went on with his former trade of cobbler or the like, without the police daring to touch him; and such assassinations were committed not from any personal quarrel of the assassin

with the murdered man, but to gratify some third person by whom the assassin had been employed and paid.

This day a man was hanged on the Old Mole for piracy and murder. Capital sentences are rare. Formerly the accomplices, who fled from justice, were hanged at the same time in effigy, which, however, is now thought ridiculous and is discontinued.

The prisons of Genoa are full of prisoners tried and untried. A not unusual sentence to the galleys is "for 101 years!"

28*th*. — News from Paris of the resignation of M. Decazes, now a Duke, and of the appointment of the Duc de Richelieu to be First Minister.

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER FROM MR. BANKES.

Old Palace Yard, Feb. 15th.

Dear Colchester, — Your kind letter of Jan. 29th (the day of our poor King's death) reached me last week. I was just returned hither before that not unexpected event, which seems likely to be attended with some untoward consequences that were not foreseen, and of which, indeed, it is not easy at this moment to guess what may be the ultimate termination.

His present Majesty, who, by-the-bye, was in the most immediate danger of following, instead of succeeding, his father on the second and third day of his reign, is most firmly bent upon a divorce from his odious and infamous consort. This, we must agree, is natural enough for him to wish, but as those who must carry his project into effect very naturally cast about and calculate their means, his Ministers report to him unanimously that it is *not feasible*, and neither can, nor ought to be, attempted. He perseveres. He insists most obstinately. The Ministers *positively refuse*. He threatens to dismiss them all, to which they reply that they are ready and willing to retire from his service. Written papers and argumentations of considerable length pass between them upon the subject of marriages and divorces, of which those coming from the Palace are supposed to be the productions of the Vice-Chancellor Leach, who, if he be in his Sovereign's confidence, has, I fancy, the confidence of no other person in his dominions. This is our actual state of political uncertainty, Parliament being to assemble on the day after to-morrow.

As speculations ought to follow facts, my conjecture is that His Majesty, finding himself upon reflection completely without a remedy, must give way, and make his peace with his existing Administration with the best grace that he can. No other party can or will undertake the business of the divorce for him; nor are there any other circumstances that would make the Whigs, as I conceive, forward and desirous to take upon themselves the task of serving him. Lord Grenville has left them; Lord Grey is in feeble health; Mr. Tierney by no means stout; they would all object to Leach for Lord Chancellor, and as the personal friend of the King. The present Cabinet stood firmly united, so that not a single deserter can be expected from thence. Whether any overtures have been yet made on the part of the King, either to individuals or to the heads of Opposition, I know not but if I chance to hear anything worth adding before the post goes out, you shall have it. . . . . .

Most sincerely yours, H. BANKES.

FROM MR. H. LEGGE.

Putney, Feb. 16th, 1820.

My dear Lord Colchester . . . . . Three days after the good old King's death his successor was so alarmingly ill that serious apprehensions began to be entertained that the longest reign in our annals would be followed by the shortest known in history. His appearance at the Council on Saturday last was that of a person very much reduced by illness, very pale, very weak and tottering . . . . . .

The death of the Duke of Kent, of the King, and the danger of His present Majesty, and a divorce, have put minor subjects into the background. That some process is intended I have good reason to believe. What it is to be, or what shape it is to assume, I do not know. There seems to be a general expectation that the lady will return to this country.

Recollect, if you can, the words of the Statute 25 Edward III.* Remember *who* the parties are in this instance; where they have lived, and tell me whether you do not agree with me in thinking that the lady's head, and the gentleman's too, are as safe as yours or mine.

* This statute, which made it high treason for any subject to commit adultery with the Queen within the realm, appeared neither to touch any foreigner, nor perhaps any act committed abroad by a subject.

Degradation is another question. The evidence of criminality is, I am told, conclusive; if so, it is not to be expected that she will be permitted quietly to assume her new dignity and exert its privileges. Her income has for the present entirely ceased, Parliament having, as you well know, not granted it for life, and that at the suggestion of her own friends. It is an unpleasant subject in whatever light it is viewed, and can hardly fail to make a disturbance. The common notion is that the present Parliament will be dissolved very soon, and that the question will not be stirred till the new Parliament is assembled. Leaving out her former title, and not inserting her present one in the daily prayers of the Church, looks like striking the first blow. . . . . .

Most truly yours, H. LEGGE.

P.S. Feb. 17th. The report now is, that a compromise has taken place, and that the lady is to receive an increase of income if she will remain on the other side of the water.*

FROM MR. HATSELL.

Feb. 21st, 1820.

My dear Lord . . . . . It is understood that after passing a short Mutiny Bill, a short Civil List Bill, and another for continuing the late Princess of Wales's annuity, Parliament will be dissolved on the 29th, or on the 1st of March. Last week all the Ministry were out, and the Vice-Chancellor, the confidential adviser and director of His Majesty's conscience. At present all this appears to have passed over. . . . . .

Yours faithfully, J. HATSELL.

Wednesday, March 1st. — Went to the Ducal Palace to see the investiture of a Knight of the Order of San Maurizio e Lazaro, which took place in the ancient chapel of the Doge; the new knight was M. Blondel,

* In fact, on this day the Ministers, who had suggested to the King "the annexation of the condition of the Queen's continued residence abroad to the grant of a liberal provision," had received from him a written acquiescence in "this great and painful sacrifice of his personal feelings, for the sake of public decorum and the public interest," and had proposed to them an Act to enable them to grant Her Majesty an annuity of 50,000*l.* The difference between that sum and her former annuity of 35,000*l.* being "to be granted or withholden at His Majesty's pleasure, or upon such other conditions as His Majesty should think fit to impose." — See the documents in *Stapleton's Canning*, pp. 285-287.

Lieut.-Colonel of the Regiment of Saluzzo, now in garrison here. M. Cabraso, ex-President of the Senate of Nice, by delegation from the King, conferred the Order, and Comte D'Ison was the Promoteur, or knight introducing the candidate. The ceremony was accompanied by the mass, in the course of which the new knight received the sword, mantle, and cross, with its green ribbon; also the spurs, and took the oath of the Order on his knees before the Grand Master; M. Cambias acting as such. The mantle is rose-coloured silk, with a large white cross in front, the lining white silk. The Grand Master with a train borne; no caps for the knights, but the Grand Master wore his hat. The oath, besides obliging to chastity, and repeating "The Office," every day, and fasting on Friday and Saturday, pledges the knight to his King, and to succour the poor and "Leprous."

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER FROM LORD COLCHESTER TO MR. BANKES.

Genoa, March 2nd, 1820.

Dear Bankes,—Many thanks for your kind and interesting letter of February 2nd, detailing the first act of a tragi-comedy, if such it may be called, whereof there must be more to come. The lawyers I must presume to have been right upon the question of indictment, but surely there is something between a block and a crown. It cannot be endured that such a dishonour to a sovereign and nation should walk about Europe to the scandal (anyhow) of public morality, and with a parade of infamy which makes all our countrymen ashamed of the Councils which can tolerate such a reproach; and, therefore, as I cannot suppose that it is meant to leave political power and regal dignity in such hands, I must presume that some other course is in contemplation. It may be quite as well that the case does not require the cutting off of heads in this or any other day; but a separate maintenance, deprived of the appendages of a court, and a prescribed domicile, may be reasonably laid down as fundamental principles of such an arrangement as must now be made; and evidence, though not conclusive to one purpose, may, if challenged and brought to light, be more than amply sufficient for another. The original domicile of the family, or

the German dominions of the husband, might either of them afford that suitable home, at which alone the maintenance would be payable; and justice or compassion to the offending party would demand that some effectual steps should be taken for rescuing her out of her present servitude or captivity; for all people in these parts consider such to be her situation.

The estates purchased by her companion and his relatives in the Milanese are of such a magnitude, and so notorious is the fact, that nothing but the plunder of her British purse could have furnished the means. Conduct without precedent requires unprecedented measures; and it is only to be considered how little are base connivance and private compact suited to such a state of things as is now exhibited upon the stage of Europe. Of course nothing can be proposed of any sort that will not be made the subject of discussion in Parliament, and in every newspaper; so that nothing will be gained, and much will be lost, if the one right thing is not done through any fears of disclosing what is already the theme of every inn in every town from Tuscany to Languedoc . . . . . .

Very affectionately yours, Colchester.

6*th*. — The French practice of lettres de cachet has been put in practice by the Court of Turin, recently.

8*th*. — News from England of Thistlewood's attempt to assassinate all the Cabinet Ministers at Lord Harrowby's dinner.

11*th*.—In this evening's "Gazette" appeared a Royal Ordinance of the King of Sardinia, appointing a Commission of three persons, viz.: Gloria, Advocate-Generale; Montiglio, Procuratore-Generale; and Comte Ceresa, to prepare a new Code of Civil and Criminal Law; and letters were addressed to the Supreme Councils and magistrates, inviting them to communicate their observations and suggestions for the improvement of this revised and enlarged code, as best adapted to present circumstances.

15*th*. — Went with Falio Pallavicini to visit the prisons for criminals in the tower of the Ducal Palace, and the old convent of St. Andrew. The tower as bad as possible, the prison of St. Andrew reasonably good; both probably in their best state, as there had been a week's notice of our intended visit, and fresh notice

for this day. So much the better, at least for the prisoners.

Mr. Hill went to England to-day, and took with him the petition for the factory, signed by the Consul and fifteen merchants.

23rd.—News from Spain in the "Turin Gazette," with a copy of the King's proclamation convoking the Cortes; and another in the evening of the same day, by which the King declares his swearing to accept the Constitution of 1812.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM LORD COLCHESTER TO MR. BANKES.

Genoa, March 23rd.

Dear Bankes,— . . . . . We have had Lord W. Bentinck here. It seems that at Naples he is so much out of favour that the Neapolitan Government refused this winter to give him a passport to go from Rome to Naples, and allowed Lady William, excluding him by name. This is understood to have arisen from some personal offence which he gave by his conduct when in Sicily.

The answer given at Rome to her Majesty Queen Caroline of England when she applied for a guard of honour, and the reception due to a crowned head, was not amiss. Gonsalvi sent her word "that his Holiness had not yet received any official account of the death of George III." And sure enough he may wait some time, and so may she, before that despatch is presented by any accredited Minister from England to that Court,— at least I suppose so. . . . . .

Ever most affectionately yours, COLCHESTER.

FROM MR. H. LEGGE.

Navy Office, March 24th.

My dear Lord Colchester,— . . . . . Intelligence is just received of Sir Francis Burdett's conviction at Leicester, subject, however, to a motion in arrest of judgment, on the ground that no publication was proved in that county. The evidence against Hunt and his myrmidons at York is supposed by those who have had more time to go through it than I, to be rather weak. Apprehensions are even entertained that the case against Thistlewood and his notorious gang will not be so made

out as to produce a conviction for treason. There are those also who suspect that from the defect in the warrant of arrest they may escape from the charge of murder. I have been told that the reported defect has no existence, and I hope it may turn out so, knowing the difficulty of convicting a traitor, and the comparative ease of proving guilt upon a murderer. If the officers were not justified under the warrant in breaking open the door *of an Englishman's castle*, I suspect that Sir Michael Foster and other great luminaries of criminal law would not have considered a hayloft in Cato Street as coming under that description, or entitled to the same protection.

Lord Ebrington has withdrawn from the contest in Devonshire, and Mr. Cavendish from that in Sussex. Lord Sheffield has been as strenuous and alert against him as if he were but twenty years old. Mr. Mellish seems, too, likely to lose his seat for Middlesex, for which I am very sorry; and Mr. Lamb's case in Westminster seems hopeless, to which I am indifferent. Hobhouse will certainly be a disgrace to Parliament, but if the good citizens of Westminster choose to be *mis*represented there is no help for it. Young Whitbread has no pretensions whatever to represent the county, especially in opposition to such a man as Mellish, whose property and character equally entitle him to support. The livery in London are in some degree restored to their senses, but are still too much attached to that vain, foolish, busybody, Mr. Alderman Wood, citizen and fishmonger. Waithman's defeat is, however, glorious. . . . . .

Ever most sincerely yours, H. Legge.

28*th.*—*Genoa.* Went to see the Albergo dei Poveri. 1000 women and girls; healthy, clean, and employed in spinning, weaving, and embroidery, in good taste. The men and boys, 500, employed in picking wool and weaving coarse cloth and carpets. The men were all unhealthy-looking, sallow, and half-starved, having only the same quantity of food as the women, viz. a pound of bread and half a pint of soup per day, with a small portion of meat on Sundays and festivals, and some wine.

Afterwards went to see the great hospital, where all the sick wards were dressed up with branches of box-wood and flowers; and all the town, old and young, were parading up and down through the hospital, it

being the anniversary for making a collection of alms. Prince Carreza, with some of the governors, sat below at the great door, and his daughter-in-law, with Madame D'Ison and other ladies, upon the upper floor, with their plates. There were many napoleons. All the officers and privates of the garrison came, "by the King's order," to give their contributions, more or less.

30*th.*—Went at twelve to the Church of S. Lorenzo, and saw the archbishop wash the feet of thirteen poor men, representing the twelve Apostles with Judas in addition. He was magnificently dressed in violet and gold tissue robe, with diamond cross, and tissue half-boots. He took his seat under the marble canopy in the Chapel of St. John the Baptist, whose ashes are kept here, and, being undressed by his attendants, washed the right foot of each of the thirteen, who were seated upon an upper bench, dressed in coloured robes; and after wiping and kissing the foot, he presented each with a bouquet and an eight-livre piece. He then returned to his seat, was re-dressed and with his mitre and crosier returned in procession out of the church.

31*st.*—Good Friday. This day is *not* observed with the same solemnity as the Annunciation or Lady Day. Then all shops were shut, and no business was done in the port. To-day the port was as busy as on any other day; mules loading, blacksmiths hammering, &c. As Southey says in his "History of the Brazils," "the Virgin Mary is the 'Magna Mater' of the Roman Catholic religion."

Saturday, April 1*st.*—Upon this day it is the custom in Italy, as in England, to make April Fools, which are here called "April Fish."

4*th.*—Captain Birch came to my house, and I went with him to the Governor to complain of his arrest by the police carabiniers on Saturday last at Sestri; little regard being paid to the ill-conduct of the soldiers in detaining him from three in the afternoon till half-past ten at night, merely because he was walking in a shooting jacket and stopping at a public house in Sestri for

a public stage to carry him home to Genoa. The charge was that he had no passport; and they refused him pen and ink to write and acquaint his friends that they might identify him to be the person whom he represented himself to be, viz. a captain in the British service of the Royal Engineers, and brother-in-law to the Marchese Mari in the Campetto.

6*th*.—Captain Birch came with Comte Geney's answer to the Consul respecting his arrest; evasive, and tending to justify the proceedings. I drew up heads of reply for the Consul, concluding with a request to know:

1. What punishment was intended for the carabiniers for this brutal proceeding? 2. Whether, as the Government seemed to intimate, all British officers, though not on actual service, nor belonging to any corps here, must always wear their uniform? 3. Whether all British subjects must carry about them their passports if they went out beyond the walls of the city for the ordinary purposes of exercise or recreation?

It seems to be the law that the carabiniers making any such arrest must carry the party before the Sudacco of the commune; and without his authority cannot arrest anybody.

10*th*.—The British Consul and Vice-Consul came to settle an alteration in the letter to the Governor on Captain Birch's affair; the Governor having taken an unfounded objection to a phrase, as accusing him of severity, which did not, and could not in fair syntax, apply to anybody but the carabiniers. But it was altered, and the letter re-delivered to the Governor. Captain Birch called afterwards. His own relations had seen him in the street when in custody, and thought it was some criminal going to gaol.

15*th*.—The Consul brought a further communication from the Governor concluding with the declaration that Captain Birch had been treated with great indulgence, and that, if he thought otherwise, he might go to law before the competent tribunals, where he would suffer for his insolence to the carabiniers.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM MR. H. BANKES.

Old Palace Yard, April 6th.

Dear Colchester,— . . . . . The result of several of the elections is highly unsatisfactory, particularly that for this city, for the celebration of which by the chairing of Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Hobhouse they are now erecting seats and accommodations in Piccadilly for the amusement among others of my Lord Chancellor, whose new house in Hamilton Place, where we have just now (strange to tell!) been partaking of a handsome breakfast, commands a front view of the whole procession. In the city of London they have done much better; but, in Middlesex, Mellish could make no stand against the Radicals, who are growing much more powerful in Scotland and the North of England than we can contemplate their becoming without serious alarm. . . . . .

The trial of the conspirators in Cato Street will be held on Monday next, beginning with Thistlewood for High Treason, of which, if he should be convicted, several of the others will be tried for the murder only. Our laws of treason allow of so many chances for the escape of the guilty, that we cannot look without some apprehension and misgivings now at the most flagrant cases.

Ministers calculate that their loss in point of numbers will be very trifling, comparing the New House of Commons with the last; but my own conjecture carries me to a difference of 7 or 10, which will tell upon the back of 150. In the English county elections there appears to be a difference of only one against the Government, five being changed in their favour, and six against them. I have not yet asked any of those who know what is intended with regard to the New Civil List; but the rumour is that it will not be increased; the King, however, is throwing away immense sums upon the two Moorish rooms at Brighton, for which he will be much puzzled to pay out of his present income.

You ask me about his health; it is by no means re-established. He looked and felt ill when he was in Town last, for one day only. He returned on the next to Brighton, without acquainting his Ministers. At Brighton he has a very small, but the same dinner party daily, one of the company being Mr. Curwen, a bankrupt.

The Queen is said to be coming hither, and very lately sent over a person whom she commissioned by all means to hire a house for her if all the palaces were shut against her. Ministers,

however, do not believe that she will come. She is said finally to have separated from the Baron. . . . . .

Most truly yours, H. Bankes.

FROM MR. HATSELL.

Marden Park, April 10th, 1820.

My dear Lord,— . . . . . Not being in the habit of meeting Mr. Tierney in society, I can learn nothing from authority with respect to the event of the late general election. However, from what I have heard from both sides, I guess the difference, either way, will be found to be very trifling, perhaps not exceeding ten. Administration have lost in county Members, owing, in some instances, to their friends retiring from Parliament without giving notice. Mr. Hobhouse is returned triumphantly, and will probably bring the House of Commons into some difficulty, and himself into the Tower. Mr. Canning has printed a most excellent speech, which he made at a Liverpool dinner, and which, I see, is to be answered by Mr. Cobbett. . . . . .

I hear that His Majesty is gaining health, and beginning to think of the coronation, and new furniture in the House of Lords. *Her* Majesty is not arrived, and, though frequently held out *in terrorem*, I believe, never will arrive in these dominions. What would have happened had her daughter lived? . . . . . Yours very faithfully,

J. Hatsell.

FROM MR. WILBRAHAM.

April 11th, 1820.

My dear Lord,—Your letter of March 23rd reached me a few days ago, and I write early in order to tell you all the news that occurs to me. And first, as to the new Parliament, the Members of which, with perhaps the exception of an Irish county, or town, or two, are elected.

There have been partial changes in various parts, and in some the Ministers have gained, and in others lost. In England and Wales, I understand, that the Members are within one or two of what they were in the last session. In Scotland and Ireland there is a gain; therefore, I imagine, that the divisions will not be materially different from what they have been of late years. Lascelles has quitted the House of Commons, and was to have been called up by writ, but he is now Earl of

Harewood.* Morritt has retired into private life; . . . . but as I suppose you see the English newspapers, I need not waste paper by telling you the changes in different places, *pro* or *con*. . . . . Sir Herbert Taylor's return for Windsor was very much against his inclination, but the King desired him to stand, and, after all His Majesty's kindness in wishing him to be appointed Military Secretary to the Duke of York, there were no means of refusing. He is aware of the awkwardness of the two situations as to the questions which he may be asked, and as to his whole time being engaged. We shall soon have business enough to detain us in town till late in the summer. The Civil List will afford ample materials for debate, and the Queen will also be a fertile subject, unless she prefers remaining where she is, which is not unlikely, if she is well paid for keeping away, and if she knows that her foreign attendants, high and low, are liable to be sent away under the Alien Act.

Of the state of the country I hardly know what to say. I know what it would have been if juries had not done their duty, which they have manfully done of late. Hunt, as you are aware, had his trial moved by the Court of King's Bench from Lancashire to Yorkshire, the worst county for the purpose, as being that in which it was made a party question, whether the Manchester meeting was illegal or not. And I certainly expected that an acquittal would be the consequence, especially as Judge Bailey really appears to have been intimidated by Hunt, and behaved to him as he would to a leading counsel on the Circuit, and obviously summed up for an acquittal. Scarlett, who led for the Crown as Attorney-General of the Northern Circuit, I believe to have been in earnest in the cause notwithstanding his votes and speeches in the last Session; but he seems to have mismanaged the prosecution, and not to have brought forward all that he was capable of doing, for he should either have done without Hutton's evidence, or he should have called others, there being plenty at York to confirm it, and not have left the whole burthen on one pair of shoulders.

As one part of the question was not touched, I imagine that the subject will be brought again before Parliament; and I am not certain whether, for the sake of the magistrates and of justice, I shall not support an inquiry, however bad a tribunal the House of Commons may be. I understand that the Opposition mean to propose one. In Lancashire all is quiet at present, and I hear of no disposition to rise. About Leeds and

* Having succeeded his father.

Huddersfield there are strong symptoms of that disposition, and in Scotland there has actually been an action between a small party of radicals and of soldiers, part of whom are a troop of yeomanry raised by Sir Charles Edmonstone. I hardly think, however, that matters will come to an open insurrection to any extent, though there may be partial disturbances in various parts of the manufacturing districts, which will require the vigilance of Government, and of the officers who command the army in the disturbed parts; Sir John Byng is, I believe, heartily tired of and harassed by his command, but he does not feel it right to give it up.

The newspapers have probably told you that Canning has lost his eldest son, which I consider on the whole as a fortunate circumstance*, and so probably will he after his first affliction is over. . . . .

With regard to the health of the King, I believe it to be now tolerably good. His disinclination to use much exercise arises (as he told a friend of mine), from his ankle-bones being extremely slender, and unable to bear the weight of his body without swelling. He added, that he pays dear now for what he used to pride himself on when a young man. One of the Princesses told Mrs. Wilbraham lately, that he is rather indolent and fond of his bed. They wish him to show himself in public at the various theatres, but he is so much out of the habit of that sort of thing that he does not seem to fancy it, and perhaps he may not like, in these radical times, to expose himself unnecessarily.

He is very determined to have his coronation this summer, and talks of July for it, but I imagine that it could hardly take place till August or perhaps September, in consequence of the arrangements which are necessary. There would perhaps be no harm in deferring it for a year, but he has set his mind upon it, and likes the show and the bustle of the preparation for it. He has invited his sister, the Landgravine of Homburg, to come here for the occasion, which she does not feel much inclined to do, but cannot resist his wish, if expressed strongly. It will be a curious sight to see, and I have a chance of a near view, in my character of one of the Barons of the Cinque Ports, of whom sixteen support the canopy. The Barons do not mean the Members exclusively, for *every freeman* of the Cinque Ports is a Baron, but I shall be tempted to get myself delegated for the purpose by the Corporation of Dover.

. . . . . .

* He was a cripple.

Of Spanish matters I am not able to speak, not exactly understanding them sufficiently, but I am sorry to find from my letters from Lancashire, that the Revolution which is accomplishing in that kingdom is dwelt upon by our Reformers as a plan for them to follow. Yours very truly, E. B. W.

P.S. Mrs. W.*, who has looked over my letter, tells me that I am mistaken about Sir H. Taylor. The King desired him to stand for Windsor before there was any question about his appointment with the Duke of York (which by the bye he refused seventeen years ago), and which he would willingly have declined now if he could have done so with propriety.

Genoa, Monday 17th. — Result of my conversation yesterday evening with the Senator Gratarola at Madame Pallavicini's.

Municipal Administration of Genoa.

The Corps de Ville is composed of the Decurioni, viz., eighty persons, of whom forty are of the ancient nobility, and forty of the richest and most respectable citizens not noble. The President of the Senate who always has (at the end of the first year, if not sooner) the Grand Cross of San Maurizio, is the chief magistrate. To be one of the Decurioni in any great city of Italy, is of itself a distinction, and gives admission at Court.

Town duties, upon the entrance of wine, meat, and other articles of subsistence, called an *octroi*, to the amount of about 9000*l.* sterling per annum, are collected and administered by the Decurioni, who divide themselves into committees for that purpose: one portion of the revenue goes of course to pay the officers employed; the second goes to maintain the general hospital and certain other charitable establishments; the residue is laid out in public works, such as widening streets, removing nuisances, planting trees, &c. The magistrates to whom these duties are assigned are called Ædiles.

State Offices. All the highest offices of the State

* Mrs. W. was sister to Sir H. Taylor.

are open to persons of all degrees of rank, and none belong exclusively to nobles except those of Grand Chambellan, Grand Veneur, and Grand Ecuyer. Of the present and late Ministers, Secretaries of State, &c., many have been sons of farmers, physicians, &c.

The three law officers of the Crown, viz., the Procureur-Général, for the royal prerogative, domains, &c.; the Avocat-Général, for civil and criminal suits; and the Avocat-Fiscal, for matters of revenue, have extensive establishments, and receive into their offices, as into a nursery for men of business, such young men as are desirous of rising in the public service. These serve gratuitously and voluntarily, and, if they distinguish themselves in the particular affairs assigned to their superintendence or conduct, they are promoted to be prefects, judges, senators, &c. The great object of ambition is to become Premier President of the Senate of Savoy, Piedmont, or Genoa, which rank in that order of precedence, although the Senate of Turin, as residing with the Court, is most in request. The Secretary of State for the Interior is usually promoted to one of these offices. There exists the office of Grand Chancelier, but it is not at present filled; its rank and emoluments being such as place it on a footing with the princes of the blood royal. Its duties are usually executed by some person "*faisant les fonctions*," a sort of provisional occupant. Upon a demise of the Crown, all the Ministers are subordinate to the authority of the Grand Chancelier, and address themselves to him for orders, until the successor to the throne has received the homage of the great bodies of the State, the Senate, &c. This is called the Bacio Mano, and then only he begins to exercise the functions of royalty. This interregnum lasts a few days; there is no ceremony of coronation.

20*th*. — Received from Borrelli a copy of Buonaparte's Decree of February 17th, 1810, uniting the Roman State to the French Empire, and *ordaining that all Popes should swear* not to dispute the four articles

of 1682, establishing the liberties of the Gallican Church, declaring also that these liberties belong to all Catholic countries within the French Empire.

The Concordat of Fontainebleau was actually signed by Pius VIII., Jan. 25th, 1803, but was revoked fifteen days afterwards, as exceeding the Papal power. Nevertheless Buonaparte decreed its execution by proclamation, dated Feb. 13th and March 25th, 1813.

N.B. On the 3rd of May I met M. Borelli and Conte Carbonara at M. Pallavicini's. We talked over this Concordat; and Conte Carbonara, who was then a Senator, at Paris, assured me that this Concordat, to which the Pope had been persuaded by Cardinal Daru and the other *Red* Cardinals, as they were called, was within the same month revoked by the Pope at the instance of the Cardinal de San Pietro and others, who were called the Black Cardinals, being then in disgrace. But Buonaparte persisted.

By this Concordat the Pope virtually allowed Buonaparte to nominate and give institution to all bishops within the French Empire, except ten, to be named afterwards, and the six suburban bishoprics of Rome.

CHAP. LIX.

1820.

LETTER FROM LORD COLCHESTER ON THE QUEEN, ETC.—EXPULSION OF THE JESUITS FROM RUSSIA.—ARRIVAL OF THE QUEEN AT DOVER.—QUESTION OF THE ALLOWANCE OF PROTESTANT WORSHIP AT GENOA.—DEATH OF GRATTAN.—NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE KING AND QUEEN.—FEELINGS OF THE ARMY.—LETTER FROM LORD COLCHESTER TO MR. BANKES ON ENGLISH TRADE WITH ITALY, ETC.—CONVICTION OF SIR F. BURDETT FOR LIBEL.—CANNING'S CONDUCT ON THE QUEEN'S BUSINESS.—ABDICATION OF THE KING OF NAPLES.

FROM LORD COLCHESTER TO MR. BANKES.

Genoa, April 29th, 1820.

DEAR BANKES,— . . . . . Elections being over, and the account of votes in the House of Commons balanced, the result is such as I had anticipated, and I do not think that, upon any trial of strength in the new Parliament, the issue will be different from the former, in which the Opposition made so poor a show in competition with the existing Administration. You will rapidly, and probably better than if more slowly, settle Civil List, Budget, Parliamentary Reform, and Her Majesty's Establishment, before the middle of July; and I only hope that, upon the latter subject His Majesty's Ministers will take a larger view of the question than merely so far as concerns *His* Majesty and *Her* Majesty. The true question is not what *they* shall do, or what *they* shall personally agree upon as convenient to their respective ease and emolument, but how far it is fitting for the British Empire to acknowledge for its Queen and invest with all the dignity and influence of the Throne, a vagabond Princess, whose conduct has degraded the nation and lowered the standard of public morals. Surely this is a question of much higher importance than the likes and dislikes of any individuals, and it is to be judged of by other principles; and it must be decided *at the outset*, once for all. Should the present change in her situation be passed by and her relative position be slurred over by some temporary compromise, you will have her in a few months setting up her household in London, a rallying point for all the

discontented politicians; and it will then be too late to talk of past occurrences after the proper day of inquiry has been suffered to slip by. Be assured that this is the plan by which she will be advised to evade all present questions of impropriety in her continental travels.

If, imprudently, she sets you all at defiance, then indeed she may bring down upon herself what it seems the wish of Government to avoid; and she may do that for them which they seem wanting in spirit to do for themselves and their country. And so I quit this disgraceful subject.

Those who persuade themselves that they have good means of knowing the state of Italy think it upon the eve of as much mischief as the Radicals or Liberals of other parts of Europe have produced or are producing. The flight of Monsignore Pacca from Rome is represented to belong to dark transactions, in which Lucien Buonaparte, and a set of persons called the Carbonari, have embarked: the clue to this conspiracy having been derived from the dying confession of a distinguished partisan of the Buonaparte school, an Avvocato Bertolacci. Naples and Tuscany are supposed to be mutually involved in the consequences of these plots, and the Austrians, it is understood, are not disposed to be indifferent to the issue. Many persons have been arrested, many have fled, some have been taken within the limits of Italy, others have escaped by Antibes into France.

A Dutch squadron, which had been here for some days, sailed this morning for Toulon; some disagreement with Algiers appears to have brought them into these parts. His Highness the Dey having chopped off the head of the Dutch Consul's wife, and taken his daughter for safe custody into his seraglio. In other respects we do not hear of any excesses committed by the Barbaresque powers, nor of any depredations upon the trade of the Mediterranean.

The great obstacle to commerce in the South of Europe is the exclusive system adopted by the Austrian, French, Sardinian, Tuscan, and Neapolitan governments, who carry on a war of prohibitory duties and confiscations, in the vain and impolitic endeavours to improve their own international prosperity, by encouraging local industry among their own subjects, and impoverishing their neighbours. If this be true political wisdom, trade and commerce are erroneous notions in political economy; and mankind should long ago have exploded them as heretical. But I apprehend that a poor neighbour is a bad customer for any surplus produce, if you have or hope to have any: and that a

private family would not find it the cheapest way of living to employ no butcher, tailor, or shoemaker, but such as they could retain in the number of their own servants, and within their own walls. . . . . .

Ever most truly yours, COLCHESTER.

Genoa, Wednesday, May 3rd. — News of the final expulsion of the Jesuits from Russia for attempting to seduce from the rites of the Greek Church the young subjects of the Emperor, who had been placed under them for education. The Russian decree bears date 25th of March last.

6th. — Printed placards have been stuck up within these forty-eight hours in the streets of Genoa, "Constitution and Liberty, or Death." Regulations are issued to prohibit the wearing of cockades without permission, except by foreign Consuls, &c.

FROM MR. H. LEGGE.

Navy Office, May 8th.

My dear Lord Colchester,— . . . . . I cannot yet believe that Her Majesty will venture to set her foot on this island. She may threaten, and she may bully, but I trust she will be better advised. If she comes, there can be no doubt that every palace will be shut against her, and that her treatment will be such as she *ought* to expect. She would, however, make a great disturbance, and would have all the Radicals and all the Reformers at her feet. . . . . The newspapers say that the Duke of Sussex is to succeed Lord Talbot*, but upon this point the Chancellor of the Exchequer left me in the dark. . . . . When Lord Talbot resigned, I remember hearing that he was tired of office, and did not mean to resume it. Since that time it has been sometimes supposed that he was holding back in the hope of helping to form an Administration more to his mind than the present, in conjunction with the Wellesley family, the Grenvilles, and Canning. . . . . .

The conviction of the Cato-street Conspirators has given great satisfaction. It was perhaps right to confine the execution within the limits resolved on; but I must say, that allowing five

* As Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

persons who pleaded guilty to high treason, and might have been arraigned for murder, to be transported for life, is a degree of mercy which is at least very unusual. . . . .

As there is no intention to increase the amount of the Civil List, I cannot conceive that Government will be distressed upon that subject. The division on Brougham's* motion on the Revenue of the Crown, which was the grand attack, does not lead one to expect much alteration in the numbers of the two parties. Lord Castlereagh says he cannot wish for a better Parliament than the last; and, if the Opposition have gained fifteen, they are welcome to them.

Most truly yours, H. LEGGE.

FROM MR. BANKES.

Old Palace Yard, May 16th.

Dear Colchester,—What passed last night in the House of Commons makes me augur well of the new Parliament. The Ministers had a majority of no more than twelve upon a question relating to the filling up of a vacancy in the Court of Exchequer, in Scotland, in opposition to the opinion of four out of five Commissioners appointed in pursuance of an address moved about six years ago by Sir John Newport to inquire into various matters connected with the Courts of Justice. The opinion of these Commissioners was referred by the Ministers to the Chiefs of the Scotch Courts, and to the Lord Advocate; and you will not be surprised to hear they unanimously decided *five* Barons of the Exchequer to be preferable to *four*, and more agreeable to the articles of the Union; in short, that business could not go on with the even number four.

In the new Civil List, and other matters, no great impression is made by the arguments of Messrs. Tierney & Co., but it seems to me that there is an unfavourable balance, in consequence of the late election, against the Government. Excepting Mr. Hobhouse, we have as yet heard no new member; he spoke very fluently, and moderately well. I ought to mention Sir E. Knatchbull, though he was in the last Parliament, as having moved the Address with general commendation. The Roman Catholic question is impending over our heads, upon

* On the 5th of May Mr. Brougham had moved, "with a view to the arrangement of the Civil List, to take into consideration the Droits of the Crown, of the Admiralty, &c., and other funds not usually deemed within the immediate control of Parliament." His motion was rejected by 273 to 155.

which I cannot help feeling uneasy till this new Parliament is tried. Mr. Grattan has not yet been in sufficient health to leave Ireland, and it is much doubted whether he will ever be able to move it. The King is said to be very firm upon this point; he is much recovered, but not upon terms of great cordiality with this Cabinet, though they must go on together.

The newspapers are full of reports about our Queen being at Paris, Calais, &c. Lo here! and Lo there! But I do not believe that she will land upon our coast. We are fallen on evil times, and one of the evils of these times is, that we must enter into compromise with vice and infamy for the sake of quiet. People in this great city believe only what they like; some of them will hardly give Thistlewood credit, upon his own word, that he would not have stirred a hand if he had not been instigated by a spy paid by Lord Sidmouth. Now, what chance do you think there would be for facts being received as true which exceed in infamy any stories that are read in our reported cases of crim. con., and which must be established principally by the testimony of foreigners?

Always most truly yours, H. BANKES.

27*th.* — Genoa. Went to see the fort and tower of Queti. Much superior to our Martello towers in every respect.

The Piedmontese soldier is better clothed, fed, and paid according to his wants than any troops of the continental armies, except perhaps the Dutch. His necessaries, except the clothing, are a joint-stock concern, paid by deductions from his pay; of which a book is kept by each soldier, and the difference is accounted for to him monthly. The contingent soldier at the end of his four months generally carries away money to his family, and is glad to return when his time of service returns. They have in quarters soup twice a day, and meat at least twice a week, and money for wine and tobacco.

Since field batteries are come into the practice of modern war, the regiments have no longer field pieces attached to each as formerly.

Monday, June 1*st.* — Corpus Domini. All flags flying in the harbour. Went to the Palazzo Mari, in the Piazza S. Lorenzo, to see the procession. The streets

through which it moved were lined with chairs, and canvas awnings spread over head on a level with the upper stories of the highest houses. About 3000 persons were supposed to move in this procession, which set out from the cathedral at ten, went by the Ducal Palace, and through the Strada Giulia, Portara, Nuova, Nuovissima, &c., and returned through the Porta di Vacca, &c. to S. Lorenzo, which it reached between one and two o'clock. The first part of the procession consisted of the lower orders of men, each with a lighted torch; then the Morales—Charity Children—Parochial Clergy—Canons of the four Chapters—then the Decurioni—then the Archbishop, in his robes and mitre—then the Corpus Domini upon a magnificent silver-wrought stage, borne by ten or twelve persons, and covered with a silken canopy. This was followed by the Senate, the First President, and all the Senators in their scarlet robes, who closed the procession.

In front of S. Lorenzo, when the Archbishop closed the day by giving his benediction on the church, a body of soldiers of the garrison drawn up in front of the church, fired a feu de joie.

In the course of the procession several little children walked or were carried dressed up in lambskins and bearing crosses, as so many little St. Johns.

The streets near the cathedral were decorated with arches hung with silks of various colours, and most of the great houses hung out their silk or tapestry from their windows or balconies, and the company of spectators at the windows threw down showers of small cut flowers upon the heads of all who walked in the procession.

4*th*.—Madame D'Ison related an occurrence of two days ago, upon which she had seen the Archbishop. The footman of an English officer at S. Pietro d'Arena had married a servant girl whose family were Roman Catholics. Major Sterling, the English Consul, had sanctioned the marriage of this Protestant footman, upon having a written consent to the marriage signed by the girl's

father, who had agreed to it in order that his daughter might become "an honest woman." The Governor and the Consul having had some conversation on the subject, in which it appeared that the Archbishop was displeased with the marriage, the Consul waited on the Archbishop to explain his reasons for having authorised the Protestant clergyman to celebrate it. He assigned for reasons the girl's father's consent. The Archbishop, "May I see it?" The Consul, "Certainly, here it is." Archbishop, "Will you leave it with me?" Consul, "Most willingly." Archbishop (taking the paper), "Now I shall put the father in prison for this illegal act." And so he did; and the man is now in prison upon this proof of his consent, given under such circumstances, and so obtained by the Archbishop! But the offence, if it be one, is that of a subject of His Sardinian Majesty; and the Consul, though tricked out of the paper, appears to have no right to dispute this act of evidence upon a person not of his own country or religion. The girl's husband is about to turn Roman Catholic, and this may contribute to obtain the girl's father's release.

FROM MR. HATSELL.

Luscombe [Devon], June 1st.

My dear Lord,— . . . . . Being 200 miles distant from London I cannot inform your Lordship whether the Great Personage and Count Bergamo are arrived, or whether (as I understand it to be the intention of Mr. Alderman Wood) they shall be drawn from Dover to London by the populace, nor whether Ministers will bribe the Count high enough to make it his *interest* (as it is supposed to be in his *power*) to forbid his mistress to set her foot on these shores. Her arrival, whatever the final consequences may be, would certainly be attended with much riot and confusion, for it is too desirable an event for the Radicals to pass over without some exertion in support of female oppression, and the rights of (even female) Majesty. My own opinion is, and I believe it is that of some of your Lordship's friends and mine, that the Count will listen to the *weighty* advice of Ministers. If *she* comes, *he* will get nothing!

When I left Town nothing was talked of, or thought of, but

the Coronation. But there are to be no women there, *i. e.* in the procession. His Majesty sent me word by Lord Gwydir* that, to save the hurry and trouble of coming down to Westminster the morning of the coronation, he would sleep at my house the foregoing evening, and there is to be a covered platform from my house to the House of Lords. . . . . .

The Opposition divide strong upon some questions, and think they can command 150! but this is out of 650. Lords Liverpool, Lansdowne, and Lauderdale have much distinguished themselves by their speeches on the state of the nation. Lord Liverpool particularly has gained great credit as a statesman, and his speech will do much public service. . . . . .

Yours faithfully, J. Hatsell.

Genoa, June 12th. — It appears that the Abbate Vincenzio Palmieri, a distinguished writer for the liberties of the Roman Catholic National Churches against the pretensions of the Court of Rome, who died in the spring of this year, professed upon his deathbed to his confessor, that he died in the doctrines in which he was born and educated by the Roman Catholic church. This the priest dressed up into a *retractation of his writings*, and the Archbishop of Genoa *proclaimed* this edifying conversion. But Palmieri, who had foreseen the use which would be made of his dying words, had before his death sent for his own brother-in-law, and given him a written copy of the *exact declaration*, to be confronted with any misrepresented statement which might afterwards be produced; and Palmieri's brother-in-law produced it to the Archbishop, saying: "It is well, Sir, that this misrepresentation has been made by *priests*, for such a forgery would have consigned any other man to the galleys."

Copy of the Paper given by Palmieri to his Brother-in-law.

In Nomine Domini, Amen.

Io sottoscritto dichiaro che il solo senso in cui ieri ho sottoscritta una carta presentatami dal mio Confessore, il Padre Viale, è stato unicamente di far conoscere di "aver in tutto il

* Lord Great Chamberlain.

tempo della mia vita professati i dogmi tutti della Chiesa Cattolica, e la docilità colla quale sottometto all' infallibile giudizio di essa tutti i miei scritti.* Prego detto mio Confessore a dare tutta la pubblicità a questa mia dichiarazione." Li 12 Marzo 1820.

17*th.*—News of disturbances at Paris and Lyons upon the subject of the debates on the election laws. Louvet † executed. Oudinot, Duc de Reggio, at the head of the Royal Guard, disperses the Parisian mob, who cry out, some "*Vive la Charte*," others "*Vive l'Empereur.*" Marshal Macdonald is appointed to command all the troops in Paris, now about 40,000 men. His head-quarters and residence are in the Tuileries.

The Queen of England landed at Dover.

18*th.*—Went to see the outset of the Procession della Cosaccia. These processions before the French Revolution were numerous, and performed by numerous *confréries*, at a great expense in music, dresses, and rich crucifixes, with much grimace and many contests, often proceeding to blows between the partisans of the different *confréries*, some fighting for the *white* crucifix, some for the *black;* and, as the bearers of these enormous crucifixes passed the windows of anybody whose good graces were coveted, they usually practised their bows and reverences with great risk of their lives, if they lost their balance, and so in going up or down the church steps.

To-day there was only one *confrérie*. At the head of the procession was a large painted banner of the Annunciation, followed by the band of one of the regiments of the garrison. Then another banner and a young person (apparently a girl) on horseback, dressed in the character of S. Giacomo della Marina, with a glory round his head. He stopped three times in the

* After "scritti" there was added, in another handwriting, upon the paper signed by the Abate Palmieri, when shown by the Archbishop to his brother-in-law, the following words: "Io intendo di ritrattarmi di quanto ho detto e scritto."

† The assassin of the Duc de Berri.

course of his march, and made an harangue. (N.B. This harangue is or should be in Spanish, S. Giacomo della Marina being the proper S. Giacomo di Compostella in Spain.) During the harangue he drew and flourished his sword. Then came citizens, playing upon various instruments; a ragged set. Then a plain cross, and children as pilgrims; then persons in white dresses of linen, with rich blue and silver scapulars; then an immense crucifix, borne by a man in a similar dress, attended by two others in plain white dresses, to help in preserving the perpendicular position of the crucifix if necessary, and to shift it to another bearer, of which there were several in readiness. Then followed a troop of children habited as pilgrims, and singing; then a little Virgin Mary on foot, and some little Saint Johns; then a smaller crucifix, borne in like manner; and then about fifty Capucins singing, all with lighted torches, and all but the monks having their heads hooded with black or white veils, and no opening but holes cut for their eyes. The procession was closed by the Cosaccia, or platform, borne by eight or twelve men, containing upon it a figure of the Virgin and Child, as large as life, and an image of S. Antonio, upon his knees, adoring the Virgin and Christ. The whole surrounded with a blaze of lighted candles. A party of soldiers closed the whole. The procession from and to the Annunciata lasted about two hours; but the processioners continued their march for some hours afterwards, on their return to their own parish, fighting occasionally with the bystanders, and most of them drunk.

19*th*.—The Consul and Vice-Consul came, respecting the allowance of Protestant worship at Genoa, "which the Sardinian Government would not avowedly authorise; but they would shut their eyes upon it;" and Count Geneys, in his letter, consented to permit it "in any private apartment or building not heretofore used for Roman Catholic worship." M. de Rey, who brought the letter, added verbally that Count Geneys desired it might be in some "*obscure*" place, not a street where

carriages could come. The Consul added that M. De la Rue, a Swiss merchant here, had offered the use of a building, formerly *part of a convent* before the French Revolution, and since used as a warehouse; but he was told the Government *would not consent* to such a building being used for Protestant worship.

The customary mode of letting lands here, is for the landlord to take the first press of all the grapes, and half the chesnuts, in quantity or value. The tenant takes all the corn, the other half of the chesnuts, and the final pressing of the grapes. The oil of the olive trees are cultivated, and the oil made by the tenant is divided equally between him and the landlord.

28*th*.—Letters from England. Disaffection and disobedience in the 3rd regiment of Foot Guards. The refractory men were sent off for Portsmouth. The City of London have addressed the Queen. The debate on the Queen's business has to be resumed on the 18th. Mr. Grattan had been buried in Westminster Abbey, next to Mr. Fox. His praises were preached by Sir James Mackintosh, on moving a new writ for Dublin. His conduct, indeed, in the United Parliament had been uniformly wise and useful; his eloquence always fantastic, and often ridiculous.

LETTER FROM MR. WILBRAHAM.

London, June 20th, 1820.

My dear Lord,— . . . . . The first subject, perhaps almost the only one about which the English world talks and thinks, is the Queen, who, a fortnight ago, took the bold and decisive measure of coming to this country in the prosecution of her royal rights. As she is not liable to be tried for high treason, the Baron de Bergamo being a foreigner, and owing no allegiance to us, and the act being committed in a foreign country, I am inclined to think that the step she took, however impudent, was not an unwise one for her own interest, and that Alderman Wood, reprobated as he has been by all parties, has really given her no bad advice on the present occasion.

Of this, however, we shall be better able to judge after knowing somewhat more of the proceedings of Parliament. On her

first arrival, a green bag containing evidence was sent down to both Houses, and a motion made for a Secret Committee; but so prevalent and general was the wish that matters should be arranged amicably without the intervention of Parliament, that a motion of Wilberforce's for adjournment, was carried almost by acclamation; and since that time there have been other adjournments which were proposed by Ministers, till it was understood that yesterday the matter was to be brought forward, if not settled before.

The negotiation not being carried to a successful termination, Lord Castlereagh yesterday moved the printing of the correspondence; and we are to have the debate to-morrow, which will probably conclude in the appointment of a Secret Committee to examine the evidence contained in that Pandora's box, the green bag. What will be the result of all this it is quite impossible to say, except that we shall have to sit very late in the summer; that Her Majesty will serve as a rallying point for the disaffected and Radicals, and that she will probably end in carrying what she wants, for already she gains ground in the affections of the middle and lower classes, who know nothing of her proceedings since she went abroad; all the newspapers having concurred in keeping silence on that subject during her absence from England. *No ladies of character* have as yet, I understand, called upon her, except that I have heard Lady Tavistock mentioned. There may be others, but I do not know; but by the common people she is looked upon as an injured and unprotected female. How long Parliament will sit, will depend on this topic of discussion, as we should otherwise be probably prorogued towards the end of July, whereas now we are quite uncertain. The Coronation also, though fixed for the first of August, will probably be deferred: indeed it is said that the preparations will not be ready for that time, which is not unlikely. The King employs himself a good deal, as I believe, in the arrangement of the dresses for this occasion, which is a subject which he enjoys thinking of: his health, I believe, is good, but he does not stir out much.

The Duke of York is all activity and business, and goes about a great deal, and is very popular, and becoming more so. He looks thinner and less bloated than I have seen him for several years, and I hope will continue so. You would be surprised at the Duke of Clarence if you were to see him; for his wife, it is said, has entirely reformed him; and instead of that *polisson* manner for which he used to be celebrated, he is now quiet and well-behaved, like anybody else. . . . . .

One battalion of the 3rd Guards last week alarmed us for a day or two by strong symptoms of mutiny. They were immediately marched out of London (they were in bad barracks in the Mews), and they are gone to Portsmouth, where they will have leisure to repent their conduct, which it is said they are inclined to do, though the mob in the streets and on the road encouraged them to stand firm for the Queen. It should be observed that *politics* had *nothing to do* with this mutiny, which is supposed to have arisen from their being hard worked, and suddenly removed from quarters where they were in a great measure their own masters, to barracks where the roll was called four times a day; in addition to which their colonel, the Duke of Gloucester, chose the moment of dissatisfaction and discontent and business to give them field days.

I see no material change in your old dominions, the House of Commons, which is constituted of pretty much the same materials as the last, with the late addition of Creevy, who has become a great orator in his old age. Our debates have not hitherto been very lively; and it is curious to observe that after all the threats of divisions and discussions on the Civil List, that Bill was suffered to pass in almost total silence. Canning has had the gout lately, and has been unable to attend, but he is now well again, and at hand for a debate, in case he is wanted.

. . . . . Yours very truly, E. B. WILBRAHAM.

FROM LORD COLCHESTER TO MR. BANKES.

Genoa, June 22nd, 1820.

Dear Bankes,— . . . . . King you have, and Queen you have,—whether you have knaves and odd tricks, remains to be seen. I do not regret Her Majesty's visit to England. I have long thought that there was an error in not bringing that question to a direct issue; and now, "*en attulit ultro.*" The subject I do not think to have been such as became a compromise, and I am therefore glad that justice will be done to all parties and interests, in which I rate the honour of the country as deeply concerned. But with such a novel proceeding superadded to budgets, and Roman Catholics, &c. you will have work enough for the dogdays, and even to the time my travels will be ended . . . . . .

The winding up of the Treason and Sedition Tragedies seems upon the whole to have succeeded to the full extent of the expectations of reasonable men. But I cannot make out what became of Sir Francis Burdett's conviction for his libel upon the

Manchester magistrates.* In the "Examiner" of the current month there is a direct slander upon the judges, "our corrupt judges." This seems to be one step further than usual; and if that sort of libel is suffered with impunity, nothing is secure in England.

In these peaceable parts trade is the only subject that creates much interest; and I am sorry to find here as elsewhere, that our cotton goods, though much cheaper than others of other countries, are so very much inferior in durable quality, that all persons, even the English themselves, prefer the French article at a higher price, as being in the end the cheapest. . . . . .

Adieu. Ever yours, COLCHESTER.

FROM MR. BURTON.

Upper Brook Street, June 24th.

My dear Lord,— . . . . . A full exposure is now inevitable. The Secret Committee of the Lords began their sitting this day at twelve; and it is expected they will decide upon proceeding by Bill, which of course must give rise to a tedious procrastination on account of witnesses. In the meantime Her Majesty will leave no stone unturned to gain popularity. This night she goes to Drury Lane; to-morrow, it is supposed, to Covent Garden; and doubtless the Opera, &c., will not lose the like honours. She has visited Mrs. Damer, Lady Elizabeth Whitbread, and Lady Perceval; but the latter on foot, whilst her carriage was waiting on the heath at some distance. Lady Tavistock is the only lady of much consideration who is known to have called on her; but Dr. Parr dined with her on Saturday. I hope she did know that he had given a grand dinner on a Sunday during the Warwick Assizes, to Hone, who was attending there for the purpose of assisting his friend then upon trial for publishing one of his own publications. . . . . .

Yours sincerely, F. BURTON.

Tuesday, July 4th. — News from England. The Coronation to be put off.

5th. — News from England. Long debate on the Queen's business. Resolution moved by Wilberforce

* Sir F. Burdett had written a letter to his constituents to invite a public meeting to consider of the conduct of the magistrates and troops at Manchester, some of the expressions in which were so violent that he was prosecuted by the Attorney-General for a libel, convicted, and sentenced to a fine of 2000*l.* and three months' imprisonment.

to press the Queen to yield to the wishes of the House of Commons for an arrangement, &c. Amendment moved by Lord Archibald Hamilton, and seconded by Sir F. Burdett, to urge the insertion of her Majesty's name in the Liturgy, &c. Resolution as moved carried by 391 to 124.

8*th*.—Left Genoa.

FROM MR. BANKES.

Old Palace Yard, July 7th.

Dear Colchester,— . . . . . After trying all probable means of compromising with the Queen, in the last of which Wilberforce and myself were two of the principal performers, she has set us all at defiance; and the Bill, charging her with an adulterous intercourse with Bergamo, and dissolving her marriage, has been read a first time by the Lords, where a judicial proceeding is more fit to originate than in our House. The question now before them is at what time they shall proceed to the second reading, and begin to prove the case. The Queen's counsel urge it on, suspecting probably that some of the witnesses may be not yet arrived in England. There is an odd story whispered about with regard to this same Bergamo, that owing to a wound received when he served in the army, he is disqualified for an adulterous intercourse.

Considering the temper of the populace, and the spirit of discontent and disaffection which is very widely diffused, and, above all, some symptoms of the same feeling that have been observed in the military, I much wish that all this infamy and disgrace could have remained unnoticed, without being made the subject of public prosecution, of which I very much dread the progress and the ultimate event. The two Houses will most likely believe the testimony of some of the witnesses, and act accordingly. The popular clamour will discredit them all, and treat them as suborned and perjured; and this abandoned woman, instead of being degraded in public estimation, will be exalted into an innocent and much-injured victim.

Our Session is drawing rapidly towards a close, with the exception of this unfortunate business, which cannot for some months affect the Commons. Roman Catholic Claims, Parliamentary Reform, Amendment of Criminal Law, and all other matters which are not of pressing urgency, have, for the time, been merged in the interest that has been excited by the Queen's

arrival and its consequences, and stand over until we meet again, and have more leisure to discuss them.

The King and his Ministers have been upon the point of breaking more than once during his short reign; but I conclude that matters are going on now to his Majesty's satisfaction. The Vice-Chancellor has been acting an intriguing and tricking part; and Tierney is supposed to have been in some sort of communication with him. It was said that Canning had resigned, which was not true; but in the proceedings against the Queen he intends to take no further part, to which his colleagues agree.* . . . . . .

With regard to Sir Francis Burdett's conviction, circumstances have arisen most discreditable to the Court of King's Bench. You will hardly believe that the sentence was drawn out, and intended to be delivered some months ago, and unaccountably deferred. . . . . .

Yours most truly, H. BANKES.

FROM MR. H. LEGGE.

Navy Office, July 10th.

My dear Lord Colchester,— . . . . . We have indeed a Queen to dispose of, such as she is; and it will be well if her persevering impudence does not dispose of the tranquillity of this country, by raising disturbances to which I cannot foresee the termination so clearly as you foresaw the result of Signor Vil Berforce's address to her Majesty. It is marvellous that she would not listen to such an overwhelming majority of the House of Commons as carried that address; and it is most unfortunate for us all that her daring impudence, her folly, or her madness, would not permit her to withdraw herself quietly upon that occasion from English ground. She has completely jostled the coronation, which has been put off *sine die*. The common notion is that it will not take place till next year. After requesting delay for the purpose of bringing witnesses in defence from

* Canning had, in June, represented not only to his colleagues, but to the King himself, "the impossibility of his taking any part in the proceedings against the Queen;" but as the King desired him, nevertheless, to continue in his service, he did so, absenting himself from England during the trial. But after the trial, seeing that it would be a prominent subject of discussion during the following Session, and thinking it would be most inconvenient for the public service for him to take no part in such discussions if he continued in the Ministry, he resigned in December. — *Stapleton's Canning*, pp. 295-318.

Italy, she now insists upon the proceedings commencing *instanter*. Lord Liverpool will therefore probably propose an early day for the examination of witnesses. This will be the employment of the Lords; the Commons will adjourn when their own business is finished.

I do not know what to say upon the subject of suspending all proceedings till the Queen arrived. The wish, I believe, to avoid all discussion on this most unpleasant subject was nearly universal. I am not surprised that Ministers par book of this wish, or that they hardly felt bold enough to begin till the step which she took made it necessary to throw off all reserve. I believe they have had no bed of roses to sleep on since the death of the late King, and that no Minister ever had so difficult a task to perform as theirs has been from that time to this. I cannot enter more at large into this subject in a letter which may be opened at some foreign post-office. God send us all a good deliverance from this most distressing occurrence. . . . . .

Grattan's death, I presume, has left the question of Roman Catholic Emancipation where it was. That cause will always find a champion, and will probably succeed at last. It will never have my good wishes.

Ever most truly yours, H. LEGGE.

13*th*.—Arrived at Florence. The English are not well received here, and the Hereditary Archduke shows a marked dislike to the nation. The British Ambassadress has gradually discontinued her attendance at court.

23*rd*.—Reached Rome.

24*th*.—Heard at Torlonia's* of the resignation of the King of Naples to his eldest son† as *vicario;* and of the mutiny and massacre‡ of the Sicilian regiment at Naples. Also of the sanguinary revolution in Sicily.

N.B. The Hereditary Prince, it is said, is favourable to the new constitution. Murat's partisans are come into office.

* The great banker at Rome.

† By an edict of July 6th, King Ferdinand had granted his subjects a Constitutional Government, appointing at the same time a new Ministry and three Commissioners of high reputation, to draw up a series of articles to form the basis of the promised new Constitution, the publication of which he promised in a week. See *Alison* (Second Series), vol. ii. c. vii. pp. 95-110.

‡ The account of the massacre proved unfounded.

General Nugent, by whose advice the camp was formed which led to this revolution, escaped to the house of Sir W. A'court, the British Minister, and thence on board ship. The Neapolitan prime minister was sent to prison for his personal safety, as it was represented.

CHAP. LX.

1820.

REVOLUTIONARY OUTBREAK AT NAPLES.—STATE OF THE NEAPOLITAN ARMY. — I CARBONARI. — AN AUSTRIAN ARMY EXPECTED AT NAPLES. — DEATH OF THE DUCHESS OF YORK.—PROCEEDINGS OF GENERAL PEPÉ. — NEW GOVERNMENT AT NAPLES DISAPPROVED BY THE FIVE GREAT POWERS.—TRIAL OF THE QUEEN.—LETTER FROM MR. WILBRAHAM.—CONGRESS AT TROPPAU. — MEETING OF THE NEAPOLITAN PARLIAMENT. — REVOLUTION IN PORTUGAL. — BIRTH OF THE DUC DE BORDEAUX. — LORD LIVERPOOL MAINTAINS THE POSSIBLE RIGHT OF OUR INTERFERENCE WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES AS TO THEIR INTERNAL POLICY.

Thursday, July 27th.—The six provinces * of Naples have declared for the separate independence of each, and a Federative Government of the whole.

Tuesday, Aug. 1st.—The National Guards of Rome, about 600 strong, were disarmed the day before yesterday; and their arms were carried to the Castle of S. Angelo; 600 muskets only are left for the usual duty of the city guard and ceremonies.

Yesterday there was a disturbance in the barrack of the regulars, at the Palazzo Saura, where a corporal was driven out, and an officer assaulted. There are also reports of disturbance in the south of France, and proclamations in Provence for establishing a republic.

2nd.—News from the Riviera of Genoa, that there had been some manifestation of a revolutionary disposition at Savona.

The Carbonari are a society of secrecy and affiliation (like the Freemasons), founded in Germany in the year 1812, after the burning of Moscow, and professing to have for their object "the independence of Europe".

* The Abruzzi, Terra di Lavoro, Basilicata, Capitanata, and the two Calabrias.

Their cockade is of black, blue, and rose colour; that of the Freemasons, *white*, blue, and rose.

The Carbonari are the avowed authors of the late revolution at Naples, and the supposed abettors of similar opinions throughout the rest of Italy.

9th.—The Neapolitan Minister from the Constitutional Government to Vienna was not received there, but was told that his passports might be had at the shortest notice, and that an answer would be sent to Naples.

10th.—At Rome the arms have been restored to the National Guard. A long ordinance has been issued regulating passports for Romans as well as foreigners. The gunpowder, brought into the Castle of S. Angelo, is said to be about 24,000lbs. weight.

The Calabrians have issued a proclamation against foreign interference in the internal affairs of the kingdom of Naples, declaring that any foreign force which shall attempt to control them will find a determined resistance, and that the same country which successfully repulsed the French, will prove that the limits of Italy are too narrow to allow of invaders.

Benevento has joined Naples, and sent all the monks to Rome.

Of the late revolution, we hear the following particulars: in the beginning of July, General Nugent assembled the whole effective army, in a corps, for manœuvring at Sessa, between Capua and the Garigliano. At this place Pepé, Filangieri, &c., consulted upon the best means for effecting a revolution, by which the Muratists should get the ruling power into their own hands. It was even proposed to seize the King's person; but that was overruled as likely to alarm, and to bring down the vengeance of all Europe; and the revolution was postponed for the 1st of August; but some premature movements at Salerno precipitated the business; some troops deserted to the Carbonari, who occupied the strong post of Avelino, in that neighbourhood; others joined; the defection became general, and on the 6th of July the King was compelled to sign his

declaration for a new Constitution. From this moment the newly-appointed ministers fell under the dominion of the Carbonari clubs; Pepé lost all his popularity, and disbanded the civic guard, to put himself at the head of the Carbonari; and now there is not considered to be any authority armed with adequate means to insure the public tranquillity of this city.

The Ministers are

Campo Chiaro	Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
Camaldoli	„ for Grace and Justice.
Carascosa	„ for War.
Macedonia	Minister of Finance.

20*th.*—Called on Sir W. A'court.

The present state of the Neapolitan kingdom is far from settled. A deputation from Messina offered to submit to the new government, if the seat of government in Sicily was transferred to Messina; and this was accepted, and 5000 troops are gone to support that measure. From Palermo a deputation of two nobles, two priests, two lawyers, and two chiefs of trade corporations lately came with an offer to accept for sovereign any one of the reigning family, but also declaring their independence of the crown of Naples, and their determination to establish a representative government. This party has already extended their authority at Trapani and Girgente. This proposition was rejected three days ago, and the deputation (excepting the two nobles) are gone back.

In the kingdom of Naples, the army, consisting of about 25,000 men (besides the 5000 gone to Sicily), is distributed on the three points of Naples, Capua, and Gaeta. The entrances into the kingdom by the Abruzzi and the central pass of Sora, are left to the defence of the newly-established militia, amounting to 60,000 men, whose spirit, skill, and unanimity remain to be tried by the issue of any attempt by a foreign force to invade their country. In the recent organisation of this force, above 10,000 Carbonari have been regimented.

The tranquillity of Naples during this revolution has depended on the Guardia Civica; or burgher's guard; but, about three weeks ago, General (William) Pepé (who, at the head of the regular army, effected the change of government), having lost his popularity, disbanded the civic guard, paraded the streets at the head of a mob, armed with all sorts of side-weapons, knives, and sticks, and is now again employed in restoring the same sort of force as the civic guard, in a new form, and, as he represents, of a better quality.

The real direction of all public affairs is in the hand of the "Vendite," or clubs of Carbonari, who dictate to the government what ministers shall be employed, and what measures shall receive the royal sanction; and these clubs add menaces to their messages, and threaten the stiletto.

Ships of war are expected from England every day; perhaps a strong squadron. Sir W. A'court has packed up his plate and books, and many of his pictures, &c.

An ambassador, the Duca di Gallo, is gone to Vienna, and another, the Prince of Cimiturò, is named for England. He is a nephew of the Sanseverino, who was in England for some time, and was well received.

Left Rome, and arrived at Naples, August 19th.

25*th*.—At Sir W. A'court's. According to the most authentic intelligence, the Austrians have resolved, in execution of a treaty with the King of Naples, to send 85,000 men to his aid. They are to assemble all upon the Po, by the 21st of September. The Italian troops are sent elsewhere; and the army is to be divided into three columns, under Generals Bellegarde, Bubna, and Frimont. The vanguard of 6000 men will be led by Bianchi (who pursued Murat), and the rest will follow in three columns, taking their departure from Ferrara.

The Emperor of Russia has appointed to meet the Emperor of Austria about this time. France has declared loudly against the revolution of Naples; England waits for further particulars.

It appears to me that this Austrian army, if assem-

bled, will never march to Naples. 1st. This does not seem to be necessarily the *casus fœderis*. An internal change in the form of government does not hitherto appear to have been the event for which the treaty was made a preventing instrument; but let that pass, for the Austrians may, with some colour of truth, say "that Carbonaro principles are aggressive against theirs and all other established Governments." But, 2ndly, if they enter Naples, what are they to do there? Are they to put things back as they were? Is that possible? If not, what sort of changes are the Austrians to make? 3rdly. How long are the 85,000 men to stay there? Or, if a small force, how long can it maintain itself there? 4thly. Who is to pay the expense of this armament? 5thly. What will Russia do, if Austria puts 85,000 men, the flower of its Illyrian and Hungarian troops, down at the far end of Italy? Is there no scheme ready for an expedition to Greece, &c.? Is Lombardy itself safe?

At all events it is but prudence for Austria to occupy Lombardy and Venice at this time with a strong army, but I think it will never send *much*, if any, of it across the Po to enter the kingdom of Naples.

26*th*. — By the Gazette of last night, officers are named for four regiments of the Guardia di Sicurezza di Napoli, comprising above 100 names for each regiment, all of noble or distinguished families.

The most exact intelligence of the day is, that a plot exists for seizing the persons of the King and royal family instantly by the Carbonari, and that this will be the signal for general confusion, pillage, and destruction. Sir Thomas Maitland* said there might be some exaggeration in the news, but it was credited.

By a decree of yesterday, the King has established a National Bank, with power to discount mercantile bills at three months.

The nobility were all destroyed upon Murat's ac-

* High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands, at this time at Naples.

cession. Their feudal rights abolished, and their seignorial lands annexed to the communes or parishes. Murat's policy was to have none but a military nobility. Ferdinand upon his return from Sicily adopted these arrangements, and had no support left for his nobles but a few places about the Court. Several of the principal and richest of the Neapolitan families are now largely engaged in commerce.

The Hereditary Prince, Vicar-General, has read much, and talks well, but wants firmness in action. Campo Chiaro was at Chatillon, Vienna, &c., and was recommended by Lord Castlereagh to Sir W. A'court's favour, to promote his employment in the Neapolitan ministry. A sensible and moderate man, and, though a supporter of the revolution, not a Carbonaro.

To oppose the Carbonari there were not long since an opposite set of clubs established, called the Calderari; but not so general or so powerful as the Carbonari, in whose hands the royal family substantially now are. Deputations from this class demand audiences of the Prince Vicar by day and night, and have very recently demanded the removal or appointment of particular ministers with threats. Their cry is no longer "the Constitution," but "Liberty or Death."

The object of Austria appears to be the formation of some joint forces (in whatever proportion) of the great allied powers of Europe, to re-establish Ferdinand by a sort of army of occupation.

27*th.*—Sir W. A'court sent me confidentially, a copy of Lord Stewart's despatch in cipher, from Vienna, dated August 4th, announcing the 85,000 in Lombardy the beginning of August; Schwartzenberg's resignation of the War Department, and Marshal Bellegarde's appointment as his successor; the approaching Congress of the Emperors of Austria and Russia at Pesth; the mission to Turin, with assurances of support to resist any revolutions, &c.

To-day the Red Guards, who accompanied the King to Sicily and returned with him, and who have been decorated with all sort of medals and honours, his

most attached force, are to be removed, some say disbanded.

Intelligence from England of Lord John Russell's letter to Mr. Wilberforce, with a petition for him to present to the King, praying His Majesty to put an end to all further proceedings against the Queen, by proroguing the Parliament. The letter not ill-addressed to the good-nature and vanity of Wilberforce. The petition an arrogant and declamatory speech called by that name.

N.B. Some days afterwards he published a *second letter*, explanatory of some phrases in his first letter which had given offence to the Whigs, with other errata and corrigenda. It does not appear that Mr. Wilberforce took any notice of the letter, and certainly none was taken of the petition.

31*st.*— The Neapolitan Government have recognised the independence of Sicily, subject only to its acknowledging the same sovereign as Naples. The royal Government at Messina have laid a tax upon the British merchants there, in abusive language, as partaking of the same rebellious sentiments as the Palermitans.

News of the death of the Duchess of York.

Friday, September 1*st.* — Lady A'court called on Lady Colchester to mention her own intention of proceeding to England, *the danger being such in Naples*, that the garrison had been kept under arms for several nights this week in apprehension of an insurrection. Arrest of a club of Calderari, and a seizure of one of their collections of arms.

2*nd.* — Sir W. A'court called, after a conference with the Duke of Campo Chiaro, respecting the conduct of the Committee of Public Safety at Messina, which had levied 36,000 ducats upon seven or eight British merchants, as a forced loan, with threats of imprisonment in case of noncompliance: and this in defiance of an express treaty which exonerates all British merchants from such demands. The Duke of Campo Chiaro

disavowed the act on the part of the King, wrote a sharp reprimand to Messina, *hoped* the exaction would not be repeated, and engaged specifically for the repayment.

It appears that the British Cabinet received despatches from hence, July 20th, which it acknowledged by answer of the 21st, desiring further particulars. That on the 26th it received despatches from Vienna with the Austrian determination; and on August 1st they received further despatches from hence, with a full account of all the circumstances, causes, consequences, and characters belonging to the revolution. But as yet no despatches have arrived from England subsequent to those of July 21st.

There exists in the separate Treaty between Austria and Naples a secret article, pledging each court to the reciprocal aid of 85,000, and 25,000 men, "in support of the monarchical government of the dominions of each, so that neither shall be detrimental to the existing forms of government in the other." Such at least is interpreted to be the substance of the article, as it now appears by the transfer of all state papers to the hands of the present Provisional Government in Naples.

The Duke of Campo Chiaro considers the King and royal family as at this moment virtually hostages in the hands of the Carbonari, and looks to the approach of the Austrians with great alarm for the consequences to the royal family and metropolis.

3rd.—The squadron which sailed on Saturday (a ship of the line, a frigate, a sloop, and fifteen sail of transports) carried out 6000 troops under Florestano Pepé (a brother of the commander-in-chief), with an offer to the Sicilians of legislative independence, subject only to the joint crowns of Naples and Sicily, and a proportionate contribution to the civil list of their common sovereign, and engaging also for the joint defence of both kingdoms.

The Carbonari are at this time divided. The upper-

most, who have property to lose, are favourable to the measure of disarming the lower; the King's party apprehend an attempt to carry off the King and royal family into Calabria as hostages in case of an invasion by the Austrians.

The Festa di Pie-di-Grotta, when by annual custom the King and royal family go in procession from the Royal Palace in their carriages, with all their court, to the chapel near the Grotto of Posilipo, is at present a subject of considerable expectation, and of much doubt whether to observe or omit this ceremony. It brings together the whole city, and great numbers of country people from the neighbouring districts and islands; the concourse will be very numerous, and may be tumultuous.

The Carbonari have refused to admit an English gentleman, *because* he was not a Roman Catholic. They do not suffer any of their body to be imprisoned for debt; nor would they permit the patrol to apprehend a Carbonaro butcher, who cut at a customer who disapproved of his meat. The Foreign Ministers are many of them gone, others going, leaving a *chargé d'affaires* to represent their mission.

The trade of Naples from England is not declining; but her exports are. The Gallipoli * oil is less in demand than formerly. The silks are much superseded by the finer Bengal silks, and the corn trade is lowered by the large importations from Odessa to all parts of the Mediterranean.

The taxes of Murat's time were in the nature of an income-tax chiefly, assessed upon the estimated produce of the land; principally, oil, silk, and corn. When the present King came back, his minister, Medici, continued this tax at its then rate for ten years; but the recent decline of value in all these species of produce has rendered the payment of the same assessment everywhere oppressive, and, in many places, impossible.

* Not the Turkish Gallipoli, but a town in the district of Otranto.

This pressure has also strongly disposed the people to a change of government.

The army placed under the command of General Nugent, a foreigner, and the same who had driven out Murat and his troops, was jealous and impatient of his authority; and, although he employed Carascosa, Pepé, Filangieri, and Ambrogio, and consulted them as his council of war, they were the leaders of the revolution which displaced him. They had concurred with the Government in reducing the pay and emoluments of the troops; but the army bore it with ill-humour, and attributed all to Nugent.

6*th*.—Sir W. A'Court sent me some despatches which he had from Paris, of the 14th and 20th of August, in which Sir Charles Stewart mentions one recent plot there, concocted by officers of the Regiment de Meurthe, and of the Legion du Nord in the garrison there, to seize Vincennes, march to the Tuilleries, and proclaim the son of Buonaparte. No person of civil or military rank appeared to be connected with it. The officers appointed by St. Cyr in the army upon the frontier of Spain, are not well thought of for their loyalty.

France refuses to receive the successor of Castelcicala, except he comes in the name of Ferdinand I.

Pasquier and the Duc de Richelieu say, that unless the Austrian Government previously announces that she interferes in the name of the great European confederation for the express purpose of maintaining the political relations of Italy on their present footing, neither France, nor any of the other powers, can view with indifference an Austrian army occupying the whole Peninsula.

From Vienna Lord Stewart incloses a copy of Lord Castlereagh's letter to him of the 29th July; a long despatch; grief and regret at the news of "a revolution effected by an army without the pretext of a grievance on their own part, and actuated only by a desire of some change;" but Metternich is told that "the British Government cannot take any part *forcibly* to

counteract or control it;" it will carefully abstain from any measure which shall embarrass Austria, whom these events most immediately affect.

Lord Stewart (20th August), says, "Gallo* will be stopped on the frontier of Austria, and his letters will not be received." Ficquelmont gives an encouraging account of the determination of the King of Sardinia, the fidelity of his troops, and the tranquillity of his kingdom.

N.B. Gallo was stopped at Clagenfurth, and directed to quit the Austrian dominions, with a specification of the particular route which he was to take.

The Naples gazette, "Constitutionale," of this day, dismisses Castelcicala from all his employments, for refusing to take the oath to the King and Constitution. It contains also decrees for raising 100,000 legionaries in addition to 90,000 militia, and 40,000 troops of the line. The whole to assemble in the present month of September, and to be inspected in the first ten days of October. Also for the sending a battalion of 600 Calabrians to strengthen the garrison of Messina; and an invitation to all foreigners and others disbanded in 1815, to volunteer into Sicily.

8th.—The Festa della Madonna di Pie-di-Grotta took place as usual without any disturbance. The most remarkable circumstances were, that above the colours of each regiment of militia was hoisted a small streamer of red, blue, and black, the Carbonari colours (never so exhibited till the 6th of July last), and the *total absence* (or nearly so) of *the country people and islanders*, who used to fill the streets in their singular costumes. It is an usual clause in the marriage contracts of the country people, that they shall bring their wives to this festival.

9th.—Public affairs here still unsettled; the Austrians expected, the designs of Russia unknown, the fate of the Sicilian expedition unknown. No British ship of war in the bay.

* The Duke de Gallo, Envoy from Naples.

11*th.*—News of a great battle and victory obtained by the Sicilian expedition over the Palermitans near Trapani. . . .

13*th.*—A decree was issued to-day, abolishing recourse to the Bishop's court in ordinary cases of marriage, and leaving it to the civil contract and religious sacrament as administered by the parish priest, the former practice having been an abuse and means of extortion, contrary to the provisions of the Council of Trent. And another decree suspended the admission of persons into monasteries, &c., until after the meeting of Parliament.

17*th.*—Sir W. A'court sent me a note with intelligence from Vienna, that France, England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, were all united against the new Government of Naples; and Lord Castlereagh's despatch to Sir W. A'court, dated August 26th, acknowledging with satisfaction his full report of July 21st, upon the revolution at Naples, highly approving of his prudent and firm conduct; stating that "in the present unsettled state of affairs in the kingdom of the two Sicilies, and until the King should be enabled to form a more correct judgment of the nature and result of the late revolution, His Majesty does not deem it proper to send you any official instructions;" and desiring him to "abstain from giving any opinion which can in the slightest degree commit your Government with regard to events already passed or in progress."

I answered Sir William with congratulations upon the approbation of his conduct by our Government; but said I still could not see why, on August 26th, no instructions, nor why, on 17th September, no ship. Do we wait for the oracle at Vienna to speak out? Till then I see no way of forming any practical opinion respecting future events; and we must wait for that declaration of motives and measures which seemed to be required at Paris. I should have thought we had a plain course before us, to declare our own principles of neutrality, and our intentions; and to support them by the presence of our usual force in these seas.

18*th.*—Sir W. A'court called. He expects a small squadron here this week; and an answer to his despatch suggesting a possible retreat for the King on board a British ship of war, in compliance with the King's own request, for his personal safety if necessary.

The declaration from Vienna may also be expected before the opening of the Parliament on October 1st. The Carbonari wish the King to open the Parliament himself, which he says he will not; but they press him. They wish him also to resume the government, at least for a time, to sanction all that has been done. The project of breaking up the roads seems to be abandoned after debating it in the clubs. The republican form of government adopted in some of the provinces for ten days, with "Liberty and Equality," and all the Robespierrian apparatus, has been abandoned. No news from Sicily. The Prince Vicar says that all Neapolitan news ought to be put in quarantine before it is safe to deliver it out as true.

21*st.*—Sir Henry Lushington called. His brother, one of the counsel for the Queen, writes accounts of the agitated state of the country pending the proceedings in Parliament.

Contradictory accounts of the revolution in Portugal. News from Sicily that the Palermitans, finding themselves unsupported, are retreating; and Prince Pontenero, their chief, has fled to Turin. The terms held out by the Neapolitan Government are, a local Parliament in Sicily, and a joint contribution for the support of the common sovereign of Sicily and Naples, &c.,—and an amnesty.

FROM MR. HATSELL.

Paultons, Saturday, Sept. 9th, 1820.

My dear Lord,— . . . . . For several months the people of England have thought, talked, and dreamt of no other subject than the Queen. The Lords, by permitting the evidence taken by the shorthand-writers to be published every morning, have not only supplied matter sufficient to occupy the leisure hours of the whole reading world, from breakfast to

dinner, with subjects of conversation for the remainder of the day, but have exhibited to the world such a scene of profligacy and vice as were never detailed in any novel. . . . . The whole is now adjourned to Oct. 3rd. And it is understood that the clause for divorce will be omitted. I hope *banishment* will be inserted in lieu of it! The women *in general* (owing, I believe, to that clause which inflicted a punishment that no other woman in the country could have suffered, who had cause for retaliation) have taken part with Her Majesty. Sir Thomas Acland told me that at Brighton, the ladies said, "Well, if my husband had used me as hers has done, I should have thought myself entitled to act as she has done." The mischief introduced into private families (where the father has not been cautious, like Lord Sidmouth and Lord Lilford, to prevent the newspapers from being read by his daughters) will be very great in corrupting the imaginations of the young ladies, and encouraging them to take part in every conversation, however indecent.

Those moments which we can spare from the Queen are employed in projecting the conclusion of the events of Naples and Sicily! In short, it appears as if all the world was run mad; and Her Majesty not the least in the throng.

Yours very faithfully, J. HATSELL.

FROM MR. H. LEGGE.

Navy Office, Sept. 11th.

My dear Lord Colchester,— . . . . . In the House of Lords your presence would have been very useful upon many occasions while the evidence for the Bill was going on, to support the good law of the Chancellor and Lord Redesdale, against the forgetfulness or perversion of law by Lord Erskine. His name, in consequence of his great eminence as a barrister, and of his attachment to party, is still such a tower of strength, that three to one against him would have been more conclusive, with many in the House, than two.

It is difficult to conceive how Her Majesty can rebut the body of evidence which has been produced against her; but Brougham is very sanguine. I met her once on the road as I was riding to Blackheath. She saw me, and I have no doubt that she knew me; but she received no mark of respect from me. The usual salutation was withheld by me, not because I believed her to be an adulteress (that question being then before the proper tribunal), but because I did not think it right, as a loyal

subject of the King, to move my hat to a person who has been endeavouring to excite rebellion from the moment almost of her landing in England. . . . .

Ever yours most sincerely, H. LEGGE.

FROM MR. WILBRAHAM.

Latham House, Sept. 12th, 1820.

My dear Lord,— . . . . . And now for news and politics. It would be wrong to think or talk of anything but the Queen, who is just now the object of public attention and irritation;—a feeling which Dr. Parr, who writes for her the answers to the various addresses, seems determined not to suffer to subside without mischief. No lady whatever visits her, notwithstanding the lies of the Opposition newspapers; and she is reduced to radical society with here and there a fool with a tête montée. I forgot whether in my last letter I mentioned having heard that she *said at her own table*, when talking of the King, that "by God she would blow him off his throne."

Though your post only comes in once a week, yet, as I presume it brings you the English newspapers, I need not enter into details of the disgusting evidence, but merely tell you that Brougham has failed in his attempt to bully the House of Lords collectively and individually; and, not having succeeded in prevailing on them to suffer him to comment on the evidence for the prosecution before he opens his case for the Queen, he is said to reserve his energies for the House of Commons, where the Whigs and Radicals are to coalesce for the purpose of throwing out the Bill of Pains and Penalties, so that whenever it comes to our inn, I expect very rough work and coarse debates, with a mob at our doors. This will be awkward, for Lord Castlereagh will be the only Minister to support the measure, (for I look on Bathurst, Vansittart, Robinson, and Pole as nothing,) and Canning will probably be absent, having committed himself awkwardly by talking of his *affection and respect* for the Queen, which must neutralise him on this question; probably much to the annoyance of his royal master; who, by the bye, is now living at his cottage in the Great Park at Windsor, with a male party only, having, it is said, been advised to dismiss the females by Lords Anglesey, Westmoreland, and Egremont (a good trio you will say). The mob seems determined to disbelieve the Queen's guilt, and the newspapers palliate what they cannot

deny, which will do infinite mischief to the morals of young ladies at boarding-schools who are suffered to read them.

Radicalism has taken the shape of affection for the Queen, and has deserted its old form, for we are all as quiet as lambs in this part of England, and you would not imagine that this could have been a disturbed country twelve months ago. . . . . Trade is rather improving, but I neither expect nor wish it to thrive as it formerly did, nor indeed is there the slightest chance of its so doing. . . . . .

Yours very truly, E. B. W.

Naples, Sept. 23rd. — Sir W. A'court called. The Sovereigns are to meet on the frontiers of Silesia, at Troppau, on the 10th October. Pozzo di Borgo* writes word from Paris, on the 12th, that after the cross-examination of Madlle. Dumont, the divorce part of the Queen's Bill was given up, and Brougham had declared his readiness to enter immediately on the defence.

The late plot at Paris is supposed to have been very extensive. The Austrian officers in Lombardy are buying horses as for active service. The Neapolitans have not 40,000 stand of arms. They have sent to France and Malta, but are not likely to receive any from either place; they have picked up money in Italy. There is a rumour of an intention to set up a Chamber of Peers here.

27th. — To-day was held a meeting of the Giunta preparatoria of the new Parliament, to settle the forms of proceeding next week.

The total number of Deputies, Sicily included, will be ninety-six; whereof fifteen are priests, with a Cardinal Ferrajo at their head; eighteen are magistrates or lawyers; five are military; only one noble, besides one of the military, who is noble; and the remaining fifty-seven are landholders of the middle class.

They profess neutrality, probity, and disclaim all party-spirit. They sit round an oval table, covered with a green cloth, and take different seats on successive days, to avoid all appearance of right side and left

* The Russian Minister at Paris.

side, &c. M. Galli, an old man, acted as President, and proposed the business of the day. Several Deputies spoke, and sometimes three or four began together; but the confusion did not last, and they all spoke with temper and fluency. The rules and order of proceeding, as proposed, were those of the Cortes, subject to modification; and it was agreed to print those rules for the use of the members with the modifications proposed by a committee to whom the subject had been referred: and this discussion was adjourned till to-morrow. Other questions were afterwards stated respecting a more convenient place for the meeting of the Parliament; also about the dress of the Deputies, and their mode of conveyance to court with their address, and the removal of all soldiers out of the city during the session. Upon this latter point there was much difference of opinion; and it was adjourned till to-morrow.

The tone and manner of this meeting of the Giunta was altogether that of a county-town corporation or parish vestry. All sorts of persons walked in and out of the room,—some women; and the lookers-on might be about 100 persons, who sometimes talked aloud among themselves. In the afternoon Mr. Marcus Lynch brought me a proposed letter to Sir W. A'court, which he had previously consented to receive, entreating him in the name of the English here to use his best endeavours for the release of General Church*, now detained nine weeks without any accusation of any sort, &c. It was already signed by Lord Ruthven, Lord Clarina, &c.

29*th.* — News from England. Mr. Brougham has asked and obtained three weeks before he proceeds to the Queen's defence.

Revolution in Portugal confirmed.

30*th.* — Saw Sir W. A'court. His despatches from England, and some parts of his reply. France is jealous of Austrian interposition with Naples, and, as the head of the Bourbon family, speaks of sending a strong

* General Church was an Englishman, having a command in the Neapolitan army, and he had been seized at Palermo, and thrown into prison.

armed squadron to the King's support. Austria is resolved to consider all the public acts of the Government of Naples since July 6th as void. Great Britain sends two frigates, viz.: the "Liffey" and "Active," and perhaps the "Vengeur," 74, to lie in the Bay of Naples for the protection of the British Embassy, subjects, and property, and eventually, if required, for a retreat for the King and Royal Family. And, with respect to the internal affairs of the Neapolitans, to observe a strict neutrality unless driven from it by hostile aggression.

The King of Naples is to open his Parliament *in person* to-morrow, and to swear again to the Constitution.

Sunday, Oct. 1st.—At nine o'clock went to the church of S. Spirito to see the opening of the Parliament. The streets were lined with militia. The church, consisting of one large aisle, was parted off at two thirds. The lower part, towards the great door, was for the people; the upper part for the Deputies, (all in black), who sat on each side and fronting the altar, in the large void space in the middle. Upon the steps and upon the platform of the altar was erected a canopy, with a chair under it for the King; and on his left were chairs for the Hereditary Prince, and Prince Leopold his brother.

The King and his attendants entered alone by a door on the right, and passed through the space allotted to the Deputies; he was dressed in a plain uniform, red and blue, with white waistcoat, &c., and in boots and spurs. The Hereditary Prince in the militia uniform, and Prince Leopold in hussar uniform. The Ministers and officers of the Court, in richly embroidered suits, followed the Royal Family.

On the right of the throne, above the altar platform, was a box for the Duchess of Calabria* and her children, opposite to another box for Foreign Ministers and foreigners of distinction.

The King being seated, the President, M. Galli, rose from his chair on the floor below, and advanced with

* Wife of the Hereditary Prince.

two secretaries, to tender the oath, and held the Gospels to His Majesty, who recited the oath aloud, and at the end there was some shouting by the Deputies of "Viva il Re!"

The President in his place then stood up and read a long discourse, to which the King made a short answer.

The King then opened the Parliament by delivering a written speech to the Duke of Calabria, who read it sitting. I understood from the Duchess of Devonshire, that the King told her "he had struck out some phrases, and had forbidden any expressions disrespectful of the allies."

To this speech the President replied at some length. The Commander-in-Chief, Pepé, who had been standing upon the same platform with the King, then stepped forward, and read from a printed paper his resignation of the office of Generalissimo, to which he had been appointed till the meeting of Parliament. The King thanked him for his services, and accepted his resignation.

The King departed, attended to his carriage by the same deputation of the Parliament which had received him. They pressed about him to kiss his hand, and there was a considerable exclamation of "Il Re! Viva il Re!"

The whole ceremony was ill-arranged, flat, and unimpressive, except what passed in words and gestures between the King and the Duke of Calabria, at the end of the King's speech, by which the King declared his intention of continuing his son as his Vicario del Regno. This was impassioned and affecting.

And this is the second oath which the King has sworn to maintain the Constitution. The first by surprise, and at a few hours' notice, in his own palace; this latter in the presence of his Parliament, at the expiration of six months.

In the evening the city was illuminated, but the people expressed no joy, and did not seem to take any interest in the event of the day.

3rd. — Saw Sir W. A'court. The King has declined

countenancing any proposition in the Parliament for an improvement by the establishment of a Chamber of Peers (this is understood to show his dislike of giving any further approbation to the new order of things). The Minister for Foreign Affairs has desired explanations of the reported measures of England, and his intention of sending a large fleet to Naples.

4th. — News of great slaughter at Palermo.

5th. — Went to the Parliament; found the War Minister reading a report, which was referred in part to the Committee on War and Finance. After an hour I came away.

The President sat in a common arm-chair under the canopy, with the two secretaries on each side; below and in front of him (but facing the Deputies), was a tribune to speak from. But the Members who spoke while I was there spoke from their seats, and addressed the President, "Presidente, la parola." Borelli, the Vice-President, spoke in his place as a Deputy, and well. The President spoke as often as he pleased, and addressed the Deputies, "Cittadini Deputati." The Ministers who were not reading, sat upon the lower bench with the Deputies.

9th. — Three thousand men have gone off with their arms into the mountains. The guards have been everywhere doubled for two or three nights past.

The notification of the birth of the Duc de Bordeaux was notified to the King by Castelcicala, the displaced envoy from Naples to Paris.

The banditti of Terracina have broken off their treaty with the Pope, and are gone back into the mountains.

14th. — Went to the Parliament. Borelli moved for an immediate account of the troops ready to march to the frontier, &c. Colonel Pepé, deputy for the Molise (no relation of the General), moved to recall the General

* There were three superior officers of the name of Pepé:—General William Pepé, the leader of the revolution; General Florestine Pepé, who commanded the expedition against Sicily; and Colonel Pepé, Deputy in the Parliament.

commanding in Sicily, or that he should produce his instructions for making the Convention of Palermo, which authorised the calling of a Parliament there to deliberate upon the question of a separate Legislature, and protested against that cession by the King as violating the Constitution, &c. The galleries applauded loudly, and shouted "Bravo!" The Deputies were silent.

26*th.*—News from England. The Queen's defence opened by Mr. Brougham and Mr. Williams.* A tissue of abuse, and alleged contradictions in the evidence of the Italian witnesses. Recrimination disclaimed.

Affairs of Naples. Lord Liverpool, in answer to questions from Lord Holland and Lord Grey, maintained the *right of interference* with the internal policy of foreign countries, under *possible* events and circumstances, but expressly disclaimed all *present* interference with the internal affairs of *any* nation whatever; and denied all direct or indirect encouragement to other Powers to exercise any such interference.

Sir W. A'court has to-day received a communication from the French Chargé d'Affaires, of his instructions to conform to the British Ambassador's line of conduct at Naples, in respect of the squadron to be sent from France. A Dutch squadron is also expected.

27*th.*—Went to the Parliament, and heard a long debate on the question "whether the Counsellors of State should be rendered incapable of being appointed Ministers of State," and so removed from the Council into the service of the Crown. Report *unanimous* by the Committee of "Esame e tutela della Constituzione," *against their disability.* Poerio and Borelli spoke well, and on the same side, against their disability; but the Chamber was clamorous for modifying the Spanish Constitution in this respect; and upon the Appel Nominal, an amendment having been proposed to disable them not only from being Ministers, but also from accepting "carica qualunque," it was carried for

* Afterwards Sir W. Williams, one of the Judges of the King's Bench.

their exclusion from "carica qualunque" (any office whatever), by 55 to 27.

There was to-day the same defect of practical order by not framing the question until the *end* of the debate; and frequently many Members spoke and talked at the same time, some sitting, some standing, even while the Member in the tribune was addressing the Assembly; and sometimes also while the President was delivering his opinion. The Deputies and the *gallery* were occasionally loud in their applause of sentiments delivered by particular Members, and especially when Cardinal Ferrajo declared his opinion for the exclusion of "carica qualunque."

30*th*.—The King this evening gave audience to a deputation of the Parliament, who presented for his adoption the modification of the Constitution by which it is declared that the Council of State shall have two Ecclesiastics, and that the remaining twenty-two places may be filled without regard to any other qualification for the choice of the Deputies; neither entitling nobles to sit there, nor excluding them if chosen. The King received the deputation on his throne, in his palace, and told them he should consider of it. It is doubted whether he will give his approbation.

N.B. He gave it afterwards, with qualifications.

The King endeavoured yesterday to obtain written answers to a string of questions relating to his "departure;" but they were put aside as needless considerations at this time. He then desired a personal conference in a *secret* mode with the British Minister, but this was declined peremptorily.

N.B. The proposition was to go from the Prince of Denmark's in another carriage with an officer, who would drive round to a *private* door of the palace; and then a priest would meet Sir W. A'court and conduct him by a *private staircase* to one of the King's apartments.

A French frigate arrived in the bay this evening.*

* Two English frigates, "Liffey" and "Active," had arrived Oct. 6th; and the English Admiral, Sir Graham Moore, in the "Rochfort," on Oct. 17th.

CHAP. LXI.

1820.

DESPATCHES FROM LORD CASTLEREAGH TO SIR W. A'COURT. — HIS VIEW OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. — CRITICAL STATE OF AFFAIRS AT NAPLES. — ABANDONMENT OF THE BILL AGAINST THE QUEEN. — CLAIMS OF THE NEAPOLITAN COURT. — LORD COLCHESTER GOES TO ROME. — CONVERSATION WITH CARDINAL GONSALVI. — LETTER FROM SIR W. A'COURT. — NEW MINISTRY AT NAPLES. — THE KING OF NAPLES GOES TO THE CONGRESS AT LONGBACH.

Saturday, November 4th.—Despatches received to-day at the Embassy.

I. From Lord Castlereagh, date, Oct. 20th, referring to instructions of the 16th on the nature and extent of the engagements of the British Government, and its view of European affairs. The memoir presented at Aix la Chapelle* shows what matters are considered to be "matters of treaty," and obligatory upon the Allied Powers; and the memoir upon the affairs of Spain shows the grounds of distinction between acts of the Alliance and their confidential deliberations, which latter belong wholly to questions of "expediency."

Russia tries to have all matters considered as within the obligations of treaty, and subject to the decision of the united councils of the allies. To this course Great Britain objects, especially because almost all questions in the present times regard matters of internal policy in each separate State. The conduct of Great Britain as to Naples is not a question of obligation, and alliance, and treaty; our conduct is to be that of "strict neutrality" upon a "condition declared," viz. "the personal security and preservation of the Royal Family."

* This Congress, held in 1818-19, was chiefly concerned in moderating the demands of the Allies on France. The withdrawal of the army of occupation, intended to lighten the pressure on the French finances, was also one of the principal affairs settled on that occasion.

We are to participate in their deliberations only to watch over the balance of power. You (Sir W. A'court) are authorised to require from the Royal Family a reasonable conformity to your wishes in the execution of our purpose for their safety, and your authority to employ force to that end does not extend to general hostilities. France sends a small naval force to co-operate with you.

II. The memoir, Oct. 1818, upon the principles of the Treaty of Alliance, Sept. 1815, presented at Aix la Chapelle.

The benign principles of alliance, Sept. 26th, 1815. "The European system in matters of political conscience." First, the successive Treaties of Paris, Vienna, and Paris, are "the great charter" by which the territorial system of European power, unhinged by the events of the French Revolution and aggression, was restored to order; but it did not and could not contain a compulsory guarantee for its execution.

Secondly, the Treaties of Chaumont* and Paris by the Four Powers were peculiar to their particular States. The internal order of things in France was not immutably fixed. "Nothing could be so humiliating to any State as to be so bound to its neighbours; and nothing so immoral or prejudicial to the character of Governments as the idea that this force was collectively to be prostituted to the support of established power, without any consideration of the extent to which it was abused." Imminent external danger from one Power to other Powers was their only justifiable cause for interference with its proceedings.

III. Memoir on the revolution of Spain, dated May, 1820. A masterly view of the general question; the peculiar difficulty, as well as impolicy, and absence of any necessity, for any external interference with the internal change of Government in Spain. Strong sup-

* The Treaty of Chaumont, concluded in the early part of 1814, was chiefly concerned in fixing the amount of forces to be kept in the field against Napoleon by Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia.

port of this argument as to its impracticability by the Duke of Wellington, in a note by him on this occasion, touching on the temper and state of the Spanish nation, corroborated by other communications from Sir Henry Wellesley. The principles of the policy applicable to the Spanish question sound in their substance, but dilated on in most verbose and prolix language.

IV. Austrian note of August 28th, 1820, to the Four Allied Courts upon the affairs of Naples, proposing to treat the revolution there as an armed revolt, and all the King's acts as void as well, upon and from the 6th July, and requiring such co-operation from Great Britain, France, and Prussia as had been already promised by Russia.

V. A despatch, August, 1820, to Lord Stewart, to be *no acting party* in the expected conference at Pesth.

VI. Despatch, 16th Sept., to ditto. To observe a strict neutrality.

VII. Ditto, ditto. A jealousy of Austrian attempts at aggrandisement.

VIII. Ditto, Oct. 15th, enjoining him *not even to sign the sheets of a protocol* at the expected conferences at Troppau, but to take any matters desired *ad referendum;* and to attend to what concerned "the integrity of the territorial system of Europe."

IX. From Sir Charles Stewart, Paris, Oct. 23rd, inclosing notes —

Oct. 5th, announcing two frigates and also one line-of-battle ship and frigate by the end of November. Less jealousy of Austria on the part of France.

12th Oct.—Regretting the absence of the Duc de Narbonne from Naples.

19th. — Increased difficulties of meddling with Naples, after Campochiaro's note upon Metternich's declaration to the Duca di Gallo, &c., and after the King's speech upon opening his Parliament, and the continued proceedings of the Parliament so assembled.

23rd.—Prince Cariati's arrival at Paris, and his conferences with Pasquier, refusing to receive him as Ambassador from the new Government.

News from England. House of Commons adjourned to Nov. 23rd.

Queen's trial proceeding in the Lords; attempt to impute a conspiracy to the Milan commission by evidence of agency adjudged to be inadmissible.

Here the King's guards had been ordered to march to the frontier to-morrow, but the King has refused his consent to their departure.

A day or two ago, the police arrested a Marchese Rossi, whom they found in a low pot-house, armed with pistols and a stiletto. He being a Carbonaro, his lodge immediately assembled, and their Grand Master, a cook of the Duca di Sangro, with sixteen others, rescued him, but are themselves now prisoners in the Vicaria. The lodge having decreed that the house of the commissary of police who arrested Rossi shall be pulled down, it has been protected since Thursday night by a guard of 200 men patrolling the streets. General Pepé was actively employed in making the arrest. A strong force also bivouacked in the Villa Reale.

This evening the Neapolitan Government sent a circular note to all the Foreign Ministers, notifying to them that yesterday it had sent a note to Cardinal Gonsalvi, the Pope's Secretary of State, apprising his Holiness that Austria having demanded a passage for her troops through the Papal territory, so soon as the Austrians entered it on one side, the Neapolitan army would enter it on the other.

6th.—At the Parliament, a printed regulation was stuck up everywhere, prohibiting all spectators from demonstrating any signs of applause or disapprobation by voice or gesture. A debate took place upon retaining or dismissing all soldiers who tendered their services beyond the prescribed number of 52,000. Resolved to form them into an army of reserve.

7th.—Went by Sir W. A'court's invitation to read and talk over his last despatches from England. I told him, by way of prologue, summarily, all my reasons for thinking that Austria would *not* finally send an army

to Naples. Nothing was so easy as to come, nothing so difficult as to know what to do when arrived. Could it put the King back upon his throne as an absolute monarch? Could it call upon him by its armed support to give a constitutional charter suited to a monarchical form of Government? They, who refused it to their own Italian, Bohemian, and Austrian, and Hungarian subjects, could they pay the expenses of its armament in a country at present unable to pay its own ordinary expenses? Would it levy such contributions by parcelling out its troops in the provinces to be cut off in detail? How long would its army of occupation stay? How long would other Powers suffer it to stay? How much of the invading army would go away? All, or part? And would not all Southern Italy rise up in an exasperated state to replace their own representative Government upon the first departure of the invaders?

But suppose the Austrians to come—or not to come—what will be the position of the King, or what is the British naval force to do in either event?

If the Austrians come, will the present Government suffer *him* to go over to the invader? If they will not, and if they carry him unwillingly away, it must be into the interior. Can the English hinder it? *No.* If he is willing, then he will probably go with his Ministers in the "Capri," &c. (the "Capri" is now caulking for a voyage), and so to Messina, his new capital in the Sicilian part of his kingdom. In that event the English squadron will have no duty but that of aweing the resident authorities (municipal or other) into a guarantee for the safety of the British merchants and their property.

Or if the Austrians *do not* come? In that event, however they may open some diplomatic communication, and then the state of the new constitution may vacillate for some length of time, during which, for an undefined period, the British squadron must (in a larger or lesser number) remain to protect her British interests. But if *the King* in that event departs, he must be prepared also to abdicate, and go away, by whatever means he

can find, French or otherwise. Nothing but personal danger made evident, and threatening the safety of himself or his family, can call for a British interference.

In the meantime there is neither justice nor good faith in requiring *secret conferences* with the British Minister, who does wisely and uprightly in refusing to be a party to any such clandestine proceedings.

8*th*.—Received from Sir W. A'court the circular of the Duca di Campochiaro, with copy of his note of Nov. 3rd to Cardinal Gonsalvi, apprising his Holiness that "if the Austrian troops entered the Papal territory, the Neapolitan troops might feel it necessary to do the same;" and submitting to his Holiness "the prudence of his interfering to prevent his country from being made the theatre of war." To this note Campochiaro requested an answer.

10*th*.—Cardinal Consalvi has sent a reply, disclaiming all knowledge of any proposed passage of troops from Austria through the Papal States, and relying upon the guarantees of the Congress of Vienna for the integrity of the Papal territory.

15*th*.—The Neapolitan Ministers are alarmed at the critical state of their public affairs. They have changed the troops of the garrison and the commanding officers in the forts. De Consigli, a leading officer at Avellino, in the first movements of July last, is *promoted* to a regiment of cavalry, and the command of St. Elmo is transferred to a more sure partisan. The ministers also contemplate and prepare for the necessity of the King's removal from Naples. General Pepé, now Inspector-General of all the militia, legionaires, and national guard, is looked upon by many persons with great jealousy, and is charged with designing to set up a republican government by help of the provincial troops.

Great dissatisfaction is felt with the proceedings of Parliament as assuming the executive power, or interfering with it too much, and its visible inadequacy to the crisis; and at the state of an unfinished constitution

which can make no binding law for want of a Council of State, to which the King has not yet given his consent in the form proposed to him. People are in daily and hourly expectations of some result, or of some notification of the proceedings of the congress at Troppau. The British ships in the bay have been incapable of acting or moving, if necessary, during the last three days, on account of the violence of the onshore wind and swell. No communication with the shore by boats.

The Neapolitan Government has now mounted forty guns upon the several batteries at the forts and upon the beach since the British squadron came, and they practice their guns daily, pointing them successively at each ship.

18*th*.—Military discipline. Two nights ago my acquaintance, Marchese di S. Angeli, a member of the Guardia di Sicurezza, did not attend his turn of duty on guard. General Pepé sent soldiers to arrest him, and carry him to a prison, disallowing his verbal excuse that he was unwell; but, the Marchese giving them two piastres, they left him undisturbed in his house.

Yesterday se'nnight the Prince della Torre, passing through Capua, witnessed the following scene. A soldier charged with theft was to be arrested by a guard; but he bade them not touch him, for he was a "Capo di Carbonari." He told them, however, that they should not suffer for the nonexecution of their orders, and he went with them to their superior officer, and when charged by the officer with this offence, he replied as before, "Io sono Capo di Carbonari." The officer ordered him into custody, but no soldiers would touch him. The officer then ordered the drummers to beat to arms, but the drummers refused, and the affair ended.

Robberies take place nightly in the streets, shops, and private houses. The Minister of Justice wrote last week to the Parliament, stating the alarming increase of robberies, and proposing a new law to warrant a summary arrest in the case of suspected persons.

His letter states the evil to be enhanced by the shelter which the offenders took under their denomination of members of patriotic societies.

FROM MR. H. LEGGE.

Navy Office, Oct. 30th.

My dear Lord Colchester,— . . . . . The business before the House of Lords is drawing to a close. The Attorney-General* has redeemed his credit, which did not stand high, by his reply; which is stated to have been one of the ablest arguments that ever was heard: he forgot nothing, and urged everything with great force. Nobody seems to doubt the moral guilt of the accused, and nobody to foresee the fate of the Bill. The prevalent opinion is, that it will be carried in the Lords by a small majority, which is perhaps the most mischievous of all the events that can be stated. It would be better to throw it out at once than to send it in that state to the House of Commons. Reaching that House under the most favourable circumstances, it would be subjected to a tribunal little capable of entering dispassionately into the inquiry; but forced into it by a majority of ten or twenty, God send it and the country a good deliverance. . . . . .

Yours always most truly, H. Legge.

Naples, Nov. 21st.—The King quiet. The Ministers prepared to secure his retreat, if necessary, on board the English fleet at the Castel d'Ovo. The Parliament monopolising the whole Government, and accusing Nicolo, Minister of the Interior, of having violated the Constitution by some order of September 30th, prior to the meeting of the Parliament. To-day they have declared that the Constitution shall commence in the same form as the Spanish, "In the Name of the Holy Trinity," stating the Almighty to be the legislator of human society.

General W. Pepé, Inspector of Militia, &c.; received an order from the Minister of Justice and Police, to arrest a man for an offence at Pozzuoli, committed two days ago; he answers that the offence was committed,

* Sir R. Gifford, afterwards Master of the Rolls and Lord Gifford.

and the order regular, but that, "for secret reasons known to him" (Gen. Pepé), "he shall *not* execute the order."

The issue of the conference at Troppau is hourly expected, and the Ministers, with the General, are prepared to put an end to the present Parliament, and call a new one, composed of *two* Chambers; one of Peers (some men of property, hereditary, &c., and others made peers for public services for life), and another of Deputies. The King's prerogative to be strengthened.

A wit of the Revolution said, that the present King began his reign as Ferdinand IV. (King of Naples), then became Ferdinand I. (as King of Sicily), is now become half a king, and will probably end as Ferdinando Zero.

FROM MR. BOOTLE WILBRAHAM.

Lathom House, Nov. 8th.

My dear Lord Colchester,—I received your letter on the 28th October, and would have answered it immediately, but I had nothing to tell you on the only subject which engrosses public attention, till the second reading of the Bill had taken place. This is the case now, and it is carried by 123 to 95; which is too small a majority for such a Bill to be sent into such a place as the House of Commons. What will be done with it, and whether in the Committee it will be given up after the preamble is agreed to, you will know sooner from the newspapers than from me. On every side there is something awkward; for, if the Bill is pressed forward there is a great chance, or more than a chance, of its being lost in the House of Commons: and from what I have heard I almost suspect that Lord Liverpool thinks the existence of his Administration depends on carrying it. On the other hand, if it is given up in the House of Lords, the House of Commons will have no parliamentary knowledge of what has been done sufficient to warrant them in granting a *small* allowance to the Queen instead of what is usually granted to a Queen Consort. Most, however, of the Lords who voted against the second reading of the Bill would not vote the Queen innocent, though some object to the principle of such a Bill, and others are against giving the King power to marry. Perhaps some resolution may be proposed to reconcile differences. The Opposition have for some time talked of candour, and acted

as if they thought of it; but I understand, that since they have found that the King will not receive them as Ministers, unless by compulsion, they have given a loose to party feelings which will not surprise you who have known them of old.

Lord Harewood's speech I rather expected, having long been aware that he saw the matter in a wrong light; but Lords Arden, Enniskillen, Harrowby, and others, one should hardly imagine, would have had feelings hostile to the measure.

The House of Commons is to meet on the 23rd, and I shall hold myself in readiness to go there; but it is probable that we may not be wanted, and indeed we should make but an indifferent Court of Appeal from the Lords. The able summing up of the Law Officers of the Crown have made a sensible difference in the public feeling of the dispassionate part of the community, and as to the mob and Radicals, who were most clamorous, and who, I have no doubt, were paid out of the money granted by Parliament for the trial, they are quieter since money is become more scarce, and I shall not be surprised if, after some time, the Queen sink into something very like insignificance. . . .

Yours very truly, E. B. W.

24th.—News from England that the Ministers, proposing in the Committee to leave out the divorce clause, had been beaten and obliged to retain it; and then upon the third reading had carried it by nine votes; but upon Lord Dacre's offering a petition from the Queen "that the votes of the Ministers, her accusers, might be disallowed," Lord Liverpool had not proceeded to move "that the Bill do now pass," but had given it up altogether, by moving "that it be taken into further consideration that day six months."

FROM MR. F. BURTON.

Upper Brook Street, Nov. 15th.

My dear Lord,— . . . . . Sure I am that on your own account you will not regret, though for the sake of the public many with me will have regretted, your absence from home. No doubt your curiosity must have been too much alive to rest satisfied without obtaining an ample detail of all the proceedings in this exhibition of national disgrace, which, though they have served to convict the offender, have not only failed of producing the sentence which ought to have followed, but have

left her in a condition to gratify the worst of her bad passions, that of revenge.

She certainly is at this moment the rallying point and the tool of all the enemies of every description of the King, the Ministry, and the Constitution. Yet there is a time after which John Bull is able to distinguish black from white, and to return to his reason. It may be hoped, therefore, that this time is not so far distant as is generally feared, and the desire to give cooling time even to the House of Commons, is perhaps, one of the motives for the intended prorogation on the 23rd.

It is rumoured that Ministers do not mean either then or at any time, to propose *any allowance whatever*, but to leave that task to the Opposition; yet it is difficult beforehand to determine whether this would be the likeliest course to steer clear of the most dangerous rocks. It is easy to see now that, if the whole were to be done over again, many things might be done better, but among these I should not include Lord Liverpool's speeches, or his conduct in the House, which seem to have been quite unexceptionable, and becoming a judge as well as a statesman. They have accordingly raised him in the opinion of most men, and have extorted compliments from the chief of his opponents. To end this hateful subject, I shall not be content without some further Parliamentary mark of degradation; but my first wish is that her Majesty will listen to the following address, which I heard yesterday.

"Most Gracious Queen, we thee implore
To go away and sin no more*;
But, if that effort be too great,
To go away, at any rate."

. . . . . .

Yours very faithfully, F. BURTON.

25*th*.—News to-day—desertion of 200 or 300 soldiers from the barracks near Portici. The following note from Sir W. A'court:—

[Private.] Saturday.

My dear Lord,—I have good reason to believe that our northern friends (*i.e.* the Austrians) will advance hostilely and soon. It is time for you to make up your mind to a removal, or to stand the brunt of what may happen.

Ever faithfully yours, W. A'COURT.

* This is in particular allusion to the speech of Her Majesty's own Solicitor-General, Mr. (afterwards Lord) Denman, which concluded with the scriptural quotation of the above words, and was generally looked on as a singular slip on the part of her own advocate.

Saw him in the afternoon.

From Germany, Ruffo, the Neapolitan Minister appointed before the revolution, and displaced since for not taking the oaths to the Constitution, writes word "that the King's protest against all the acts of the revolutionary Government has been laid before the Congress of Troppau, and has made its due impression; that the squadrons of England and France are by this time in the Bay of Naples, and that the military force of Austria will be immediately put in motion, with the best intentions towards you." From Milan Mr. John Brougham writes word to the Queen's agent here (with the account of the end of the Bill in the House of Lords), that the Austrian forces are concentrated, their line formed, and no travellers allowed to pass; so that the Queen's witnesses, who were going to England, were obliged to fall back on Pesaro; and that the Austrians were expected to advance on the 24th. In Naples, Campochiaro has this day day informed the Parliament that war is inevitable.

The Prince Vicar wrote a letter two days ago to the King, representing the injurious reports of his Majesty's want of zeal or sincerity in the cause of the Constitution which he had sworn to maintain; and entreating him to resume the reins of Government, and put himself at the head of the army, which the King declined.

The Guardia di Sicurezza is stated by the Ministers to be a body on which no reliance can be placed; and, in fact, it consists only of officers, and has few or no privates.

The British squadron, if required upon the prescribed event to act, must remove probably to a situation which can afford no protection to travellers or passengers.

Upon this communication I said there was much for me to ruminate upon.

30th.—News that a Russian squadron is expected here with troops. N.B. Not believed by Sir W. A.

Saw Sir William twice to-day. From England no

news. From the North of Italy, appearances of the Austrian intention to take a military position within the Papal territory; centre at Foligno; left wing, Ancona; right, Rome. France sends no ships in a state for the service proposed. In the interior much apprehension is felt that Pepé is preparing to place himself as *dictator* at the head of the Carbonari, with projects of proscription and victims named, at Naples. The King has acquiesced in the nomination of the Councillors of State, one for each province, but objects to the Parliament calling itself a Constituent Assembly; and requires the modification of the Spanish Constitution, to be submitted to his adoption or rejection. Filangieri and Carascosa are the great objects of Pepé's personal rivalry. An indirect endeavour is being made by the Ministry to obtain the mediation of France to ward off the Austrian invasion. N.B. This failed.

Saturday, December 2nd.—Another French frigate arrived, and anchored alongside the "Rochfort." The "Glasgow" arrived to-day.

The Archbishop of Tarentum told me that two nights ago the gendarmerie of the police were resisted in the execution of the law for shutting up public houses at ten o'clock, by fourteen armed persons, who admitted their knowledge of the law, but refused to obey it, upon their privilege of belonging to the Carbonari.

Called on Sir W. A'court. Had a long and interesting conversation with him, the result of which was my determination, at his instance, to leave Naples the next morning.

Letters have been received to-day from Ruffo, the ex-ambassador at Vienna, announcing the immediate arrival of the propositions from Troppau. 1st. Inviting the King of Naples to join the Congress of Sovereigns and their Ministers there assembled, that he may there freely declare himself upon the recent changes at Naples. This proposition will be immediately communicated to the Parliament. 2ndly. If the Parliament should

concur, the King will proceed immediately by land. If his departure is resisted, he is to be embarked in a British man-of-war, and landed at Leghorn or Trieste on his way to the Congress. Who his companions are to be remains unsettled. It is thought that the attendance of any of his old Ministers will necessarily involve the King in suspicions of insincerity; and possibly the persons to attend him may be Campochiaro, as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and Borelli the President of the Parliament. 3rdly. *The great obstacle* to such a measure is conceived to be General W. Pepé, and his known support from the Carbonari enrolled in the Militia and Legionaries. A large proportion of the regular troops are likewise doubtful. The removal of this obstacle is at this moment (seven o'clock) the subject of a conference between the King and Carascosa, the War Minister; the former intending to propose to the latter the arrest of Pepé this night or to-morrow night. M. La Fontaine, the French Chargé d'Affaires, has agreed that Pepé shall be received and secured in a French ship of war until, &c. &c. The Prince Vicar, to whom the same measure had been proposed, hesitated to command it. General Pepé has been recently urging the Prince Vicar to appoint him Generalissimo of the whole armed force of the kingdom; and has pressed upon his Carbonari adherents the necessity of declaring him dictator, with absolute power over the realm. Lists also are made out of persons to be put to death, amongst whom are Carascosa and Filangieri; and the perpetrators, to the number of fourteen, are sworn to the deed. 4thly. A general arrest of *all foreigners*, and placing them in a state of detention, like those formerly at Verdun; is also in contemplation by the Carbonari; and a massacre of all the Royal Family is loudly spoken of, in case the King or any of them shall endeavour to leave Naples. 5thly. The Castello Nuovo, it is thought, may afford the King, &c., a safe retreat for ten days, or until the Austrians could arrive by forced marches. General Filangieri,

Colonel of the King's Guard, has caused 18,000 sand bags to be carried into the Castel Nuovo, as a defence against the cannonading of the English squadron, but in reality to strengthen the interior against any attack from the side of the town.

Left Naples for Rome.

Arrived at Rome, Tuesday, 5th December.

10*th.* — News from Naples. The Parliament unanimously approve of the King's going to the Congress at Laybach, but adhere to the Spanish Constitution, and decline to send four members of their body to accompany the King, as proposed by him.

11*th.* — Cardinal Consalvi called, and told us the Neapolitan news: that the King, finding the Parliament required his adherence to the Spanish Constitution as the condition of his departure, had retracted his former message, in which he talked of a *new basis* for the Constitution, assuring them that he never meant to abandon the Spanish Constitution, &c. And now he was free to go, but his actual departure was not known; but he supposed it would be in a British ship to Leghorn, and from there by land to Laybach.* The only result was that the Austrians might now make war without personal risk to him.

The Cardinal said also that, as the Neapolitan frontier was not twenty miles distant from Tivoli, nothing would be easier than for the Neapolitans to mount 3000 infantry behind 3000 cavalry, and occupy Rome in a few hours, and revolutionise the whole Roman state; so as to meet the Austrian army by opposing a revolutionised population of five millions in front of the Neapolitan territory.

He mentioned that he had received a letter from the Queen of England, to inform him of "the triumphant issue of her trial in the House of Lords," and desiring him to lay that information before the Pope. To which he had sent for answer, that "he had received Her

* Laybach, to which the Congress of Troppau adjourned, is the capital of Illyria.

Majesty's letter, which he had laid before his Holiness; and he had the honour to be," &c. &c.

Baron de Reden told me that, when the King of Naples received the *conditional* consent of Parliament to his going away, he had applied to Sir W. A'court to give him an immediate passage in a British ship of war to Leghorn, without explaining himself to the Parliament respecting the condition. This Sir W. A'court had peremptorily refused, unless the King could have their unconditional consent, or free himself from it; and it was upon this that the King retracted his first message, and satisfied the conditions imposed upon him by declaring his adherence to the Spanish Constitution, in order to go away freely.

LETTER FROM SIR W. A'COURT.

Naples, Dec. 10th, 1820.

My dear Lord,— . . . . I am still of opinion that you and Lady Colchester are much better at Rome than at Naples.

I communicated to you, the evening before you left, that it was in agitation to arrest an officer, and send him away by sea. The Admiral, *the highest of all in command**, had not the courage to take so decisive a step with a person of such a reputation; and therefore the whole scheme was abandoned. This is all the news I can send you respecting our own squadron, and, as I cannot mention names, I am not certain that even this will be understood.

Our political situation you will learn by the papers, and the conditions upon which the King has obtained permission to go to Laybach. The business has been sadly bungled between presumption and weakness. The Parliament has evinced more adroitness than I thought it possessed. By acceding to the King's departure, it neutralises England and France; and certainly the attainment of this point is of infinitely more importance than any advantage that could result from keeping the old man as a hostage.

I could have wished that His Majesty had not applied to me for a British ship; but, as he applied by letter, and departs with the consent of the nation, *je suis à l'abri*. The "Vengeur" and the "Revolutionnaire" are destined to this service, as well as the French frigate "La Duchesse de Berri."

* Meaning the Prince Vicar, cf. p. 184.

When the King is once on board, a world of responsibility will be off my shoulders. I may then loudly proclaim our neutrality, and thus put the nation and myself in a little better odour with the Liberals.

You are lucky to have arrived without any impediment to your route. A Mr. Griffith, son of the member for Denbigh, is now in the mountains, in the hands of the brigands, and has no chance of escape without the payment of a very large ransom. His companion, McMahon, is arrived here to raise money. They were both extremely ill-treated, and in hourly expectation of being murdered.

. . . . . .

McMahon describes the band as consisting of above forty persons, with a French interpreter for the advantage of foreigners. They said they were all Carbonari; and he has been directed to carry the ransom to the posthouse at Fondi, where one of the party will call upon him for it.

. . . . . .

Of home news, I can send you none. Great reports of partial changes, but a radical change quite out of the question.

. . . . . .

The late Ministers of this country are dismissed, and placed in a state of accusation. The new arrangements are as follows:—

Duc de Gallo	Foreign Affairs.
Acclario	Interior.
Duc de Carignano	Finance.
General Parisi	War (age 78!)
Troisi	Grace and Justice.
Ruggiero Settimo	Marine.

The late Ministers mistook their force, and the temper of the times. It is well no stronger measures were adopted on their recommendation.

Yours very faithfully, W. A'COURT.

LETTER FROM SIR HENRY LUSHINGTON.*

Naples, Dec. 15th, 1820.

My dear Sir,— . . . . . I will not say that your Lordship took flight at the moment the danger was over; but it certainly looked very like it. The gazettes will have communicated to you the various messages sent to Parliament by His Majesty, in consequence of a letter from the sovereigns of

* Consul General at Naples.

Austria, Russia, and Prussia. The moment His Majesty obtained permission from his faithful Parliament, he embarked on board the "Vengeur," * under a salute of twenty-one guns from every ship of the *English and French* squadron, but *not one gun* was fired from the forts, or even from a Neapolitan frigate in the bay. . . . . .

The king embarked about three, and sailed about seven. And now comes a tale of woe! Between twelve and one at night the "Revolutionnaire"† and "Vengeur" ran foul of each other, by which accident they were both so disabled as to be compelled to run for Baia Bay. The captains, however, reported to the Admiral that their damages would be repaired, and that they should again be ready for sea this morning. . . . . .

I fear the Neapolitans will greatly triumph, as they were, and in my opinion with great reason, much offended at the King's going in an English ship instead of in the "Capri."‡

I cannot augur much good to Naples from His Majesty's journey. He had not the power to concede the most trifling point, if that point can be considered as contrary to the Spanish Constitution. He may assure the Sovereigns that he is content, that he is, and has been, a free agent, but that is the utmost that he can do. Now, admitting that he does make these assurances, will the Sovereigns believe him? or, believing him, will they alter their determination? I think not; because it is against the democratic principles of the new Constitution that the Allies are supposed to be in arms; not because the King disliked it. Again, the propositions made by the King in his first message were so reasonable that the Allies will naturally say, "Nothing will satisfy these people, they must be put down." And, when they know that Campochiaro and Nicolo are to be impeached for advising the King to send the message,—a message *supposed* to be conceived and dictated by their ambassadors,—I fear they will be enraged, and at once put a stop to all further negotiation.

The fact is, that the King, the Parliament, and the nation are all hampered by the oath they have taken to maintain inviolate the Spanish Constitution. . . . . .

Yours very faithfully, H. Lushington.

* The "Vengeur" 74, commanded by Captain F. Maitland, the same officer who received Napoleon on his surrender at Rochefort, in 1815.

† The "Revolutionnaire," 46, Captain Fleetwood Pellew. The ships were crossing on opposite tacks in a dark and squally night.

‡ A Neapolitan ship of the line.

FROM SIR W. A'COURT.

Naples, Dec. 18th.

My dear Lord,—There is no idea at present of diminishing our force in this Bay, the more particularly as both the "Vengeur" and the "Revolutionnaire" have been so disabled by their late accident that they must go to Malta to repair as soon as they return from Leghorn. . . . . The question of peace or war will be decided by about the 10th of January.

The King is gone, as he has repeatedly assured his people, to endeavour to obtain from the Allied Sovereigns an acknowledgment of the Constitution as it now stands. If this be found irreconcileable of the tranquillity of Italy and Europe, it is upon that ground that foreign interference must now be justified. His Majesty has, in my opinion, advanced a great deal too far in his last messages, and in his verbal promises to the deputies sent to him from the Parliament to take refuge under the plea of compulsion. Detestable as this Constitution is, and little as it is adapted to this country, the King's last acts have deprived him of the right of raising his voice against it. The Allies, if they be so disposed, will not want many sufficient grounds for attacking so monstrous an edifice, but the honour and conscience of the King must ever (I should think) forbid his interference except in support of it.

I found it necessary to make a verbal declaration of the *precise line Great Britain intended to take* during the discussions which preceded the King's departure. It had the happiest effect, and my situation here is very much simplified.

If a war commence, the Hereditary Prince is too much identified with the rulers of the day to separate his interests from those of the nation, or to claim foreign protection. He will probably join the army, and throw himself, with his family, in case of need, into the fortress of Gaeta. I shall then have no interests to watch over here, but those purely British, unless some very extraordinary events occur, at present impossible to be foreseen.

I look upon the departure of the King as ensuring *our neutrality*. The Parliament, I fancy, saw the matter in the same point of view, and this led it to consent so easily to the measure. The neutralisation of England and France was a much greater object than the retention of even a royal hostage. . . . .

I can give you little information respecting the new ministers.

Gallo you know, and unfortunately all the world knows.

Acclario was formerly Intendant at Lucca, where he is said

to have conducted himself well. He is supposed to be attached to Nicolo, and to owe his nomination to him.

Carignanò is a very gentlemanlike man, and was at the head of a Finance Committee, in Murat's time, when he gave satisfaction. He is a man of high birth, and much beloved in his own circle.

Parisi is a respectable old soldier of seventy-eight years of age; I never heard any thing else of him.

Troisi was an able and upright judge; and, therefore, we hope he will retain the same qualities in his new capacity; but he is eighty years of age!

Settimo, to whom the Marine has been offered, is a great friend of mine, a good officer, and a respectable man. He is a Sicilian, and was Minister of War at Palermo in the time of Lord William Bentinck. I am inclined to think he will decline the situation.

Guglielmo Pepé remains where he was, what he was, and what he ever will be. . . . . .

Ever truly and faithfully yours, WILLIAM A'COURT.

CHAP. LXII.

1821.

LORD COLCHESTER IS PRESENTED TO THE POPE.—AFFAIRS OF ROME'S REVENUES, ETC.—PLAN FOR EXCAVATING THE FORUM.—CANNING'S RESIGNATION.—PROTESTANT BURIAL-GROUND AT ROME.—THE AUSTRIAN ARMY CROSSES THE PO.—MOTION TO INSERT THE QUEEN'S NAME IN THE LITURGY.—AUSTRIANS BIVOUAC AROUND ROME.—THEY MARCH ON AQUILA.—ILL-TREATMENT OF SOME ENGLISH BY THE ROMAN POLICE.—LETTER FROM MR. LEGGE.—REVOLUTION IN PIEDMONT.—TIERNEY RETIRES FROM THE LEAD OF THE OPPOSITION.—BARON STEIN.—LETTER FROM BANKES.—CATHOLIC QUESTION CARRIED IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.—STATE OF SICILY.—POZZO DI BORGO.

TUESDAY, January 2nd.—At eleven this morning Baron Reden, the Hanoverian Minister, came by appointment to my hotel to conduct Lord Guildford and myself to the Quirinal, where we were to be presented to the Pope. . . . . The Pope's closet was a small room, with writing table, &c., as in any other private gentleman's own study.

In the three outer rooms were, first, a range of nine dirty, shabby fellows, bowing as servants; next we were ushered forward by two Abbati successively into the long galleries, and in the last we were met by M. Riario, acting as Maestro di Camera to his Holiness. In this last room we were desired to deposit our hats (formerly swords were left), except the Ambassador, to whom the right belongs of carrying it into the Pope's presence.

The Pope receives Roman Catholics sitting, and they kiss his slipper. Other persons he receives standing. When we entered he advanced, and we bowed, and dropped one knee with a slight genuflexion three times till we arrived in a line fronting him. Baron de Reden then knelt and kissed the Pope's hand, and named Lord

Guildford, who did the same, and me in like manner. His Holiness then talked a few moments about each of us with the Baron; of Lord Guildford as Chancellor of the Ionian Islands, and of me as Anticamente Oratore del Parlamento, &c. The Baron then renewed his genuflexion and kissing of hands, and we the same, and retired.

The Pope was dressed in a white woollen dress buttoned, and called his "Abito di Levite," and wore crimson buskins with a cross embroidered in gold upon the foot. This is an imitation of the costume of the Byzantine emperors, whose embroidery was an eagle, and that was kissed by all who came to the imperial presence as a sign of veneration, &c. Another instance this of royal prerogatives copied and claimed by the early sovereigns of the Church of Rome.

Before we quitted the Quirinal it was thought proper that we should pay our respects to Cardinal Consalvi; he came out of his closet to receive us very courteously, and mentioned the recent arrival of a courier from Lord Castlereagh on his way to Naples.

The current news is that Consalvi is going to the congress.

Dined with the Cardinal. Talking before dinner to him about his taking air, exercise, &c., he said to me, "Non; je ne fais que manger et boire l'*amertume*."

3*rd*.—Attended a meeting at Mr. Hamilton's* upon his project of an English subscription to excavate the Forum. Many considerations were mooted, and some facts reported. The company present were, Sir William Drummond, Sir William Gell, General Ramsay, Mr. Hay, &c. Sir W. Gell reported a computation that the quantity of earth to be removed was 50,000 cartloads, at 3 paoli per load, = 15,000 scudi. Another computation was stated as having been made for the Government at 25,000 scudi. The area included in this computation was so much of the Forum as is now unbuilt

* Formerly British Minister at Naples.

upon, viz., from the Arch of Septimius Severus to the Græcostasis, and lengthways in the direction of S. Teodoro. It was stated also that the project of opening to the foundation of the Via Sacra, by the Arch of Titus towards the Capitol, was impracticable, because the Government would not allow the trees to be touched, nor any building to be endangered. It was stated also that the Pope had so much aversion to all the past diggings, that he had given up his airings in the Campo Vaccino, and never would go there. Cardinal Ruffo and others were of opinion that the ruins looked much better when half buried and half overgrown with bushes. Cardinal Consalvi had (the day before) expressed himself obligingly to Mr. Hamilton on the subject, but added that it was not in his department, but under the Camerlengo, Cardinal Pacca, who was "poco geloso," which the Duchess of Devonshire amended into "gelossisimo," and all agreed that Cardinal Pacca was implicitly guided by the advice of Avocato Fea, Commissario di Antichità, who would certainly, sooner or later, oppose and stop the work; nor could it be undertaken or carried on with any hope of success, unless with the sincere and zealous co-operation of the Government. Sir W. Gell stated that the Government had not a farthing to bestow upon such a purpose, as their expenses at present outran their revenue.

The result was an opinion that the proposition was, under these circumstances, impracticable: 1st. From a probable want of funds. 2nd. Want of a permanent control and vigilant superintendence in the application of any funds raised for the purpose, which the Roman Government would probably require to be placed in their hands, as a security for the completion of the work, that it might not be left more ruinous than at present. And 3rdly, from a want of the sanction of the Government itself, at all times jealous of English, and of all foreign interference.

The revenues of the Roman State are estimated at 8,000,000 scudi. Their net produce about 6,500,000.

The total annual income from loans, anticipations, &c., about 9,000,000; but their whole system confused, and ill-understood by the ministers themselves.

The expenditure: 1. For maintenance of restored ecclesiastical bodies (whose proper funds were swept away by the French Revolution), about 2,000,000. The army, about 2,000,000. The interest of the public debt, viz., partly old reduced funded debt, partly the Milan debt (i. e., the Roman share of the debt of the kingdom of Italy), and partly Eugène Beauharnais's indemnity, 1,000,000 more. Total, so far, 5,000,000. Then all the civil establishments, which, although ill and poorly paid, are extravagantly numerous, and employ a multitude of unnecessary persons. And the result is that the ordinary revenue falls very short of the ordinary expenditure. These particulars are nowhere printed, but the substance of this information transpired through the channel of some official agents of the Government, and in the time of Pacca (the Cardinal's nephew) the late Governor of Rome, who embezzled the public treasure and ran away last year, anybody might know anything for money.

The Austrian Government at Milan receives from hence, as from other countries, all the contributions to the debt of Italy, but pays no interest to foreigners upon the debt which it owes them. Chevalier Niebuhr (the Prussian Envoy Extraordinary to this Court), is a creditor of this description. While the French Government existed he was paid regularly, even when the Austrians occupied a large part of Lombardy; but, since 1814, he has received no interest whatever. And so it was, I remember, last year at Genoa, where no interest was paid by the Government at Milan, even upon the funds of the charitable establishments, although the whole of the debt due to creditors of the Austrian Government in Italy were guaranteed by the Congress at Vienna.

Saw M. Boreel, the Dutch Minister at Naples, who told me that the Pope would not grant the same Con-

cordat as Buonaparte had obtained, either to Hanover, or to the Low Countries, assigning for reason that he could not give to *Protestant princes* the same powers as he had granted to Roman Catholic princes in the appointment of Roman Catholic prelates, &c., &c. If so, why should they give public authority to his nominees, unknown to, and unapproved by the sovereigns of those countries?

By the British Consul's account, the English now here are about 500. There were last year 600 at a time, and in the whole season 1200. The Transapennine department is extremely disaffected, the army (about 5000) not to be relied upon. Debtors are protected from their creditors by papal edict for a term of years; for which he had seen two placards at a time on the walls of Ancona. The population of Ancona is daily decreasing.

Amongst the pensions, not ecclesiastical, paid at Rome, are very many to unmarried women of noble families, under the name of "Donne periclitante," to save them from worse means of supporting themselves.

8*th.*—News from England of Canning's resignation.

10*th.*—News from England that the King of France sends an ambassador to Laybach, and to Naples; and that the Emperor of Russia sends M. d'Oubril from Laybach as Chargé d'Affaires, in the absence of Count Stackelberg, coming to Rome.

14*th.*—M. Niebuhr came to me by appointment *; our conversation was in substance to the following effect:

1. On the Protestant burying ground.

Baron Ompteda †; in conjunction with Niebuhr and Italinsky, the Russian Ambassador, four years ago applied to Consalvi, representing the exposed state of the burying ground and monuments, and their desire to have it enclosed at their own expense. Consalvi received the application favourably, said that the Roman Government would do it themselves, and he would see

* The historian, at that time Prussian Minister at Rome.

† Hanoverian Minister, as such acted for English affairs.

the place and have an architect's report. After the lapse of some months, upon a second application, Consalvi said he had seen the ground, and referred to the Government architect to report upon a proper plan, and its expense. More time elapsing, on a *third* application Consalvi said the Government could *do nothing;* but the Protestants might do it themselves at their own expense. A subscription was accordingly raised by the English to the amount of nearly 1000 crowns; and by Italinsky, Niebuhr, and Ompteda, amongst the Germans, &c., to as much more; Italinsky, then seventy-eight, obtaining a subscription from the Grand Duke as a personal favour to himself, who was likely to be one of its first occupants.

Ompteda then died; a funeral service was performed with great ceremony, and a sermon preached over his grave at midday.

Niebuhr, who had, by Ompteda's desire, taken up the business, then presented to Consalvi a plan and report of the cost of a wall twelve feet high, which the fund subscribed would defray.

Consalvi objected to this, as obstructing the view of the Pyramid, &c.; and after more delay, produced a plan for planting an avenue up to the Pyramid, and making a semi-circular flight of steps to descend the base of the Pyramid, *so as to put an end to all enclosure.*

Niebuhr objected to this plan, that the steps would destroy some existing monuments; and that the plantation would disturb an enclosure of ground already given by the city of Rome in absolute possession to Baron Humboldt and his heirs; which, on the part of a Prussian subject, he never would consent to. And then he proposed, to obviate all objections of obstructing the sight of the Pyramid, that the burying ground should be enclosed by a sunk fence, and the area planted or embellished in any way the Roman Government should desire, and the present fund should be augmented to any amount.

Consalvi referred this plan to the Government archi-

tect, but pleaded from time to time the illness of the architect as an excuse for the report not being made; although the architect was daily at Monte Cavallo upon other public business, and went about everywhere as a rich man in his own carriage; and the inspection of the place was a matter of little time or trouble. The architect is now recently dead.

At present the business waits the interposition of the Prince of Denmark, who, seeing the state of the place, volunteered to speak with Consalvi, and urge the completion of it. In a few days probably the Prince of Denmark will communicate the result. It is thought that if the execution were put into the hands of the new architect (probably Camporese), the success of the measure would be much facilitated thereby, though at a much larger expense.

2. On the Pope's ministers.

Consalvi is the Pope's only ostensible and efficient minister. He is supported by all the courts of Europe. But the Pope does not always implicitly adopt his advice; and upon some important matters, especially ecclesiastical, acts sometimes on the suggestions, either of the Camerlengo Pacca, whom he does not like, or of the Uditro Santissimo, or the secretaries of some of the congregations who have personal access to him *direct*, in respect of their office.

His Holiness, now for twenty years a reigning sovereign, and with many good qualities, has no knowledge of or talent for the administration of public affairs.

3. On war between Austria and Naples.

If war takes place, the Austrian army, it is calculated, could not be in Rome under eighteen days, possibly reducible by forced marches to fourteen days. The Austrians are not good at marching, and twenty miles per day is a large allowance, and would require many days of halt. The Prussian landwehr in the last war marched forty miles per day on their way to the Rhine.

The Neapolitans have a body of cavalry at Ossoli, behind Tivoli, thirty-five miles from Rome, and could

be here in twenty-four hours. They have also a body of infantry behind their cavalry at Tagliacozzo; they might enter Rome and levy some millions of contributions in specie, and carry off immense quanties of gunpowder, manufactured and still manufacturing, for the Roman Government, who have no ball or shot in proportion, or any military means of using or defending their powder. The Neapolitans would not be likely to occupy any permanent position, having failed upon former occasions to hold them at Civita Castellana, or Macerata.

The Roman territory is everywhere disaffected, at Ancona, Macerata, Foligno, Perugia, &c., but more especially the Romagna. In August last, and so late as October, signals at night by lights were made to and from Rome itself, at a station behind Santa Maria Maggiore, communicating with similar lights on hills, south, north, and east of Rome. At this season the snow would prevent signals at the same elevated spot, but other modes would doubtless be resorted to. In August last the chief magistrate of Aquila, in the Neapolitan territory, fearing personal danger, left Aquila on foot one evening, without saying which way he was going, and fled thirty-five miles to Rieti in the Roman territory, to which place an order came, within the same twenty-four hours, to a club of Carbonari, to assassinate him.

23*rd*. — Went to see Italinsky, Russian Minister at Rome. We talked of Suwarrow (also called Italinsky from his conquest of Italy); no relation of Italinsky, but well known to him. As a major he was a good officer, and like other people; but when he obtained a command he assumed the extravagant and insane behaviour for which he was afterwards so remarkable. In his disgrace he was visited by a favourite of the Emperor Paul, who had been raised by the Emperor from the situation of a menial servant to the highest honours in the state. Suwarrow on that occasion called up his own valet-de-chambre, and after exhorting him to fidelity in the presence of the favourite,

added, "And you see to what rewards a valet-de-chambre may aspire."

26th. — News of the Austrians having entered Piacenza, probably on their march to Ancona.

The Pope is preparing for his removal (this from head-quarters), possibly to Civita Vecchia, more probably to Viterbo, on his way to Florence. The Farnese Palace in Rome is now fitting up; it belongs to the King of Naples.

Great agitation at Naples.

Thursday, February 1st. — The Austrians have asked a passage through the Papal States. The Pope will remove to Civita Vecchia, and by the coast road to Tuscany.

3rd. — Went to Chiesa Nuova, and heard the requiem for Cardinal Doria. I have now heard the Pope's choir, at St. Peter's and at Monte Cavallo, several times; also the instrumental and vocal vespers at St. Peter's, and the Gesù, and masses without end; also the requiem for the King of Sardinia at Genoa, besides this to-day, and none of them have half the solemn and affecting dignity of our English Cathedral Service, with its anthem well performed. The Italian church music, as now performed, has all the "brilliant execution and learned tricks" of the opera. What is good in the Roman Catholic worship is *not* their music, *not* their genuflexions, dressing, undressing, sprinkling, smoking, facing this way and that way, the Old Testament on one side of the altar, and then handed over for the New Testament to the other. The priests sometimes in a row, sometimes three deep, the red cap on, and off; then the white mitre, then the gilt mitre, and so on. *But it is* the every day individual worship of devout persons on their knees, in churches open the whole day, without partition or distinction of age, sex, or rank. The confession even, though sometimes ludicrous, is not unimpressive, and the preaching, though usually miserable as to subject, is almost always eloquent, and imposing in the action and delivery.

It is strange that no book of *the mass*, such as the priest chants it, is to be bought commonly at Rome. The Breviaries, ritual and pontifical, may be had anywhere, but the Missale is rare, and I had much difficulty in getting one.

5*th.* — Saw Mr. Warrand, a Scotch gentleman, about an affray at Serney's, for which he was taken, handcuffed by Serney and his son at midnight, and lodged in a prison till the next day. An odd way of beginning to settle accounts with a gentleman who had lodged six weeks in his house, and offered to pay his bill, but quarrelled with the waiter. I recommended Mr. Warrand to apply to the British Consul, for information and assistance how to procure some redress.

9*th.* — This morning a proclamation was stuck up everywhere, signed by Cardinal Consalvi, in the Pope's name, notifying that the Austrians had crossed the Po, and were marching towards Naples, but would not come through "the capital of the Christian world," &c.

The calculated time of their reaching the neighbourhood of Rome is the 25th inst. Much uneasiness among the inhabitants and some of the foreigners, who fear the prior arrival of the Neapolitans.

10*th.* — From Naples Sir W. A'court sends word that, upon the receipt of the notification from Laybach the universal cry was for war, and the defence of their independence. But the Parliament was not yet convened, the Regent waiting for the King of Naples's despatches by the Duke de Gallo, who passed through Rome yesterday morning.

11*th.* — At Naples Pepé has issued a violent proclamation. The Parliament are to meet on Tuesday to discuss the King's letter. Pepé has the command of 45,000 men, and Carascosa, with Filangieri and Ambrogio under him, commands 40,000 more. The Austrians will be here on the 23rd. It is not now intended by the Pope to leave Rome, but if he goes, all the Cardinals and all the foreign ministers depart also.

13*th.* — One of Consalvi's secretaries, by his order,

wrote a note this evening, (which I saw) to acquaint Lady Ellenborough that the Governor of Albano had reported to him the march of a Neapolitan force, "*a spron battuto*" upon Velletro. In the night all horses were taken by the order of Government, to remove their artillery.

FROM MR. BOOTLE WILBRAHAM.

London, Jan. 26th, 1821.

My dear Lord Colchester,— . . . . . I came to London for the meeting of Parliament. I expected to find it full of tumult and riot, but I never saw it more quiet than it is. As to Parliament, there was no amendment moved to the address, but a motion of Mr. Wetherell's * (who from being a disappointed lawyer is become a patriot) for papers about the Liturgy, was the subject of a division, which was forced by the Opposition, who seemed to me triumphing in their strength; but were quieted by the number being 169 for them, and 260 against them. This argues well for the debate of to-night, when Lord A. Hamilton moves for an address to insert the Queen's name in the Liturgy. On this question Ministers mean *to stand or fall*, feeling that after the steps they have taken they cannot conscientiously give way; and I hope that this consideration may influence some Members, who, whatever they may think about the Liturgy, do not wish the Whigs and Radicals to come into power. By-the-bye, there was a meeting three nights ago at Burlington House, about this motion, and one at Lord Tavistock's, which is fixed for Monday se'nnight, censuring Ministers for their conduct, when a disagreement arose, and Lord Archibald and his friends not choosing to give way, Tierney and the old Whigs took their hats and walked off.

Though I have no apprehensions of the result of these motions, I really fear that Lord Castlereagh will not be equal to the fatigue of the campaign, which he has to manage singly, for Van does not speak much but upon his own business. Bathurst is not much listened to, and is conscious of it; Pole rarely speaks, but when he does is always in a passion; and as to Robinson, he seems to do nothing but occasionally answer a question on trade. It is therefore cruel in the Opposition (as Walter Scott once told Morritt) to plague "poor dumb creatures."

I fear that Lady Liverpool's health is declining, and if anything should happen to her, I should think that for a time Lord

* Afterwards Sir Charles Wetherell, Attorney-General.

Liverpool would be quite unequal to all the turmoils and troubles of his situation.

Peel has declined accepting office, but whether it is because he likes to live retired with his pretty wife, or that he thinks the Ministry will not stand, I know not. Canning can do nothing till the Queen's business is settled; so we have not got before us a great choice of statesmen.

I am told that 50,000*l.* is to be proposed as an allowance to our most *gracious Jezebel*, but out of that she must find herself a palace; and it is said that she has nearly agreed for Marlborough House, where she will be a pleasant neighbour to Carlton House. She has appointed the old Duke of Roxburgh her Chamberlain, and Lord Hood the Steward of her Household (he took a warm part in her favour), but no ladies are yet named. But enough of Her Majesty, who has been called unsunned snow, but who, somebody said, was more like hoar frost.

. . . . . .

Yours very truly, E. B. WILBRAHAM.

14*th*, *Rome*. — By the latest and most sure accounts, General Pepé has reconciled himself to Generals Carascosa, Filangieri, and Ambrogio, and their joint purpose is, by their military authority to keep down the Carbonari, who, with the priest Minichini at their head, were caballing against the generals.

15*th*. — News from Naples. Roads safe and open, the city disturbed. The parliament, having received the propositions of the Allies from the Regent on Tuesday last, referred them to a Commission, who, that they might give a dispassionate and well-considered answer, were not to report till Thursday, *i.e.*, to-day. Great agitation in the Parliament House and in the streets; an ex-director of police was murdered in his house by sixty assassins. Minichini, when attempted to be arrested, defended himself by a band of Carbonari.

18*th*. — The Pope, by "Notificazione," announces "quattro campi di ribelli," appointed by the "Unione Patriotica dello Stato Romano," at Pesaro, Macerata, Spoleto, Frosinone, and warns all his subjects against joining any such criminal and visionary projects.

From Naples the accounts are of the Parliamentary report upon the documents from Laybach, and the

determination of abiding the fate of war, with a communication from the English Minister, that Great Britain observes a strict neutrality, and disclaims all interference with the internal government of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. France joins the Allies in the wish for peace, but holds out no threat of war.

The last troops of the army were to leave Naples on Friday, and entrust the tranquillity of the capital to the Guardi di Sicurezza; and on Friday all the English officers were to sleep on board their ships.

20*th*. — To-day the Austrian and Prussian Chargés d'Affaires arrived here from Naples; the Russian envoy was to leave Naples yesterday.

The first column of the Austrians, by Viterbo, is supposed to have pushed forward to-day to Monte Rossi, three posts from Rome, then to halt between Nepi and Civita Castellana (the position taken by the French in their first war with the Neapolitans under General Mack), and there to wait until in communication with the centre column under Frimont, which is marching by Perugia, on Foligno. The left column, under Walmoden, after garrisoning Ancona, descends by Macerata to Foligno. The whole army then, under Frimont, as Commander-in-Chief, will proceed in two wings — the left upon the Abruzzi, under Walmoden; the right upon Fondi, under Stottenheim. The Neapolitans, at their central position of S. Germano, have the advantage of meeting either wing with the whole of their own force. Such is the present supposed course of operations.

Pozzo di Borgo will attend the Austrian head quarters, as Russian Military Commissioner. Baron Vincent follows as the Austrian Diplomatic Minister. The King of Naples is also expected to follow behind the invading army; and his manifesto, as well as that of the Allies, is expected to be issued from a council to meet at Florence.

21*st*. — Consulted with Lord Cork, General Ramsey, &c., upon the propriety of pressing Cardinal Consalvi

for an answer to Mr. Warrand's memorial upon his outrageous imprisonment by young Serney, of the Hotel de Londra. Agreed that Mr. Parke, the Consul, who had laid the memorial before Consalvi on the 8th, should deliver a note pressing for an answer and for redress.

Three English gentlemen, who asked Serney at the time by what authority he acted, received for answer, "Je n'ai pas à parler avec vous autres; j'ai agi en militaire, j'ai fait tout en militaire, et autant que je veux."

23rd. — Count Stackelberg sent me the declaration of the Allies, without date or place, announcing their advance to put down the whole order of things established since 2nd of July last, and without any specific terms, but unconditional submission to the will of their King; and declaring that if the Austrian forces should be insufficient, the Emperor of Russia will support them with his armies, but not a word of marching any from Prussia.

26th. — Received to-day Cardinal Consalvi's answer to Mr. Warrand's memorial of the 8th instant, in which the Cardinal says there is "no irregularity in Serney's conduct, nor any right to redress on the part of Mr. Warrand, who appears to have been treated with the utmost *urbanity* by the guard who arrested him."

27th. — News. Baron Frimont now at Terni. The King of Naples has (under the present circumstances) drawn bills upon the Royal Treasury at Naples, payable out of the Royal domains, and they have been accepted.

Thursday, March 1. — Saw the Austrian bivouac. The column in march. The bivouac for the infantry was in a meadow beyond the Ponte Molle, on the right of the road towards Rome. The infantry muskets were piled in lines, in front of which the men slept, and in front of the men were the fires. In the morning when I saw them, between seven and eight,

many were sleeping on the bare ground, with their heads upon their knapsacks; others were preparing their breakfast of rice broth and brown bread.

The cavalry bivouacked on the left of the road between Ponte Molle and Rome, the horses picketted in lines; the men had slept between the heels of their horses; then came a line of arms piled, and then a parallel line of fires. The double trouble of the cavalry soldiers was here evident; while the infantry were sleeping, the horseman was dressing his horse in addition to the care of himself and his arms.

The whole road between Ponte Molle and Porta de Popolo was covered with the passage of soldiers carrying bread or hay to the different quarters.

The troops had done little or no damage to the grounds contiguous to those which they occupied, cutting only some reeds to make a few huts, but the greater part slept without any. The officers had quarters in the Villa Papa Giulio, a deserted house, and in the neighbouring farm-houses.

At ten the whole column passed under the walls of Rome. The greater part took the road for Tivoli, the rest for Frascati and Tivoli, turning off from the Porta Maggiore and San Giovanni. About 1200 were well mounted, and the field artillery of six-pounders remarkably well appointed. The infantry warmly clothed and well shod, with strong high shoes, laced on the instep; the men rather low, and the greater part middle aged. Count Appony, the Austrian Ambassador, rode in his Hungarian dress (not military) by the side of General Stottenheim.

4th. — Mr. Warrand has left Rome, but Serneys violent and unauthorised arrest of him is to be investigated by Consalvi, and punished if proved.

5th. — The Austrians at Rieti, in the Pope's territory, have roughly treated most of the people there for not giving up all their subsistence to the troops, and they have bastinadoed the contractors for alleged failure of supplies of forage and provisions. They pay

hitherto in German money, and talk of paying for the future in paper. Eight hundred horses were yesterday sent off from Rome to Rieti with bread, &c.

Count Ludolf brought us two proclamations of Baron Frimont, the first from Foligno, announcing his march upon Naples, without hostility, unless resisted; the second, containing his requisition for subsistence from all, to be repaid by accountable receipts, and those to be made good by war-contributions levied upon the provinces which should make any resistance. Also a manifesto from the King of Naples, dated Laybach, denying that he acted there under coercion, declaring that, to prove the contrary, he should immediately set out for Naples, and calling on all his troops to receive the Allies as his friends.

6th. — The Austrians now concentrated on the Neapolitan frontier are only 40,000 strong, and ill-supplied with provisions. The reserve of 30,000 more is upon the march, and has already entered Tuscany.

The expected line of operation is to force the centre of the Neapolitan frontier at San Germano, but this must expose the advancing army to be cut off from their communications in the rear by the march of the right wing of the Neapolitan army from the Abruzzi.

The Emperor of Russia is expected at Rome shortly. The King of Naples is on his road to Modena. Prince Hardenberg, the Prussian Minister, is already at Rome.

7th. — General Church called. He introduced himself to me and talked much of the past, present, and future Neapolitan matters. He goes forward with the Austrian army as a general officer serving the King of Naples, and proposes to write me a military report of their operations.

The King of Naples will be at Florence on the 9th, and from thence will issue a manifesto appointing a Provisional Government by a Council of State therein nominated, who are to carry into execution his further measures of constituting Provincial Councils for Provincial Administration, the King naming the Presi-

dent of each, and the other members to be elected according to their qualifications by property, &c.

9*th.* — The Prince of Hesse Homburg's division arrived at the Ponte Molle to-day, and proceeds to-morrow to Frascati. Another column is expected to-morrow at Rome, and the main body of the army to pass by Rome to Frascati, and on the Frosinone road to San Germano.

On Wednesday last Pepé attacked Walmoden's column on its march to Rieti, and was repulsed. Yesterday Frimont was to attack the Neapolitans, and endeavour to establish Walmoden's corps, and cut off the Abruzzi from Pepé's army.

11*th.* — News from the head-quarters of the Austrians of their having forced the pass of Antrodocco with little or no resistance, and then marched upon Aquila.

12*th.* — Went by appointment with the Duke of Hamilton, &c., the Consul attending us, to Cardinal Consalvi. The Duke opened the business with great distinctness and moderation, pressing the Cardinal to give satisfaction to the English upon the grounds stated in the subjoined paper, by some notification "that the Roman Government disapproved of the conduct of young Serney."

Paper alluded to above.

The complaint of the English at Rome is made without any reference to the conduct of Mr. Warrand (which nobody defends) upon *general grounds*,

That a gentleman has been forcibly taken out of his bed-room in the middle of the night, and put into a prison for eighteen hours.

1. *Without any adequate necessity;* for a single guard at his door would have prevented his escape, if that was feared; but for which fear there was no foundation, &c.

2. Also *without any justifiable authority;* for Serney admits in his own memorial, that his authority from

the police was only "pour le garder à vue," and not to carry him to a prison.

3. That this outrage and indignity has been committed under a pretence of military power, for Serney states himself to have put on his military uniform to effect this arrest; and also, upon the following day, declared to those English gentlemen who asked him by what authority he had proceeded, that his proceeding was "en militaire."

To this the Cardinal replied, that the matter did not belong to his political office as Secretary of State, but, from his desire at all times to oblige the English, he should enter into it readily; that his own individual opinion was in favour of the *propriety* of Serney's proceeding according to law, but the tribunals were open if the parties differed; and the conduct of the Carabinieri (not Serney's) might then be tried, for that the whole arrest had been conducted by the police force in execution of the law, &c.

The *result* was, that the Cardinal positively *declined* to express any disapprobation of Serney's conduct, but offered to receive a fresh memorial, &c. &c.

General Frimont passed through Rome this morning, having left General Mohr with the reserve to support General Walmoden in his march by Aquila to San Germano, and having come himself to collect the divisions from Tivoli and Frascati, &c., composing his right wing, destined to march by Frosinone across the Garigliano, to the same point of San Germano.

FROM MR. H. LEGGE.

Navy Office, March 2nd.

My dear Lord Colchester,— . . . . The great disturber of our peace is sinking rapidly in public estimation; I am told, that in the country nobody seems to think about her: here, she continues occasionally to receive addresses, but they excite no attention. The majorities in the House of Commons are so decisive, that I am inclined to think, that if the Bill had been sent down to that House, it might have passed by a larger

majority than that in the Lords. . . . As to Lord Erskine, if he is not in his dotage, which is sometimes supposed, he *is* lost to all political and legal principle. Nothing can be more disgraceful than his conduct in the House, especially contrasted, as it has been, with the language which he holds out of doors. I am told, that when he went to the levee loaded with addresses in favour of the Queen, his Majesty turned away without speaking to him. What a change to him, whom I have seen at Carlton House received by the attendants almost with the respect due to their master.

. . . . . .

So the Catholic claims are again to be submitted to a Committee of the House of Commons, which is appointed, I believe, for this day. I wonder whether anybody is prepared to knock up the measure again by your clause. If it should finally pass that House I have great hopes of its defeat in the Lords, but not any from the R—l negative.

. . . . . .

Ever most truly yours, H. LEGGE.

15*th.*— The Austrian army has advanced, without resistance, as far as Aquila and Popoli.

17*th.*— News to-day of a revolution in Piedmont, and the establishment of the Spanish Constitution. The King has abdicated and retired to Nice, having named the Prince de Carignan Regent.

19*th.* — Austrian bulletin of 17th instant, from head quarters, Ceprano, that the Neapolitans have retreated from S. Germano, and the Austrians were marching for the Volturno.

In England, the question for sending the petitions of the Roman Catholics to a Committee was carried in the House of Commons by 221 to 215..

The Prince of Denmark told me to-day of his recent conversation with Consalvi, about the Protestant burying ground. The Cardinal evaded the original proposition for enclosing the present Protestant burying ground with a sunk fence, &c.; and suggested that it would be better to have some other piece of ground apart, which might be enclosed; but he would not undertake for *any written authority* to do it, and without some such guarantee the Prince told him it was impossible

to ask the present subscribers to turn over their subscriptions to a new project, &c.

Baron de Reden told me that he had got no answer to his last point in settling the Hanoverian Concordat, although it had been pending many months: and the Prince told me that Reden is now ordered to finish his present mission, and enter upon another at the Diet at Frankfort.

The Austrians have pushed their chasseurs into Fondi (where the pass is abandoned), and their cavalry patrols to Caserta. Intelligence of a battle is expected to-morrow.

The Emperor of Russia, as Count Stackelberg told me, has ordered 60,000 Russians into Lombardy, in consequence of the revolutionary movements in Piedmont.

22*nd*.—News of the entry of the Austrians into S. Germano and Capua. Flight of sixty deputies of the Parliament. General Pepé and the Austrian Ambassador at Rome *viséd* the passports of Mr. Douglas for Naples, which had been refused two days before by the express order of Baron Frimont. In the evening, Stackelberg sent us the final bulletin, *la guerra è terminata*, dated "21st inst., *in Teano*."

LETTER FROM GENERAL CHURCH.

Capua, March 24th.

My Lord,—The campaign is closed, so far as relates to the occupation of the capital and the total dispersion of the military force of all descriptions organised by the late Government. A campaign it cannot properly be called; nor can the unprecedented affair of General Pepé and his corps properly be called a military operation. This unfortunate man seems instantly to have lost his senses; and his proceedings in the Abruzzi, where he had collected above 20,000 men, are only remarkable for the evils he caused to his own country, the singularity of his flight, and the public execration that has burst forth against him and the Carbonari throughout the country.

The provinces through which we have passed are now perfectly tranquil, and re-organised by me in the King's name.

Deputations and addresses have been sent to the King in every direction. The militia and legionary soldiers have returned to their homes, and the utmost regularity prevails throughout. So far relates to the proceedings against the second *corps d'armée*, commanded by General Pepé, who, it seems, has disappeared.

The first *corps d'armée*, commanded by General Carascosa, is also dispersed. The soldiers refused to fight against their sovereign; and the greater part of the generals were of the same way of thinking. Consequently, they readily made a convention, by virtue of which we took possession of Capua on the 21st. And this day the troops have entered Naples. The reign of the Carbonari was odious to the people in general; nor can sophistical doctrines invalidate the proofs we have had of the truth of this assertion in our march from Rieti to Naples.

. . . . . .

Our march has been unaccompanied by any disaster whatever, either of a public or private nature, exclusive of the few men lost in the affair of Rieti. No reaction has been allowed; and the Carbonari themselves seem grateful for the protection afforded them amongst the grand mass of the King's subjects.

I have been to many of the late most factious towns and villages in the provinces, without any escort or guard whatever, and at times have passed nights in places formerly the seats of the most revolutionary spirits. All that we can now observe is a disposition to peace and tranquillity; and the orders I have given for the disarming of the armed population are carrying into effect with success. . . . . .

Your Lordship's most obedient servant,

R. CHURCH.

23*rd*.—Details of the revolution in Piedmont, by the Genoa Gazette of the 17th. On the 10th the disturbances in Turin began. On the 13th the King abdicated, appointing the Prince of Carignan Regent; and, on the same day, the Prince proclaimed the Spanish constitution, subject to the approbation of the sovereign. On the 14th he appointed a Giunta Provisoria, till the meeting of a Parliament, and amongst the persons named Agostino Pareto, and Girolamo Serra. On the 15th it was proclaimed in Genoa, and the Governor *des Geneys* thanked the city for its orderly conduct. On the 16th, the King's brother, Duke of the Genovese at Modena, issued a proclamation, published in the

Florence Gazette, assuming the royal authority in consequence of his brother's abdication, but declining to assume the title of king until it should be shown to be the King's free and voluntary act, forbidding any political change in the Government, threatening the rebellious, exhorting the loyal, and announcing the speedy and effectual intervention of his *august allies* to maintain the legitimate rights of the crown of Sardinia.

In the evening, at the Duchess of Devonshire's, I met Baron Stein (who was Prime Minister of Prussia in 1811, 1812, &c., and was persecuted by Buonaparte for his resolute opposition). He told me that the Concordat for Prussia would be signed at Rome in a day or two, by which the election of bishops by chapters in Roman Catholic Prussia would be recognised, subject to *the King's veto*, upon which the Pope's confirmation would be grounded; that in Silesia the Roman Catholic and Protestant populations were balanced; but that in the other provinces the two religions were distinct masses, entirely Roman Catholic in some, entirely Protestant in others.

That in Hanover, for which kingdom Baron Reden is here, and has been for some time upon a special mission to settle a concordat, there are not 60,000 Roman Catholics.

26*th*.—News that Piedmont is restored to its former government; the Prince de Carignan having submitted in consequence of the Duke of the Genovese's proclamation; and Genoa with the rest had submitted.

27*th*.—English news that Tierney abdicates the leadership of the Opposition in the House of Commons, and each leads for himself. Dr. Harold, an Irish Roman Catholic priest, desired to know from me, as a constitutional point, whether, as the King of England was irresponsible, and his Ministers answerable for all his acts, he (the King) could read any other than ministerial newspapers, or any which they did not approve!!

Called on the Russian Minister, Italinsky, and talked

over the revolutionary events of Naples and Piedmont. He agreed that some changes ought to be made in the absolute government of Italy, or that the people would make changes of their own in a worse manner; if not in the lives of the actual sovereigns of Naples and Sardinia, most probably upon the accession of their successors. And the Areopagus * of Europe, as it is called, could not for ever be marching armies from the north to the south, as upon the present occasion. Publicity of accounts of the revenue and expenditure of the state, and an incorrupt administration of justice were indispensable requisites, whatever else might be granted or withheld.

Called on Baron Stein. He had applied to Consalvi for a free perusal of the catalogue of the MSS. in the Vatican, which was courteously but absolutely refused, as contrary to the Papal Bull, but the principal librarian was directed to search for the articles wanted.

Count Stackelberg showed me the list of the Giunta Provisoria for Naples, delivered by Baron Frimont to the Marchese Circello, at Aversa, the night before the entry of the Austrians into Naples:—

Circello	President, and Secretary	for Foreign Affairs.
Fardella	„	for War.
Lucchesi	„	for Marine.
D'Andeca	„	for Finance.
Vecchiano	„	for Interior.
Irtasio	„	Police.
Georgio	„	Justice and Grace.

Circello being eighty-four years old; and the rest persons hitherto unknown as public men in any prominent situation.

The Prince of Denmark told me the Austrian army of occupation was to remain in the kingdom of Naples ten years.

FROM MR. BANKES.

Old Palace Yard, March 20th, 1821.

Dear Colchester,— . . . . . The votaries of His Holiness are raised into a state of ecstacy here by the proceedings

* *I. e.* the Holy Alliance.

which you are already informed of; but whether they will be able to mount as high as they desire, or be obliged again to touch the earth, is more than I can venture to predict, although I am not without good hopes for Friday, when the Bill will be committed. We shall, at all events, much miss and desiderate your admirable exertions in this cause, which so much relieved us from the impending danger eight years ago.

An unusually short notice was given previous to Mr. Plunkett's motion, which was immediately followed by his Bill, so that there has been very little time to collect the sense of the country upon it; but the public sentiment appears either less adverse, or more indifferent about it than upon the former discussions. Canning returned from Paris to take his share in the triumph; and I conclude that he will resume his seat at the head of the India Board as soon as the Session closes. Dr. Milner, with a large party of Roman Catholic Clergy to whom he dictates, declares against the restrictions intended to be imposed upon their intercourse with the see of Rome, but in this he is disavowed by the greater part of his brethren, and by all the Roman Catholic laity. These restrictions are now contained in a separate Bill, but it is probable, if the measure proceeds, that they will be thrown back into the Bill for taking off the disqualifications; although, to say the truth, all our restrictions and securities signify nothing, and must be subject to remodelling according to the pleasure of their ecclesiastics, if the seats in Parliament are granted.

Our state of finance is not to be complained of, as we can keep above water without a loan, but every thing connected with agriculture is in a state of the most serious and discouraging depression; the price of corn, as low as it was thirty years ago; rents ill paid, farmers breaking or ruining themselves, and multitudes of laborious husbandmen all over the kingdom thrown out of work, and living on the poor rates. Every sort of trade feels difficulties and embarrassments, though not to the same extent. A committee is sitting, to little purpose, upon an inquiry into this wretched state of agricultural distress, of which I am a member.

Mr. Lambton intends to favour us with his notions of an amended representation on the 10th of April, and there is an article in the last Edinburgh Review upon the same subject by Sir James Mackintosh. We have just passed a Bill to disfranchise Grampound, which the Lords will probably throw out.

The Queen's name is scarcely heard, or even seen in a newspaper, but she has bought the Duke of Cambridge's house, and

yesterday she wrote a letter to Lord Liverpool to announce her intention of appearing at the King's drawing-room on Thursday next, stating as a reason that she wishes to see His Majesty on the subject of her last letter to Lord Liverpool, to which she had received no answer. . . . . .

Yours most sincerely, H. Bankes.

Saturday, April 14th.—News to-day, officially, of the defeat of the revolutionary Piedmontese troops, near Novara, by the Royalist Piedmontese garrison of Novara, and the Austrians from Milan, under General Bubna. General Læderer's division of Austrians from Naples is on its march back to the north of Italy; the Russians, 100,000 strong are arrived at Udina.

15th.—By a letter from Charles* received to-day, dated Messina, 5th April, it appears that the merchants there had requested him to delay his progress to Malta, on account of their apprehensions for themselves and their property. General Staette came on board the "Race-horse" for protection against General Rossaroll, and the next day General Rossaroll† came on board the "Larne" (fresh arrived), for protection in his turn, and both took their departure different ways.

18th.—At Miss Berry's, met Pozzo di Borgo, with whom I had a long conversation, or rather had a long *exposé* from him of the views and present occupations,

* The present Lord Colchester, who in the spring had been made a Commander in the "Racehorse" sloop of 18 guns.

† On the 25th of March (the day in which the Austrian army entered Naples), a telegraphic despatch reached Messina, ordering the troops there to be disbanded. The following day a mob, among whom were a few soldiers, attacked the palace of the Governor, Prince Scaletta, who fled from the place. Upon this, General Rossaroll, who commanded the troops (three regiments) ordered to be disbanded, took the Government into his own hands, changed the heads of the different departments, and laid an embargo on all vessels bound to Naples; called out the Carbonari (about 8000), who acknowledged him as their "Capo," and published an order of the day to "the army of Sicily and Calabria," calling on them to follow him to the recovery of Naples, which had been yielded up to the Austrians by traitors. The morning of April 3rd was fixed by Rossaroll for setting out on this expedition; but during the preceding night the flotilla of gunboats deserted him, and the garrison of the citadel, commanded by Prince Colloreale, shut the gates of the citadel against him. In this state of affairs he considered his only hope of safety remained in seeking shelter on board a British ship of war, which was already the asylum of one of his principal opponents.

and difficulties of the Allies in providing a better plan of administration for the government of the Italian States. The King of Naples, and the King of Sardinia, and Duke of the Genovese, being all equally unfit to new model their governments, which stand in absolute need of improvement. All the nations of Europe now looking to the issue of the present military operations, that they may understand the real principles of the Allied Powers. What *has been done* has extinguished the power of the revolutionary party in France, as well as in Italy: but unless more is done to ensure popular contentment than was practicable under the old systems, the evil will revive at no distant period, when the present sovereigns are followed by successors of other characters.

FROM MR. BANKES.

Old Palace Yard, April 9th.

Dear Colchester,— . . . . . Our proceedings upon the Roman Catholic Bill must have given you serious concern. I much wish that you were here to combat it with the same force and eloquence which prevailed against it eight years ago; but you will be glad to learn that we Protestants entertain no doubt of the event in the House of Lords to-morrow. The lowest calculations reckon our majority at seventeen, the *highest* at thirty*; my own conjecture leaning rather to the smaller number. The Roman Catholic Bishops and Clergy in Ireland protest against and abominate the proposed regulations intended to be imposed upon their intercourse with the see of Rome; while the English priests, with the exception of Dr. Milner and his adherents, seem ready enough to acquiesce under them. I fear that we must contemplate the passing of some such Bill as this at no very distant time; the temper of the House of Commons becoming evidently more favourable to it, and the general feeling out of doors being extremely indifferent about it.

The Ministers were surprised some days ago by a majority against them for the repeal of a portion of the Malt Tax, but they rallied, and threw out the Bill by nearly 100 majority some nights afterwards. Lord Fife has been deprived of his place as one of the Lords of the Bedchamber, upon account of his sup-

* It was 39, the numbers being 159 to 120.

porting the repeal, which Messrs. Creevy and Hobhouse endeavoured to carry into the public stock of grievances the other night, to impede the progress of the Committee of Supply. Mr. Tierney and several opposition members divided upon that occasion, against the choice knot of patriots, who, with Mr. Hume as their Finance Minister, contrive to obstruct and puzzle the examination of the annual estimates to an extent and with a degree of perseverance which is without example.

Considering the distressed state of the country, which, to say the truth, is but too alarming, particularly as to everything agricultural, I do not think that the establishments have been sufficiently reduced, although something has been done.

April 10th.—The Lords have put off the second reading of the Roman Catholic Bill until Monday, which, as it is done at the desire of those who promote it, I am sorry for. . . . . In the meantime, we are immediately to return to cash payments at the Bank, which is ready to discharge upon the public several millions of bright sovereigns, which have lain for some time burning in their coffers; but their notes, after innumerable experiments and projects, remain unimproved and easy of imitation.

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Most sincerely yours, H. BANKES.

CHAP. LXIII.

1821.

LETTER FROM MR. WILBRAHAM. — ALLOWANCE TO THE QUEEN OF FIFTY THOUSAND POUNDS A YEAR. — NIEBUHR. — ARRANGEMENT BETWEEN THE POPE AND THE KING ABOUT THE CHURCH IN PRUSSIA. — COUNT CAPO D'ISTRIA. — CONDUCT OF THE JESUITS IN RUSSIA. — THE QUEEN'S VILLA AT PESARO. — LORD COLCHESTER GOES TO VENICE. — VENETIAN CUSTOMS. — TO PARMA. — POPULARITY OF MARIA LOUISA. — CONDUCT OF BUONAPARTE AT PARMA. — TOUR THROUGH FRANCE. — TOULOUSE. — ANECDOTE OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON. — CORONATION OF GEORGE IV. — DISFRANCHISEMENT OF GRAMPOUND. — DEATH OF THE QUEEN. — VISIT OF GEORGE IV. TO IRELAND AND HANOVER. — DISMISSAL OF SIR R. WILSON. — MONACO. — THE AMERICANS WISH TO BUY THE PRINCIPALITY. — INDEPENDENCE OF MEXICO. — LORD WELLESLEY IS APPOINTED LORD-LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND.

FROM MR. WILBRAHAM.

London, April 17th, 1821.

My dear Lord Colchester,— . . . . . You have seen in the newspapers that the Roman Catholic Bill has been carried in the Commons, where the opposition to it has been rather more feeble and more moderate than it ought to have been; but the opponents have been so browbeaten and stigmatised as bigots and persons devoid of Christian feelings, that they are actually cowed, and dare not say half what they might. Peel certainly felt this embarrassment strongly when he made his *first* speech on the subject. Had it been of the same sort as the second it might have swayed several votes. There is, however, great apathy prevailing in the public mind on this subject, and Wortley (who supports the measure) told me some weeks ago, that, except a letter from Lord Harewood, not one line had he received from Yorkshire that alluded to the subject. How different was the case fourteen years ago.

There are very few petitions against the Bill, which I do not wonder at, considering the abuse which has been made within the last six months of the right of petitioning, and the little weight attached to that mode of proceeding.

The Queen is gone by as a topic of inflammation; and her

taking quietly the 50,000*l.* a year, after her protest and declaration that she would not, till her right was acknowledged, was a *coup de grace* to her. It is said that an attempt is making by Lady Jersey, who patronises her, to procure a Drawing Room at Brandenburgh House; but it will undoubtedly fail. She is now hardly named in society, or in the newspapers.

Parliament, which was supposed likely to be up early, is now likely to sit some time, though there are no Tax Bills, or any measures to be brought forward by Government to excite discussion. The fact is that Mr. Hume is making himself master of the Army Estimates, and is discussing and dividing on every point, so that it is really not impossible that after all the debates we have had about them, there may be still in store seven or eight more nights, besides Navy and Army Estimates, and the miscellaneous ones, all which together will, it is likely, occupy fully the months of May and June on the supply nights. Mr. Hume is assisted in this by an institution of very late establishment, and one which in general will be beneficial, though not so in the present instance, a Parliamentary Library, in one of the upper rooms, where reports, returns, Acts, and papers of every sort are kept, with a librarian to assist in finding what is wanted.

. . . . . .

We are all quiet and well-disposed here. My friends of the north have their looms and spindles at work moderately, and therefore we hear of no more radicalism at present. The Manchester question is to be revived by Burdett in about a month's time, when he comes out of Newgate; but it will not produce any effect on the present temper of the people, especially while their chiefs are in prison, as they will be for a year or two longer.

. . . . . .

Yours ever truly, E. B. Wilbraham.

The King of England is to be crowned on the 12th of June, then to go to Ireland, and then to Hanover.

A general insurrection against the Turks has broken out in Greece.

Tuesday, April 24th.—Pozzo di Borgo told me that all they could get from the King of Naples was that he would go to Naples in ten or twelve days, if his health would allow. He would not hear of sitting down to a *table ronde*, and discussing the future measures for settling his kingdom.

The Russians are advancing on their way through Italy to Spain.

28*th*.—From Niebuhr's conversation, in the settlement of Neapolitan affairs Sicily will have a separate constitution and representative government by two chambers, but not Lord William Bentinck's parliament. Naples will have Provincial Councils, or municipal bodies new modelled, whose consent will be made necessary for new taxes. A publicity will be given to the national accounts by an independent commission. Justice will be administered by courts better composed, and all state affairs managed by a numerous Council of State. . The Sedili will perhaps be revived, and the Libro d'Oro for a select nobility revised and limited.

Similar arrangements in substance will also be established by the Austrians in Lombardy. This was decided at Laybach.

The like also was intended in Piedmont, but doubts are entertained whether Carlo Felice (Duca di Genovesi), who is governed entirely by the Duke of Modena, will accede to it. Victor Emmanuel has resigned by a formal abdication, confirmatory of his first abdication, and remains at Nice, but the allied powers at Laybach have remonstrated against it through Mocenigo, the Russian Minister at Turin.

The King of Naples, as Italinsky told me, proceeds in his vindictive commissions at Naples, without the sanction or approbation or even knowledge of the four ambassadors of the Allied Powers now in Rome; and they depart on Monday next, viz., Pozzo di Borgo, Vincent, and Truchses. The King is governed by Ruffo, late ambassador at Vienna, and formerly his master of the horse. This minister, and a Tuscan, who is the King's private secretary, have his entire confidence, and direct the course now taking. The King refuses to go to Naples for some days, until all the obnoxious measures are finished at Naples.

The Russian army which was advancing is countermanded.

The Papal States, according to Niebuhr, changed their internal political organisation in the time of the French, who abolished all the independent rights of different towns; and the Pope has now, what his predecessor had not, an absolute power of taxation of all sorts in all parts of his dominions.

Prussia, as constituted by the Congress of Vienna in 1814, and at the peace of Paris in 1815, is incapable of being organised by any uniform system of government; the diversity of tenures in Old Prussia, Polish Silesia, and the Rhenish Provinces, is such as to admit of no general law applicable to all, and, although an uniformity of privileges may be granted to each province in the aggregate, the internal distribution of rights to the exercise of those privileges by individuals inhabiting each province must vary exceedingly, according to their established customs and habits.

An arrangement, *not called* a concordat, has been recently made with the Pope for the division of episcopal sees, in Roman Catholic Prussia, and for the control to be exercised by the Crown in the appointment of bishops.

LETTER FROM CHEVALIER NIEBUHR ON THAT SUBJECT.

Palazzo Savelli, May 8th, 1821.

My Lord,—Having delayed my excursion to Albano for another day on account of the unsettled state of the weather, I find myself fully at leisure to answer your Lordship's question about the arrangement which I have concluded with the see of Rome. This I have no scruple to do without reserve, knowing to whom I am going to communicate what is, at this moment, so much less qualified to be divulged, as the Roman Bull, owing to the incredible laziness of these people, has not as yet been made out.

When I began the negotiations, being aware, on one hand, of the urgent necessity to supply the Catholic dioceses with bishops and a church establishment, and, on the other, of the insurmountable difficulties which, from the nature of the case, attend any attempt to conciliate the opposite pretensions of church and state, I refrained from entering upon the discussion of those topics which either have caused the failure of other negotiations

or have given up to clamours, on account of which conventions concluded and ratified have remained without execution. In the list of these episcopal jurisdiction occupies the first place, and here a sincere agreement is, in fact, impossible, partly on account of the exaggerated pretensions of Rome, partly also on account of those of the German Governments, who restrain episcopal jurisdiction within narrower limits than a just regard for the rights of a church equally established as our own would require.

With regard to this point my opinion is that the Catholic Church in those of our provinces where it was the established one before their union with the Crown of Prussia, is still to be considered as such, and that the King, without acting despotically, cannot pretend to greater authority than what a Catholic Prince can claim, with the only exception, and this is a very important one, that he may do, with regard to liberty of conscience, what a Catholic Prince, being himself a subject of the Pope, cannot lawfully do. Thus, for instance, a Protestant sovereign cannot protect a Catholic clergyman whose doctrine is not orthodox according to the tenets of his Church, so far as to confer upon him a living, or maintain him if the bishop deposes him; but, if this same clergyman separates from the Catholic community, and founds a dissenting congregation, he may protect him against the prosecution of the Catholic clergy.

To allow people calling themselves Catholics to apply to secular tribunals in order to obtain a divorce, especially as the law unfortunately stands with us, is in my opinion absolutely unwarrantable, and a flagrant violation of the rights of a religion not tolerated but established, and professed by upwards of four millions of people.

I prevailed upon Cardinal Consalvi, not without considerable difficulty, to abandon all these discussions, which would have been endless, and to limit ourselves to the settlement of Catholic Church government in the Prussian monarchy.

It is long since understood by tacit agreement, that no document which issues from Rome can be published without the King's consent. This, however, has been so far modified in the time of my embassy, and upon my earnest representations, that matrimonial dispensations want no other exsequation than that given by the King's envoy at Rome. No correspondence ought to take place between the clergy and Rome except through the channel of Government, which transmits what it deems fit to be sent; these restrictions are, however, very ill attended to; they ought to be observed, and might be so if care was taken

to avoid harsh forms; which prompts the clergy to illicit correspondence.

Generally speaking, our Catholic clergy are remarkably tractable, and would be easily led if always treated with kindness, and, whenever they deserve it, as they generally do, with confidence. On this point I speak from experience, and I can assure your Lordship that I have very seldom failed in my attempts to prevail upon any zealous clergyman to desist from an obnoxious course, always in the way of private and friendly communication.

A new regulation of the dioceses was absolutely necessary because the neighbouring states have either separated parts of their dominions, who of old were connected with Prussian provinces, or intend to do so, and because the secularisations have in most dioceses destroyed the basis of the ancient fabric.

Cologne is restored as an archiepiscopal see, and Aix la Chapelle restored to it; Corvey, a bishopric merely titular, is suppressed; and Gnesen, which, in consequence of the organisation of the dioceses of Poland, retained next to nothing, is united with Posen. Many changes have been made in the limits of the dioceses, generally upon the principle of including the jurisdiction of foreign prelates, though to this there are some exceptions, and limiting those subject to Prussia to the King's dominions; however, with some important exceptions made at the request of neighbouring states; finally, with a view to diminish some overgrown dioceses, and to increase the small ones.

In those provinces where the Catholic religion is merely tolerated, the episcopal jurisdiction is not restored, but, instead of apostolical vicars, they are placed under the superintendence of Prussian bishops.

In Varmia and the Polish dioceses, the King exercised the right to indicate to the chapter the candidate of his choice, and the election was an empty form. This remains as it was. On the left bank of the Rhine the Concordat of 1801 allowed of no right of election of the chapter; and, although the Pope will never consent that a Protestant sovereign appoints a bishop, yet he would hardly ever have objected to appointing the person recommended by the sovereign. But here, and in all other German dioceses of Prussia, the right of election has been granted to the chapter. To prevent their electing an objectionable person, it has been agreed that the chapter is to fix its choice, before it proceeds to a canonical election; that the candidate is then to be indicated to Government, and, if Govern-

ment finds no objection to him, then to be canonically elected. A brief recommends to the chapters to be particularly careful not to let their choice fall upon individuals whom they can suppose to be unacceptable to Government. (The *Veto* was proposed by Rome, and rejected by the ministry). In the first and only instance, where there are at present no chapters, the Pope will appoint the bishops on the King's proposal.

The chapters are to consist of two dignitaries (a provost and a dean), and eight or ten ordinary members, besides four non-residents, taken among the parish clergy. There is besides to be a suffragan in every diocese. The Pope preserves his ancient right of naming to the places becoming vacant in the alternate months. This, however, is a mere form, and he may not admit the person presented by the King; but he cannot name another from his own choice. In the other months, the nomination belongs to the bishop.

The dotation of the sees, chapters, seminaries, &c., is to be given in perpetual rents upon the crown lands, with which that vast mass of secularised property has been united. The revenues are sufficient, and, according to *our* standard of riches, even ample. Thus the Archbishop of Cologne is to have 12,000 rix-dollars annually, besides a palace, &c.

The privileges of the nobility, with regard to the chapters and episcopal eligibility, are abolished. Any man canonically qualified may be elected bishop; none can be admitted into a chapter unless he has taken the degree of Doctorate in Divinity or Canon Law, and received the higher orders.

I omit many points of small importance, except for those whom they immediately regard. I hope not to have omitted any one which can be interesting to your Lordship. As my parts in this business have been rather more than those which commonly fall to the share of the negotiator, I should feel peculiarly happy if you, my Lord, should judge that just rights have been secured by it, that there is no violent or arbitrary innovation, and that what is new is what circumstances had prepared and made generally wished for; finally, that Government has acquired securities by converting into law what practice had established without a security for its duration.

I cannot conclude without expressing my deep sense of the honour and advantages of your Lordship's personal acquaintance, although it now is almost a melancholy feeling; so much so that I can hardly refrain from indulging a faint hope of seeing you once more, and seeing you in England, where you, my Lord, and some others would perhaps not consider me as a

stranger, and where I would feel myself in a happier home. But as these schemes are probably quite visionary, I claim at least your friendly remembrance.

Have the goodness to present my respects to Lady Colchester.

I may perhaps to-morrow (Wednesday), in the course of the day, try to find your Lordship at home, to see you once more at Rome, but do not wait for me.

I am, with the highest regard, my Lord,
Yours sincerely, NIEBUHR.

P.S. You mentioned last night that the Greeks had perhaps a *Capo**; I am afraid it is so; and woe to the light-headed man who sacrificed his nation's existence to a foolish dream! I conjecture that his intention may have been to divert his master from other schemes which he disapproved, yet it can hardly be supposed that the actual explosion was brought on by him in this moment. Things changed amazingly from Troppau to Laybach. If the Turks knew Latin, and were fond of a pun, they might say about Ypsilante's expedition,

"Et conjurato descendens Dacus ab Istro."

Monday, May 7th.—In the evening went to Madame de Blacas' assembly; dancing, &c. The King of Naples there. Rouge-et-noir in one of the apartments, and the King sat at the table.

11th.—Took leave of Italinsky. He thought it fortunate for England that the Roman Catholic Bill was rejected. The Jesuits in Russia had done great harm, and sown discord in many families by their zeal for proselytism. The University of Kiow, at which he was educated for seven years, was a good place of education for the languages, but not for the sciences. They taught, however, two valuable qualities,—the habit of application, and respect for public opinion.

13th.—The King of Naples sets out to-day with the Duke of Calabria to return to Naples. Count Blacas† also goes to attend him.

* Count *Capo* d'Istria, at this time a confidential Minister of the Emperor of Russia, and, after the independence of Greece was secured, President of the new Republic. He was assassinated by a son of the Bey of Maina, Mavro-Michæli.

† The French Minister.

The story of the Protestant burial-ground has come to an end thus. All the papers were prepared for the Pope's signature, and the Pope had consented. Within half an hour before they were to go in to the Pope, Cardinal Consalvi discovered what was intended, sent for the Monsignor (a person next on the list of new cardinals), who had promoted the measure at the instance of a Roman lady, rated him for his presumption, complained that it was rendering him ridiculous, if not worse, in the eyes of the Prince of Denmark, to whose repeated application he had refused the same request, and finally forbade his proceeding further in the business.

The Cardinal offered another piece of ground, if the subscribers would take it in exchange. They met, and declined to accept it, considering that if they relinquished the present, they might finally not get the new ground; and at all events the present monuments would be required to be removed, and gradually destroyed if not removed.

N.B. This effort of the Monsignor I know to have been made in consequence of a proposal to bribe one of the Pope's secretaries. The sum asked by Monsignor was 50*l.*

15*th.*—Left Rome for France. Arrived at Pesaro; where the Queen of England, when Princess of Wales, hired a villa upon the hill beyond the town. She bought another, and gave it to Mlle. Victoire, a little daughter of Bergamo's, and called it Villa Vittoria. She has since bought it back, and enlarged it with a wing on each side, and called it Villa Carlotta. It was her only residence when she went last to England, and she is expected here again in the course of the summer. It is a low house, and of very moderate appearance, but much land belongs to it.

Bergamo lives in the town of Pesaro, in a house upon the bastion to the left of the gate on entering from Fano. It was once a convent, sold by the French to a person of Modena, and purchased by Bergamo for 3000 scudi. He goes every day from hence to superintend

the works at the Queen's villa, and returns to the town before noon. He is conspicuous by his moustaches, and a carriage drawn by piebald horses. He has lately bought property at San Marino belonging to his wife's relations, the Bellucci; and in right of that possession is become a Chevalier di San Marino. He appears on the Corso and at the opera in an evening.

Reached Venice at the beginning of June.

The Venetian women before marriage do not go out. The wife of the last Austrian Governor, Count Goltz, invited the Venetian ladies to bring their unmarried daughters to a ball, like the Austrian and English young ladies. After some hesitation she was answered by a joint note from the mothers, that they could only come on one condition, namely, that a grating was erected in the ball-room, behind which they might sit and see the rest of the company dance. The grating was actually erected, and the young ladies came and sat all the evening to look through the grating and see their mothers dance. This invitation has not been repeated, and things remain as they were.

The old nobility of Venice bore no titles of honour, such as Conte, Marchese, Barone, &c., but it was enough to be called by their family name,—Querini, Foscarini, Grimani, &c., with the addition of their name of baptism. And the families of other origin, and ennobled in other countries, upon being enrolled in the list of noble Venetians, laid aside their other titles of honour, as being only marks of their modern date in the republic. If Angelo Querini thought fit to say Count Vildemani to a noble of that name, though he was entitled to that appellation, he considered it as an intentional slight from the older patrician.

At Verona, Louis XVIII. lived for some time in one of the smaller villas, only one floor above the ground, with a large garden, &c. It belongs to Count Gargola.

Wednesday, June 13th.—Reached Parma.

The Duchess (Maria Louisa*) is much beloved, and that was proved by the attachment of the people to her, and their perfect tranquillity during the late revolutionary movements in Piedmont.

She inhabits the small palace when in Parma; and a large palace splendidly furnished, nine miles off, at Colorno, near the Po, in the summer, to which there is a large English garden attached, with an extensive collection of plants from England, France, &c. She is building another summer palace at Sala, nine miles from Parma, on the side of the mountains. She reads much and speaks English well, lives a great deal alone, often speaks of her son, but never of her husband; hearing that a Life of Buonaparte had been published in England, she was very desirous to see it; and afterwards told her physician, Dr. Franck, who accompanied her from Vienna, that "the writer knew his man well."

She has established a lying-in hospital and a madhouse in Parma, and liberally patronises all persons of merit, and all useful institutions. She came here in 1815, and has since been twice to Vienna. Her immediate society is formed by the Austrians who compose her court.

Her Prime Minister is Count Macaulay, now twenty-eight. He came here at the age of fourteen with his preceptor, Abbé Comerford, from Ireland, and having property in this country continued here; and has since married the heiress and last representative of the Cevati family, with a fortune equal to 6000*l.* a year. Under him are the two Ministers of the Interior and Finance. General Niepurg, the Austrian resident there, exercises some influence in the government.

The revenues are estimated at about 1,500,000*l.* sterling a year, and a *cadastre* is now making by the civil engineers, for the purpose of a more equal levy of the land-tax.

The population has much decreased during the

* Widow of Napoleon.

French Revolution, from 48,000 to 28,000, chiefly by the sanguinary rule of Junot, and Buonaparte's other prefects and generals, and the emigration of many great families to Florence, Venice, Naples, &c., viz., the Pallavicinis, Ferraris, &c.

Buonaparte had always a distrust and hatred of Parma, and the spirit of this part of Italy. Junot, being sent with orders to exercise the severest military rigour to put down this spirit, placarded the city the morning after his arrival with one of his sanguinary proclamations; the populace tore them down in the presence of the sentinels who were stationed before them. Dupont, the last prefect, was pelted out of the town, and the windows of his carriage broken.

Buonaparte came one year to Parma, and slept here two nights; the morning after his arrival he reviewed some troops, and appointed all the public bodies to attend him at his residence at noon. He made them wait in an antechamber without seats or benches till five in the afternoon; a person present told me he saw the president of the principal court of justice fall down fainting from excessive fatigue. At length they were admitted to Buonaparte's presence; with him were Talleyrand, Berthier, Junot, and Duroc. He stood with his little hat under his arm, taking snuff, and not in the most decent attitude. To the Chancellor of the University, a most respectable noble of Parma, he said sharply, "How many faculties have you in your university?" "Six." "C'en est trop. How many professors?" "Thirty-three." "C'en est trop. How many students?" "800, we had 1200 before the war." "Who are the priests there?" "Professors of theology." "Il faut les mettre à la charge de l'évêque." To which the Cardinal Archbishop replied, "Sire, volontiers, quand votre Majesté me donnera les fonds." "What are you, Sir?" (to a professor in a robe). "Professor of hydraulics." "Why are you not habillé en militaire?" "Sire, because I am a professor of science, and not a soldier." "What is the perpendicular

fall between the source of the Taro and its discharge into the Po?" "So much." "How do you take the levels?" "So and so." "You should go to France and learn your profession there." "Sire, we Italians sent over Bianchini to teach France the science of hydraulics." This was the answer of Corconcelli, the framer of the recent map of the Duchy.

He then rode through the garden of the new palace, to see the specimens of manufactures which had been displayed to show him what Parma had once executed with reputation and profit. "What are all these brocades and tapestries?" "What Parma manufactured formerly, but for want of encouragement has been forced to abandon." "Then shut up your workshops." "Sire, they have been shut up long since." "Then sell off these things, and so there is an end of it." To the manufacturer of Bodoni's celebrated machine for his printing press, he said, "That was made in France." "No, Sire, my name is upon every part of it." "Aye, I see it is. Send me that machine to Paris, Monsieur le Préfet." And so it went from the owner, who did not wish to part with it, and at the expense of the city, which had to purchase it.

The Archduchess Maria-Louisa, in an excursion not long since to Velleia, was shown a spot near Rustigazzo. "Here, Madam, was the spot where the brigands were used to assemble." To which she replied, "Eh, peut-être ils n'avaient pas tort; il aurait fallu les laisser tranquilles." This was related to me by a person who heard her utter the words, and who saw the impression which they made upon her German attendants.

A monthly remittance of 30,000 francs is sent by the Archduchess from the Parma treasury, for the maintenance of her son and his establishment; and the unexpended surplus of the revenues at the end of the year to Vienna also. Her revenues were also charged with a daily contribution, during the late march of the Austrian troops to Naples and Piedmont.

A person well qualified to judge of characters, seeing Cardinal Consalvi at Bologna, said, "His proper name is Cardinal Cipollino.* You must strip off coat after coat many a time before you get to his heart."

At Orleans, in June, heard of the death of Buonaparte, at St. Helena, on the 5th of May.

At Barèges, July 28th, heard, through Paris, that the coronation was over. The Queen had tried for admission at two doors of the abbey, and was refused. No disturbance of the public peace.

Toulouse, Sept. 8th.— The field of battle in 1814, when the Duke of Wellington attacked Marshal Soult, was principally on the north side of the city, beyond the line of the Canal du Midi, and upon the low hills which rose immediately north of the canal; upon these Soult constructed his redoubts. He also threw up others, to make a sort of tête-du-pont, beyond the bridge and to the south of the Garonne.

The Duke passed a part of his army across the river at Guenarde, about ten miles lower down, and the first division being separated from the rest by the sudden rising of the river, was for a time in considerable danger, as Marshal Beresford and Lord Hill both informed me upon their return to England.

This afternoon I walked all over the hills fortified by Soult; they form a sort of insulated mass, and present a sharp glacis in every direction, with some steep descents, or breaks, in the slope of the hill, parallel to the table land of the summit.

North of this position, and across a narrow plain, rises another range of lower hills, behind which the British, and Spanish, and Portuguese troops were formed for the attack. The Spaniards, who commenced the attack, were checked at the ascent of the hill, and the British were sent to their support. By the accounts of the people of the town, the battle began at day-break (April 10th, 1814), and lasted till dusk, when Soult's

* Cipollino is a small onion.

army was driven off the ground and marched away by its right upon the Carcassone road before nine at night.

Lord Hill told me, in London, that when he came to examine the tête-du-pont, which he was to have attacked the next day, he was satisfied that he could not have carried it.

News from England. The King sailed from Portsmouth, August 1st, for Dublin. The Queen died at Brandenburgh House, on the 7th of August, of an inflammation in her bowels, and the news reached the King at Holyhead. By her desire, her body was sent to be buried at Brunswick, and it was sent accordingly, with royal honours, to Harwich, where it was put on board the "Glasgow," for the Elbe. Considerable rioting in London to force the procession through the City, and the mob prevailed.

In Piedmont, the first public execution took place July 21st, at Turin, for treasonable conduct in the revolutionary proceedings in March last. Eighteen others were outlawed.

In Naples the Jesuits are reinstated.

Rome and the Castle of S. Angelo are said to be occupied by 3000 Austrians.

News of the King having returned from Ireland and set out for Hanover. Lords Justices were appointed, with the Duke of York at the head of the Commission.

The chief foreign news is—1. Continued political confusion in Portugal and Spain. The yellow fever also in Spain, and in the Lazaretto at Marseilles, and at Leghorn.

The Turks are making their peace with Russia, through the mediation of France and England. The Greek insurgents are left to their fate.

In Piedmont, Carlo Felice has returned within his dominions, but not to his capital. Condemnations for the revolutionary acts of March last are still proceeding.

LETTER FROM MR. WILBRAHAM.

Rode Hall, Aug. 18th, 1821.

My dear Lord Colchester,—Had I known where to address a letter after Turin, you should have heard from me long before this. . . . . .

The Coronation was really a most magnificent and imposing sight, and went off as well as possible, without any contretems or particular awkwardness. The day was fine, and the people inclined to be in good humour. There was, indeed, one attempt to raise a hiss, and a cry of "Queen" at the corner of a street, but it totally failed, and the voices were overpowered by bursts of loyalty. The King, at first, looked nervous and pale, and was at one time very much fatigued, while the Peers were doing homage to him, kissing his cheek, and touching his crown. But he got over it well, and walked back to Westminster Hall in half the time that he had been walking to the abbey. The Champion was stiff and awkward, but got through his lesson, and it was known to but few that Astley's horse, which Lord Howard of Effingham (who officiated as Earl Marshal) rode, had a tendency to rear instead of back, and was pulled out of the hall by the tail. The only real ground of complaint was that the good dinner in the kitchens remained there for want of waiters to bring it out, and that the ladies in the galleries, who had been prohibited from bringing baskets and bottles in the assurance that their wants would be supplied, were half-starved, having to sit without provisions from four or five in the morning, till eight or nine at night. To none, however, have I heard that the abstinence has proved fatal. I was there as a supporter of his canopy, which, on its journey outwards, was carried behind the King, that he might be seen from the garrets and tops of the houses, and on his road back was borne over him.

The Queen made an attempt to get in as a spectator, but failed, and sank very low in the public estimation in consequence of the attempt.

Her death since I know not whether to think a fortunate thing or not for the country, as, though she was a dangerous engine in the hands of bad people, I think she rather kept her husband in check, and prevented him from thinking himself too popular, which he is rather inclined to do, and to act accordingly.

Lord Liverpool is in disfavour, and meets with many mortifications from his Royal Master for refusing to comply with the

wishes of certain persons about the court in the disposal of his church preferment, so that I believe he thinks seriously of resigning his situation, and it is probable that his chief enemy will try to bring in the Whigs, which will be an awkward and dangerous experiment, and would lead to confusion in various ways. Lord Liverpool proposed to bring Canning in, but the King would not hear of it in consequence of his compliments, in his speech, to the Queen. Lord Bathurst also is offended at something, but I do not exactly know what, on the part of the King, who will some day rue his treatment of his Ministers, though I expect him to be in the highest state of elation when he comes back from Ireland, where he is looked on as a demigod.

I do not know why Mr. Wellesley Pole* happened to be made a Peer, except that when his brother dies he will become only an Irish Earl, nor can I quite make out the means by which Lady Charlotte Strutt† became a Peeress, though I have heard it hinted, that the female influence now predominant at Windsor had something to do with it.

There is to be a severe contest at Oxford between your old friend Heber and Sir John Nicholl, which is likely to be run neck and neck; but the former is said to be likely to win it, as he has the advantage of prior promises.

The effect of the disfranchisement of Grampound will be to annoy Wortley‡ by diminishing his consequence, and to bring, for one or two general elections, a great chance of a contest, as the north and east ridings will wish to have something to say in the choice of four members.§ . . . . .

Yours very truly, E. B. W.

Wednesday, Oct. 31st.—At Nice I heard the following anecdote from Mr. Fazakerly. When he visited Buonaparte at Elba, Buonaparte held a conversation of four hours with him, and talking with him of Egypt, where Fazakerly had travelled, he mentioned an insurrection at Cairo in which the priests had taken an active part, and Buonaparte, who was then encamped at the Pyramids, sent into the city and brought off 200 of the

* He was made Lord Maryborough, and on the death of Lord Wellesley succeeded him as Earl Mornington.

† Created Baroness Rayleigh.

‡ Mr. Stuart Wortley, afterwards Lord Wharncliffe.

§ On the disfranchisement of Grampound, its two Members were given to Yorkshire, which thenceforth returned four Members till the era of the Reform Bill.

priests. The next day a deputation of the principal persons of the priesthood came to Buonaparte to intercede for them. "When I had heard them," said Buonaparte, "I said, 'Messieurs, tout ceci est très inutile ; il y a vingt-cinq heures que tous ces gens ont été fusillés.' Après quoi, voyant qu'il n'y avait pas de la mollesse dans ma manière de gouvernement, ils m'étaient beaucoup plus attachés."

LETTER FROM MR. BANKES.

Kingston Hall, Oct. 22nd.

Dear Colchester,— . . . . . The King does not intend to return before the Lord Mayor's day, having no great inclination to contrast the reception which the citizens of London might give him, with the greetings of his Irish and Hanoverian subjects. It is uncertain whether he will visit Paris, but our Ambassadress there thought that he would excuse himself. John Bull*, put an effectual stop to Waithman's offering himself for the Mayoralty, by publishing a supposed trial of the worthy Alderman, in which a series of transactions in the course of his trade was very ingeniously exhibited.

It is in contemplation to prosecute Waithman for acting contrary to his duty as Sheriff upon the occasion of the riot which happened at Knightsbridge on the day of Honey's† funeral. The dismissal of Sir Robert Wilson from the army since the funeral is become the topic of the Opposition writers; whether it may not grow stale before the meeting of Parliament, which will be in January or February, I know not.

The last quarter of the revenue has been productive beyond expectation; but our harvest has been worse in point of weather, and in the quality of the wheat, than we remember for many years past. The alarm, therefore, which pervaded all our farmers as to low prices, is at an end, and apprehensions of an importation of foreign corn will succeed it. . . . . .

Most sincerely yours, H. BANKES.

FROM MR. WILBRAHAM.

Lathom House, Oct. 24th.

My dear Lord Colchester,— . . . . . While the Court is at Hanover, London itself will not be very productive

* The newspaper of that name.

† Honey was killed in the riot at the Queen's funeral procession.

of news. I have, however, heard some few things which may be new to you, and which are not to be found in *Galignani* or any other foreign papers.

You have perhaps read, and perhaps taken for gospel, Sir Robert Wilson's declaration of innocence and ignorance as to the reason of his being dismissed the service. A letter from a gentleman whom I know very well, tells me that a friend of his is also a friend of Sir R. Wilson's*, who frequently calls on him for his advice when he is in a hobble; some days after the Queen's funeral, the Knight called upon him and showed him a written account of the transactions of that day, as far as he was concerned, which was drawn up on the evening of that same day, adding that he knew he was in a scrape, and wishing to be advised how to get out of it. His friend read the statement, and told him that his bitterest enemy could not give more unfavourable evidence against him than his own statement furnished, and advised him to go to the Duke of York and avow his fault, which might be the best means of averting the blow. He promised that he would do so, but he was persuaded by some Radical to adopt a different line of conduct, which he has accordingly done, and has suffered for it. After all this it is somewhat curious to read the assertions of innocence which he so boldly makes, and which are as boldly believed by the City of London.

'I am not able to say how the King goes on with his Ministers, as they have been very little together lately. Lord Liverpool attended him at Ramsgate, but that was perhaps in his quality of Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports. It is said that the royal journey has been limited by the Treasury not finding him money to go beyond Hanover, which he probably cannot like, and may not tend to mend matters with his Ministers; *mais nous verrons.* Tierney, who has been lately at Dover, told a friend of mine that he placed some hope of a change of Administration on the expected arrival of Lord Hastings from India.

As to home concerns, the last quarter of the revenue exceeded the corresponding quarter in the last year by upwards of 800,000*l.*, and if the reductions in the army and public departments make, as I hear they do make, a saving of above 2,000,000*l.*, it will be a material assistance to the Sinking Fund. The Bank has called in its 1*l.* notes, but they are slow in obeying the call,

* Sir R. Wilson, on the occasion of the funeral of the Queen, had taken an active part in favour of the views of the mob, who wished to force the procession through the City, and had urged the Life Guards, who formed the escort, not to act against the people.

being a very portable circulating medium; and, it is said, that 5*l.* notes are to be called in also, which will be another inconvenience. Trade is going on well, and all the workmen in various branches sufficiently employed, but we who depend on agriculture are badly off; and the late harvest has been an indifferent one in consequence of the rain after the corn was cut. I speak of our northern counties, but do not profess to know anything about the harvest in the neighbourhood of East Grinstead.

There is, I am sorry to say, rather an increase in the number of burglaries in this county, and particularly in the populous neighbourhoods, and I cannot wonder at it, so long as my friend Judge Bayley comes this circuit, and reprieves all the prisoners who are sentenced to death. They are many of them of a black sort, and I see by the newspapers that at Highgate, and near London, the stage-coaches are stopped and robbed by large numbers of bandits. This has always been most the case when the circumstances of the country are somewhat flourishing.

In Ireland the insurrections and riots of which we read are said to be chiefly on Lord Castlereagh's estate, which is managed by absentee trustees.

Wallace is there, inquiring into the revenue, and cleansing an Augean stable. He passed a day with me on his way, and seemed inclined to sweep very clean. Frankland Lewis will be an efficient coadjutor.

One of the extra ribbons of St. Patrick is to be given to Lord Fingal, which is variously considered. I approve it, as I hear that the King has expressed himself stoutly and properly about the Roman Catholic question. At Chester, a Whig club has been lately established, and held its first meeting a fortnight ago; Lord Crewe, the chair; and my cousin, George Wilbraham, vice-president. Lord Grosvenor harangued in praise of Mr. Fox. He did not say that he himself became a Whig in consequence of being refused by Mr. Pitt the First Lordship of the Admiralty. Brougham went most of his circuit in a *stuff* gown, which he is likely to retain. He heard himself well abused by a parson named Blacow, convicted of a libel against the Queen in a sermon.

. . . . . .

Adieu. Yours truly, E. B. W.

Monday, Nov. 12th. — Monaco is still an independent sovereignty in some respects. The Prince has at times proposed to sell his principality to the King of Sar-

dinia, but asks too much. It is supposed the Americans would be glad to have it, but would not be allowed to by the European powers.

The garrison, formerly French, is now Piedmontese, consisting of 300 men of the Royal Guard, who declared for the constitution in March last, and are now sent here for punishment, all the officers being degraded, and the men obliged to wear a peculiar badge of disgrace in the pointed form of facings of their cuffs. They are under the command of four Royalist officers, who marched with the rest of the Guards against the insurgents at Novara.

The Prince, a Grimaldi by descent, who is also Duc de Valentinois in France, and has his principal estates at Torigny, in Normandy, resides chiefly at Paris. He has not been here since 1815, at the close of the Revolution, and has sold all his land except the small villa near Mentoni. He retains no rights but to some small taxes upon the export of oil and oranges, and the importation of grain and wine, and a monopoly of bread. His revenue, as reported to the Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818, was 300,000 francs.

Nice, Nov. 16th. — The Grand Vicaire, the Abbé Franchieri de Venaisin, came to visit us. Among other Turin anecdotes which he has just brought from thence, is the original composition of Carlo Felice's proclamation from Govone, before his public entry into his capital. The King wrote it himself (or rather the heads of it) in French, that being the usual language in which he writes, and sent it to Count Revel, his Lieutenant de Royaume, and Count Cholex, his Minister of the Interior, who turned it into Italian. To the address of the city of Turin, and their assurances "of unshaken loyalty," he replied that "he should look to see how far they were justified by their future conduct." To that from Alessandria, which approached him with the profoundest "umiltà," he replied shortly, "Poco men d'umiltà, e molto più di fedeltà."

News of the independence of Mexico.

Nice is at this time a pure English colony, and they mix little with the inhabitants, who are not rich enough to maintain the same footing in society, few or none keeping carriages. The resort of the English to Nice annually is computed to bring with it an annual expenditure in Nice of from 30,000*l.* to 50,000*l.*, according to the greater or lesser number of arrivals. Last year was the largest known since the French Revolution. The Grand Vicaire said that the former Bishop had received in his time from the English, for charities to be distributed by him, not less than 50,000 francs.

Dec. 12*th.* — News from England of Lord Wellesley's appointment to be Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, with Goulburn for his Chief Secretary; and Peel is to succeed Lord Sidmouth in the Home Department.

14*th.* — Called on Lady Davy. In 1813 Sir Humphry and Lady Davy, having special leave to pass through France during the war, visited Malmaison, where Josephine showed them the library, and pointed out the place where the Emperor usually sat, near which they saw a collection of books all relating to Cromwell, Noble's History of the Protectoral House, Ludlow's Memoirs, &c., and several extracts from other books relating to Cromwell, translated into French and inserted in these volumes; all of them much marked with pencil.

The present Duke of Bedford, when *Lord John* (Russell), was asked by a Frenchman at a ball whether he was of the same family with the celebrated Tom John (meaning Tom Jones). The Duke told this anecdote himself to Lady Davy.

16*th.* — Read a printed copy of the debate in the Secret Committee of Deputies at Paris, on the Address in answer to the King's Speech, and the amendment, "avec une juste confiance que la paix n'a pas été achetée," &c.; carried against the Ministry by 176 to 98; the Ultra-Royalists and Liberals joining in the vote for the amendment.

The French Ministry was changed immediately.

Vicomte Mathieu de Montmorency, *vice* De Richelieu; Villèle, Cubière, Peyronnet, &c.

28*th.* — News from Spain, that Mina has declared for Republican Independence.

News from Naples, that the King has revived the feudal rights of the nobles in Sicily, though he has not restored the Norman constitution, for the abolition of which he had granted the suppression of feudal rights as an equivalent to the people.

FROM MR. LEGGE.

Blackheath, Dec. 22nd.

My dear Lord Colchester,— . . . . . The Parliament does not meet till the 5th of February; the ministers will have the assistance of Mr. Peel, Charles Wynn, Freemantle, and Dr. Phillimore; all of whom will be in office by that time, and some of them are in office already I believe. Lord Buckingham is content with a Dukedom; Lord Grenville and his brother Thomas desire neither power nor offices, but are well pleased that their friends should join the Administration. Canning desires to remain in England till Lord Hastings returns, that he may explain to him certain letters from the Board of Control, with which the last-mentioned Marquis is supposed to be highly offended. In my opinion he would do well to sail without waiting for the interview, unless he has a mind for another shooting match, and another wound in the thigh, on Putney Heath; for unless Lord H. is much cooled by age and a hot climate, he is not easily pacified when he thinks his honour touched. It seems odd that Canning should be chosen for Governor-General of India at a time when Ministers seem to want strength in the House of Commons; but there are those who think that Lord Londonderry likes his room better than his company; better even than his Parliamentary support, and that he would rather take leave of him immediately than have the advantage of his assistance in the ensuing Session.

You have by this time learnt who will be the additional performers on the side of Government. The Opposition will, I suppose, be wavering as usual between Whiggism and Radicalism. Sir Robert Wilson and his dismissal will, no doubt, furnish a principal topic, upon which, however, I cannot believe that they will muster strongly. I know the party too well to rely upon what they say out of Parliament; but Sir John Sebright

has already told Lord Londonderry that if he (Sir John) attacks Ministers on that subject, it will be by complaining that they did not dismiss him some years ago. . . . . .

Lord Stowell retains one of his offices, I am not sure which, besides his seat at the Admiralty Court. Sir Christopher Robinson is Chancellor of London in his stead. . . . .

Yours ever faithfully, H. LEGGE.

P.S.—(Dec. 24.) Reductions in the Naval Department are going on ding dong, and will be followed by the most heart-rending distress to many families. This is but a melancholy postscript. My melancholy is not increased by an intention to diminish the number of the Board.* Two are to retire, and if I am to be one of the two I shall not greatly deplore my hard fate. At the same time, nothing can be further from my intention than *to volunteer* a turn-out.

FROM MR. BANKES.

Kingston Hall, Dec. 30th.

Dear Colchester,— . . . . . What must be regarded as really serious is the effect produced upon our agriculture by this disastrous season. The corn so wetted and spoiled during the harvest as to be hardly saleable or eatable, and the wet lying at present upon the green wheat so as to rot and destroy it. Added to this, the prices of cattle and sheep are so low that, in our western counties at least, the farmers are utterly unable to pay their rent, so that the prospect on this side is as gloomy as it ever has been.

The manufacturing districts are reported to be in a much better state, and the revenue improving. Many parts of Ireland are in as disturbed a condition as they ever have been, except during the rebellion; the dominion and outrages of the White Boys, and of all denominations of ferocious plunderers, are revived in all their horrors.

It seemed probable that Parliament would have been assembled earlier upon this alarm; but new laws are not supposed to be wanted, and the exigency is to be met by sending a new Lord-Lieutenant. I can augur nothing good from such an appointment. Vanity, dissipation, want of private and unsteadiness of public character, a ruined fortune, and a strong predilection for the Roman Catholic cause, are not the component parts which ought to constitute the Chief Governor for such a country in such times as these. Mr. Goulburn is persuaded, much

* The Navy Board, of which his Lordship was Chief Commissioner.

against his inclination, to accompany the Marquis as Chief Secretary. No two men can be more dissimilar, and I wish that the latter may possess more authority and influence than I think his principal is likely to allow him.

Canning is talked of for Lord Hastings' successor, which I should not have fancied a situation to his mind, as it takes him away from higher pursuits. Upon no better authority, I learn that Charles W. Wynn, Mr. Freemantle, and some of that little tribe are to be gratified with the India Board, now held in trust by Bragge Bathurst, and some other things, which seems very likely.

The appointment of my new neighbour Peel to succeed Lord Sidmouth, who remains as one of the Cabinet, is most judicious, and will give the Government great strength in debate, where alone they wanted it. We are to meet, as you know, on February 5th, till which time I shall remain here.

Most truly yours, H. BANKES.

CHAP. LXIV.

1822.

STATE OF POLAND. — ORIGINAL SETTLEMENT OF SAVOY. — POPULATION OF FRANCE. — LETTER FROM BANKES. — STATE OF PARLIAMENTARY PARTIES. — ALTERATION OF THE SINKING FUND. — CANNING IS GOING TO INDIA. — HIS MOTION ON THE CATHOLIC QUESTION. — JOHN BULL. — DEATH OF THE DUC DE RICHELIEU. — TALMA. — RETURN TO ENGLAND. — BILL TO ENABLE ROMAN CATHOLIC PEERS TO SIT IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS DEFEATED BY LORD COLCHESTER'S AMENDMENT. — DEATH OF LORD LONDONDERRY. — THE KING'S VISIT TO SCOTLAND. — LORD REDESDALE ON THE CATHOLIC QUESTION. — CANNING BECOMES FOREIGN SECRETARY. — CONVERSATION WITH LORD SIDMOUTH. — CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY ELECTION. — M. DE VILLÈLE APPOINTED PRIME MINISTER IN FRANCE. — AFFAIRS OF SPAIN. — INSULT TO LORD WELLESLEY AT DUBLIN.

TUESDAY, January 1st. — Nice. All the English went in full dress this morning to the Governor's levee, according to the custom of persons in office, or otherwise of distinction, to congratulate him upon entering on a new year.

The Kingdom of Poland now has a population of two millions. The Diet of Nobles and Deputies sit in one chamber. The Grand-Duke Constantine, Military Commandant of Warsaw, sits as Deputy for the suburb of Praga.

9th.—Accounts from England of most violent storms, rains, and inundations in all parts, from the 18th to the 28th of December.

The Jesuits' College here, formerly belonging to the Récollets, was afterwards converted by the French into a lycée for educating 300 young persons, and is now fitting for the reception of 120. The actual number is thirty. The Jesuits separate the boys into classes according to their age, and put them singly into separate chambers. The boys are lodged, and boarded, and

taught according to a printed plan, including besides religion, languages, and sciences, also the arts of drawing, music, &c. The former botanic garden behind the college is destroyed. No woman is allowed to enter the gates, and this regulation is so rigidly observed, that a boy recently taken ill, and not removed home because his case was not thought serious, was at last suffered to die there *without seeing his own mother*, who was peremptorily refused admission.

A commission is established at Nice, consisting of the Governor, Intendant, one senator, the Avocato-Generale, and the Direttore della Dogana, who examine and report to Turin upon the conduct of any person in any branch of the public service, against whom any complaints are made of his political, or even his moral conduct; and his future career or present continuance in office are influenced by the result of these inquiries. M. Fesola, an advocate, was informed at Mrs. North's ball that he was again *dénoncé*, for the third time.

See of this date La Sentenza of the Royal Commission at Turin, upon "i due fratelli Picciolini," convicted "de esser fanatici, e propensi al sistema Costituzionale, e seduttori della gioventù," and *condemned to the galleys for life.*

News from Spain that Cadiz and Seville have submitted to the King's authority.

French newspapers are stopped from entering the Sardinian territory; but a special leave has been obtained by the Governor for Lord Leitrim and Mr. Fazakerly to receive theirs, with a request not to circulate them.

17*th.*—Read the deed of the surrender of the city and territory of Nice to Amedée, Count of Savoy, 28th Feb. 1388, reciting the contending claims of Louis, Duc d'Anjou, and their natural sovereign, Ladislaus, King of Hungary, Jerusalem, and Sicily, to the counties of Provence and Foucalquier; and the inability of King Ladislaus to defend Nice. Reciting also the appointment of Procuratores Electi in Generale Parlamento at

Nice; and by this contract, before witnesses, executed at the Abbey of the Benedictine Order at S. Pons extra Muros, surrendering the city, &c.: "*Compactes, &c., infra scriptos,*" to Amadeus, comes Sabaudiæ, who, "promisit, pepigit et convenit." Conditions: To defend it against the Duchesse d'Anjou, and her children, and the Counts of Ventimiglia, videlicet, Briga et Tenda; and not to sell it, "Non vendet, neque desemparabit." The citizens of Nice not to be tried criminally or civilly out of their own courts; to levy or repeal their own taxes for local uses, paying to the sovereign his taxes; to be supplied with salt at old prices, as in time "Dominæ Joannæ bonæ memoriæ Reginæ Jerusalem et Siciliæ;" to have a Cazana, "prout fit in pluribus locis Italiæ;" and all consignments of foreign goods for deposit in the port of Nice to be made only to and for the benefit of natives, and not foreigners.

23*rd.*—Letter from Lady Ellenborough at Naples. Travellers are still continually carried off to the mountains by the banditti, between Naples and Rome, notwithstanding the Austrian military occupation.

25*th.*—Casimir Petalicki called, who gave us an account of the French campaign in Russia, where he served with the army of 60,000 Poles, under Poniatowski, and returned with 14,000. He was wounded at the battle of Leipsig, where Poniatowski was shot through the body in attempting to cross the river.

He described to us also the little independent republic of Cracow, where all the Polish kings are buried. A tumulus or barrow is here raised to Kosciusko, and a monument to Poniatowski. The press is free there; and the republic is governed by deputies, a senate, and a president. His uncle is now president. The military means which the local position of Cracow affords for a sudden attack upon Silesia or Bohemia prevented the partitioning Powers from allowing either to occupy it; and its independence is secured by their triple guarantee. The territory round it is not inconsiderable.

In Poland, besides the President's Garden, there are

two celebrated gardens: one at Poave, on the Vistula, laid out by the Princess Czartoriski, and the other in a remote part near the Ukraine, belonging to Count Potowski, made at an enormous expense, with whole mountains of rock transported into it for wild scenery.

In Poland, black roses are produced by grafting the common rose upon young oak stems.

Sunday, February 3rd.—In France the population is by royal edict declared to be, by royal census, 30,465,291 persons; and so to be accounted for all public purposes for five years, from Jan. 1st, 1822.

The first article of the law upon the liberty of the press was carried by 250 voices; the minority seceding.

The Jesuits in France are increasing, as is complained in Debates of the Deputies. They have now a considerable foundation at Amiens, another near Lyons, and a small one at Aix. In Italy, they are established at Rome, in the Neapolitan, Modenese, and Piedmontese territories; and more are expected to come soon from Poland, where they first retired upon their expulsion from Russia. They are known in France by the name of *Pères de la Foi.* Here they decline taking the children of poor persons, or of low condition, into their seminary.

The Prince of Monaco receives from the Intendant of Nice 9000 livres per annum, by quarterly payments, as Governor of Monaco for the King of Sardinia. His subjects are in all about 5000.

4th.—News from England that Canning's friends, Huskisson, Lord Binning, &c., have resigned.

5th.—The Intendant told me that he had had great difficulties, and a negotiation of thirteen months, to settle the business of the Protestant cemetery on the Croix de Marbre. When referred to by the Court of Turin, he had desired it might be referred to the Bishop; but, when pressed for his own opinion, he had answered that it must be remembered that there were Roman Catholics in Ireland, and that, even in Piedmont, where he had been Intendant at Pignerol, there

were many thousand Vaudois Protestants, who had thirteen different burial grounds.

In the severe winter of 1820, the English at Nice raised a subscription for the distressed poor, and desired the ecclesiastical authorities of the town to undertake the distribution of it amongst the most deserving objects; but they declined accepting the heretical money for this charitable purpose.

The Chevalier de Saluces (Governor of Nice) told me that he had the charge of all Buonaparte's equipage, on the retreat from Moscow, and that amongst the valuables under his care was the Orleans diamond, which Buonaparte took with his imperial robes to be worn at the peace, which he intended to sign in Russia.

10*th*.—The Noblesse of the Comté de Nice took the oath of allegiance this day, in the Cathedral Church of S. Reparata, before the Bishop, seated with his back to the altar, and habited in his pontificals, crosier, mitre, &c. The Governor, President, Intendent, and Doyen de la Noblesse, upon their knees, successively recited the full form of the oath, at a desk placed at the feet of the Bishop; and then the rest of the nobles individually advanced, bowing, and kneeling repeated the single phrase, "I swear." Of these the number was about 150. When the swearing was finished, a *procès verbal* of the whole was read aloud in presence of all parties. Amongst the nobles were several who had already taken the same oath twice within the last few days, as military or naval officers, or as *employés* in some civil office. A gallery for spectators was fitted up on each side of the middle aisle; the regimental bands were placed in the organ-loft, playing airs from the Barbière di Siviglia, Otello, &c.; and the whole ceremony closed with the elevation of the host, the benediction, and a discharge of musketry outside the church.

17*th*.—Saw a letter from Milan, mentioning the numerous arrests daily making among the nobility, and

the criminal commissions proceeding for the investigation of the remaining branches of the conspiracy in March last.

23*rd*.—The Governor called in the afternoon, and described the ancient positions of the Saracens at S. Ospice and La Turbia (where they fortified themselves round Augustus's Tower), and their irruptions into Piedmont, where they left two settlements; one in the "Cannevais," or valley of the Dora, leading from Soréa, by Aoste, to the valleys of the Great and Little St. Bernard, and another which migrated over to the Valais.

FROM MR. BANKES.

Old Palace Yard, Feb. 26th, 1822.

Dear Colchester,— . . . . . Nothing is decided by the Admiralty with regard to bringing away Cleopatra's Needle.* At the British Museum we are endeavouring to settle, by due course of law, the point in dispute between the Duke of Bedford and the trustees, as to the right of extending the building towards the garden. . . . . .

Our collection is much extended since you left us, and we are literally without any fit space to contain a multitude of Egyptian antiquities sent over by Mr. Salt, which he wishes us to purchase; but whether in this moment of strict economy the money will be forthcoming is more than I can tell.

Our state of parties and course of debates vary little since the last Session. In the debate of the other night the Sinking Fund gained a triumphant victory over reduction of taxation, which is much to the credit of many of those members whose constituents are clamorous for the latter; but you would have hardly supposed, I am sure I did not, that the Sinking Fund which Ministers are endeavouring to establish, is deprived of its vital power of *compound interest*, and intended only to absorb five millions in each successive year. I am striving to bring them to their senses on this most important distinction.

I have lost, as you know, my neighbours† on the neutral bench, not at all to my regret; but I was rather surprised to

* The fallen obelisk, known by that name in Alexandria, had been offered to the British Government by the Pacha of Egypt, Mehemet Ali.

† Mr. Wynn and others, known as the Buckingham party, already mentioned as having joined the Ministry.

find C. Wynn converted into a Cabinet Minister. Let him, however, be anything but Speaker, and I care not. No small and insignificant party was ever bought so dear as this rump of the Grenvilles. Canning has had the gout, but is now again among us. It is said that the King would on no account re-admit him; and that, if Lord Hastings returns from India, he is to succeed. Peel is a prodigious acquisition to the Government, and is acquitting himself as well as there was reason to expect.

The wretched and disturbed state of Ireland, of which we know not yet the extent and ramifications, will probably prevent anything being proposed, or at least being effected, with regard to the Roman Catholics during the present Session. The question of Irish tithes is likely to be brought under discussion, which I take to be of more real interest and importance to that body than their admissibility to political power. . . . .

We have had a surprisingly mild season, and exceedingly pleasant weather during the last two months.

. . . . . .

Yours most sincerely, H. BANKES.

Monday, March 18th.— Received a long and curious letter from M. de Niebuhr, at Rome, with an account of Mai's discoveries; his progress in printing the fragment of Cicero de Republicâ, &c.

His letter contains the further story of the burying-ground at Rome; remarks upon O'Connell's misconceived regulations, proposed for the election of Roman Catholic bishops in Ireland, &c.

Arrests are going on at the instance of the Court of Turin, for treasonable correspondence of Pallavicini, and others at Milan, with the Prince of Carignan. The Court of Vienna has reprimanded Strassold, Governor of Milan, for not holding a more conciliatory conduct towards the Milanese.

The King of Sardinia has taken a Jesuit for his confessor.

Wednesday, April 3rd.— News of the Independence of Brazil being declared, and the Portuguese troops being re-embarked for Europe.

5th.— Good Friday. Of the practical departure from the Rubric of the Church of England, the most remarkable is the discontinuance of fasting, for which above

one hundred days are enjoined, including every Friday throughout the year. In the Church of Rome the special regulations of diet for the fasting in Lent vary in different places and different years. In Genoa, the rules vary according to the good or bad olive crops of the preceding year.

9th.—The King of Sardinia has issued the form of an oath to be taken by all his clergy, to ensure their allegiance; a thing hitherto unheard of. The confessors, also, in their confessionals, before Easter, have interrogated the penitents whether they belonged to the Carbonari, or to any secret society, or knew of any plot against the Government or the church. This, also, has occasioned great surprise, as an innovation upon this religious exercise.

13th.—The King of Sardinia goes to Genoa on the 19th. The guards and sentinels there are doubled, and the place is put in a state of alert, if not alarm.

The abdicated King, Victor Emmanuel, has taken a palace at Albano, out of the town, where the two kings are to meet. Carlo Felice resides at the Durazzo palace. Young Revereto, as well as Pareto, has declined to take the oaths required.

FROM MR. B. WILBRAHAM.

Portland Place, April 2nd, 1822.

My dear Lord Colchester,— . . . . As to public intelligence, there is not much stirring, and the business of Parliament of late has been devoid of interest. The Estimates have been got through with fewer delays and remarks of Hume than was expected. Indeed, he caused so much reduction last year, that it would be difficult to accomplish much more. To-night we are to have a thundering motion from Burdett, about Hunt's imprisonment at Ilchester, in the course of which, I suppose, the magistrates of Lancashire will be as roughly handled as those of Somersetshire; and some of the latter deservedly, as they have suffered great abuses to exist in their gaol.

The agricultural report was presented yesterday, but as it will find its way into the newspapers I will say nothing about it, ex-

cept that some of the country gentlemen, who represent agricultural counties, literally seem to have run wild; as, for instance, Edmund Wodehouse and Sir Thomas Lethbridge.*

Canning has made up his mind to go to India, and was last week appointed Governor-General *unanimously*, which is considered as an unusual compliment. He will vacate his seat when he goes, but it is not known who is to be his successor at Liverpool. The public papers and private reports have fixed upon me, but I have not the slightest intention of the sort, and I imagine that the good people of that town will end with electing some townsman, unless Brougham or Lord Molyneux should get the Whig and Radical interest to exert itself in their turn, and the others be provided with no candidate. Canning has given notice of a motion for the 30th, to admit Roman Catholic Peers to sit in the House of Lords. I imagine that it will pass the Commons, unless we are very much changed since last year. What will happen in the Lords I cannot say, but you will come in time to see with your own eyes. This subject naturally reminds me of Peel, who is of the greatest use in Parliament, and saves Lord Londonderry and Van much speaking and explanations, as he is concise and clear in what he says. He is likely to do well in his troublesome office, from which Lord Sidmouth looks delighted at being relieved.

I presume that you see "John Bull."* Mr. Theodore Hook is supposed to have a good deal to say in it, and I have been told that, on Sir Ronald Fergusson being threatened to be shown up in it, he went to Mr. Hook, and informed him (after he had denied knowing anything about it) that if he was shown up he should break his bones. The consequence of which has been, that Sir Ronald has not been brought before the public.

The arrangement of Lady Noel's property has, I understand, been amicably made between Lord and Lady Byron. He chose Sir Francis Burdett and Lord Dacre as arbitrators, and when these two met they agreed that, as legal right was with his Lordship, and justice with her Ladyship, it would be equitable to divide the property; which has been done, and each party has about 3500*l.* per annum, which is more than she had reason to expect after her folly in marrying such a man. She has contrived to make her daughter a ward in chancery, so that her father cannot carry her off with impunity.

Poor Boswell†, whom you recollect in Parliament, has lost his

* The Members for Norfolk and Somersetshire.

† Sir Alexander Boswell was shot, March 27th, in Scotland, by Mr. James Stuart, having been challenged by him on account of a song which

life, foolishly in a duel; but the circumstances will be in all the newspapers. Lord Rosslyn, as foolishly, has been second in this unfortunate affair, and is gone to Paris till he can return home, where, I imagine, he must undergo a trial, the result of which may be awkward.

The King is living quietly at Brighton, and we hear little of him, which I consider a good thing. The Duke of Cumberland, it is said, will not come to England, which I also consider a good thing, both as he is a mischief-maker, and as we should probably be called upon to pay 6000*l.* a year for him, which would hardly be granted in the present humour of his Majesty's faithful Commons. . . . . Yours very sincerely, E. B. W.

17*th.*—Left Nice for Paris and England.

Friday, May 17*th.*— *Paris.* This day died the Duc de Richelieu*, after a short illness, aged 53.

Lord Huntly told me that although the Duc de Berri had been his visitor at Gordon Castle, and made a thousand protestations of gratitude for the hospitality he received there, he took no notice whatever of Lord Huntley when he called upon him in Paris. And Lady Minto told me that neither the Duc de Berri nor the Duc d'Angoulême, nor Monsieur had acknowledged her messenger to them at Paris, though the Duc de Berri in particular had been long a familiar inmate in their house at Edinburgh.

18*th.*—I saw Talma in Sylla; a first-rate performance, especially in the scenes of his levée, and his sleep and dream. His manner and gestures are, by his own acknowledgment, an intended copy of those of Buonaparte.

His account of his own turn for the stage in early life was from seeing Mrs. Siddons and Kemble, when living as a boy with his father in England, and then coming to Paris and seeing the Comédie Française. He thought Coriolanus Kemble's best part.

he had published in *The Sentinel*, a Glasgow paper, which Mr. Stuart considered to reflect on his character.

* The Prime Minister of France.

FROM MR. BANKES.

Old Palace Yard, May 6th, 1822.

Dear Colchester,—It gives me great satisfaction to think that you are at no greater distance from us than Paris, and that your friends will soon have the pleasure of congratulating you upon your return after so long an absence.

If you hasten, you may arrive in time to stop the intrusion of the Roman Catholic peers into the House of which you are a member, which I see no prospect of our being able to do in the House of Commons. We shall take one more division upon it, either on Friday next or on the report; but there is no reason to expect that better success will attend our efforts. Peel followed every point of Canning's speech, whether historical or argumentative, with singular ability; and, indeed, I have scarcely ever heard two speeches in succession that evinced greater talents and power of reasoning.

Whatever is to be done for Ireland remains in the dark. Everybody excepting myself appears inclined to place implicit confidence in Lord Wellesley, and I hope that he will not disappoint their expectations; but the great question of tithes is too difficult for him to deal with during the present Session. The spirit of insurrection is not put down, and the famine is begun.

The event of the debate on Thursday last for abolishing the second Postmaster, was a matter of real gratification to me, as it was one of the few offices fit to be suppressed, and included in my Bills of 1812 and 1813, which I could not prevail on Lord Londonderry to sacrifice in his subsequent and purged edition of it in 1817. We can give no other sort of answer so convincing to the Radical reformers, as by showing them that, when a strong case is made out, the representative body as at present constituted is able and ready to counteract the wishes and influence of the Government. These occasional defeats neither shake nor endanger the Ministers, who are much more popular than their fixed opponents, both in the House, and among the better sort of people.

What is to become of our agricultural question can hardly be conjectured; but a Corn Bill of some sort or other it seems that we are to have, for which there are no less than four projects actually before us in the shape of resolutions coming from Lord Londonderry, Ricardo, Huskisson, and Bennett (of Wiltshire). Our farmers continue in a state of increasing distress; and parts of the country have been alarmed by the burning of barns,

cornricks, &c. The men of iron in Monmouthshire and Staffordshire are in a state of inaction as to work, but of turbulent activity as to mischief, on account of wages; but generally speaking, all manufacturing concerns are proceeding prosperously, and the revenue not only keeps up but improves in every week beyond the produce of the last year. As a proof of the wonderful superabundance of capital, and of confidence in our whole financial system, two sets of contractors are ready to enter into competition for taking a long annuity, which will subject them to a large annual loss for the first fifteen years, in the expectation of indemnifying themselves in the last thirty. Do not you think that they should at the same time open a policy to insure against a Radical reform? . . . . . .

Always most sincerely yours, H. BANKES.

30*th*.—Returned to England.

FROM LORD REDESDALE.

Harley Street, May 30th, 1822.

My dear Lord,— . . . . . In consequence of the death of old Lady Grey, I understand it is intended to put off the second reading of the Catholic Bill. . . . . Things are in a strange state; and the ferment in Ireland still portends much mischief. There is a bad spirit also in this country. The distress of the farmers and land proprietors will, I fear, produce distress among manufactures for home consumption and country tradesmen. The forty millions a year payable to the public creditors will probably save the London tradesmen, combined with reduced prices of manufactures, and all articles of consumption; but how long those forty millions can be raised, when so large a proportion is to be paid by farmers, their landlords, and the labourers to be employed by both, is a very serious question, not, I think, sufficiently considered by Ministers. I fear we are on the verge of a great crisis.

. . . . . .

Most truly yours, REDESDALE.

Friday, June 7th.—House of Lords. Debate on complaint against the Bishop of Peterborough (Marsh) for unwarrantable rigour and vexation in examining candidates for holy orders. Petition received.

14*th*.—House of Lords. Lord Lansdowne's motion

on the state of Ireland, and the expediency of an inquiry, negatived without a division.

17*th.*—House of Lords. Navigation Act opened by Lord Liverpool.

19*th.*—House of Lords. Committee on Marriage Act Amendment Bill. The retrospective clause for legalising all marriages since 1754, otherwise void for want of consent of parents, carried by 69 against our 40; which minority included the Chancellor, the two Archbishops, Lord Liverpool, Lord Harrowby, Lord Stowell, Lord Redesdale, &c.

21*st.*—House of Lords. Debate on second reading of the Bill for admitting Roman Catholic Peers to sit in the House of Lords moved by the Duke of Portland. I moved an amendment to put it off for six months.* Division:

For the Original Motion —	Present	80
"	Proxies	49
		129
For the Amendment —	Present	97
"	Proxies	74
		171
		129
	Majority	42

Tuesday, July 2nd.—House of Lords. Marriage Act Amendment Bill passed on division of 40 to 18; the Chancellor declaring throughout that he should enter his protest against it, and that by rejecting the property clauses it amounted to a legal robbery.

4*th.*—Left London for Kidbrooke.

FROM MR. BANKES.

July 29th.

Dear Colchester,— . . . . . The great advantage to Administration in appointing Lord Wellesley Lord-Lieutenant,

* Lord Colchester's speech on this occasion is published among his *Speeches on the Roman Catholic Claims.* Hatchard, 1829. His arguments were directed against the measure as "studiously framed for obtaining immediately and separately the concession of a general principle in aid of the Roman Catholic claims."

has been that the Opposition profess to have confidence in him, which perhaps his own friends have not, which has made all the affairs connected with Ireland pass much more smoothly than they would have done under other auspices.

. . . . . .

Dear Colchester, most sincerely yours,
H. Bankes.

Monday, Aug. 12th. — Lord Londonderry died by his own hand.

The King arrived this morning at Edinburgh by sea, having sailed from London on the 10th.

15th. — Letter from Niebuhr, with copies of Consalvi's articles in the "Diario di Roma," abusing me for what I had said in the debate on the Roman Catholic Peer Bill, respecting Protestant tombs at Rome.

Monday, Sept. 9th. — Canning is appointed to succeed Lord Londonderry at the Foreign Office, having been forced on the King by Lord Liverpool, who has sacrificed the principle of having a Protestant Administration, and thrown away the opportunity of making such a Cabinet as should set the Roman Catholic question upon its only safe ground.

In Foreign Affairs Canning may do very well, and support the interest and honour of the country with a loftier policy than his predecessor, and he may keep the House of Commons in better order; but his Ministerial influence, coupled with his declared principles and open support of Roman Catholic pretensions, must be mischievous to the constitution if he persists in them, of which, nevertheless, from his recent speech at Liverpool, there may be some doubts.

FROM LORD REDESDALE.

Batsford, Sept. 8th, 1822.

My dear Lord, — . . . Having been for many years the subject of gross misrepresentation in the English newspapers, whose reporters are generally Irish Roman Catholics, I have long forborne to trouble myself about anything which I find in a newspaper respecting me. I presume that Cardinal Consalvi is a counterpart of our Doctor Troy, Dr. Coppinger, Dr. Milner,

&c.; and, like them, will scruple nothing to forward the great cause of Catholicity. Our English advocates for what they call Catholic Emancipation have adopted the spirit of the Sacred College, and are as expert in misrepresentation as Cardinal Consalvi. This I have repeatedly experienced. I can scarcely believe that they think there is the wonderful change in the disposition of the Catholics which they profess to act upon.

Lord Grenville was at one time a strenuous opposer of Catholic claims, and talked loudly of the danger of yielding anything; and can any man look to what is now passing in Ireland without perceiving that the re-establishment of the Catholic religion as the predominant religion of that country is not only the object, but an event within the early expectation of the zealous Catholics? They continually put forward the assertion that "a *double* hierarchy is one of the grievances of Ireland." They complain of this as a grievance; they require the redress of grievances: what is this but asserting that there are two hierarchies in Ireland, that there ought to be only one, and that the removal of one would be the removal of an intolerable grievance? Consequently there ought only to be one hierarchy, and that one the Catholic. They assert that payment of tithes by a Catholic layman to a Protestant minister is also an intolerable grievance: that, as a grievance, it ought to be removed; and they point out the obvious remedy, adopted by James's Irish Parliament, namely, the allowing Catholics to pay their tithes to a Catholic priest. This law of James II. was abolished by the battle of the Boyne. Had the result of that contest been different, the law of Ireland would have given the tithes, and finally the whole establishment, to the Catholic clergy. Hence the animosity which they bear to the commemoration of the battle of the Boyne, and to the memory of William, the Dutch intruder as Mr. Scully calls him.

As far as I have been able to observe, conciliation is more remote than ever; and the unfortunate journey to Ireland, by raising hopes, has put conciliation at a greater distance than ever; it has made conciliation almost impossible. The reprimand to the Mayor of Dublin has made the memory of "Glorious, Immortal," &c., more than ever a standing toast. Does not every Protestant who enjoys property derived from an ancestor attained by James's Parliament feel, if he reflects justly, that to the battle of the Boyne he owes the enjoyment of that property; that his ancestor, if victory had been with James, might have been executed as a traitor, and that he himself might never have had existence, if not born before that event, and, if

born before that event, might now be begging bread of a Catholic possessor of that property? It seems to me that those who directed or advised that reprimand had forgotten the nature of man when they adopted the measure.

Nothing now remains but to stand firm: yielding will not do. The only chance for conciliation at any time arose from conscious weakness on the part of the Catholics. The English Catholics were conscious of their weakness, and therefore consented to swear to maintain the Protestant succession to the Crown. To use Lord Petre's words, "*We* swear to maintain that succession, because *we* can have no hope of being able to prevent it; but" (he added) "the Irish will not take the oath, because they have better hopes for Ireland."

. . . . . With us rents are much reduced and must fall lower. I have a rental of 1727, now almost a century ago. What was then sold for 100*l.* was lately bought for 150*l.*; but 100*l.* in 1727, was equal in value to 300*l.* now. And yet I fear my rent must be reduced to the standard of 1727. . . . . But we do wrong to estimate by pounds, shillings, and pence; the true estimate of the value of landed property is, what will a bushel of corn, a pound of meat, or a tod of wool buy. All these articles will not buy above a third of many necessaries which they would buy even in 1755; and they will scarcely pay one tenth of the public taxes, poor rates, road rates, county rates, &c. Fifty years ago I could buy a pair of shoes for a bushel of wheat: now I must give five bushels of wheat for a similar pair. This is the immediate distress of the landlord, as well as of the tenant. But the tenant has often other difficulties to contend with — his credit is gone: if he owed money, he has been called upon to pay the debt; the stock which some years back cost him 1000*l.*, was reduced in value, almost in an instant, one half; and if he had borrowed half his capital, his whole stock would not pay the debt. The farmers of Great Britain were thus, at one blow, reduced from affluence to beggary. . . . . The cultivation of the country is suffering, and in the end the land will not produce food for the population it has raised. The population has increased in little more than 100 years from between 5,000,000 and 6,000,000 to between 14,000,000 and 15,000,000. . . . . Our Ministers do not look at this subject as statesmen, either with a view to the strength or the constitution of Government in this country — both, in my opinion, are in great peril.

Most truly yours, REDESDALE.

FROM MR. LEGGE.

Navy Office, Sept. 9th, 1822.

My dear Lord Colchester,—Upon the subject of the Ministerial arrangements, I can only echo the "Morning Post" of to-day, where I find it stated that nothing has yet been distinctly settled. This I verily believe is all that anybody knows, but those who are employed either in the negotiations or the bickerings, as the case may be, which are going on. Reports are as plentiful as blackberries, and as worthless. I should as soon, therefore, think of sending you a string of one as of the other. The only Minister that I see is Vansittart; he of course is silent upon the subject, and I, equally of course, ask no questions. I am content, for my own part, to remain in ignorance, and only lament it because it prevents me from enlightening my friends in the country. One report, however, I will mention, which is that Lord Colchester (if you know him) is to have the Seals of the Home Department.

. . . . . .

Ever most sincerely yours, H. LEGGE.

FROM MR. JEREMY BENTHAM.*

Queen Square Place, Sept. 13th.

Not knowing anything about anybody, I know nothing, and hear nothing but what is in the newspapers about *you*. It can do you no harm, however, to hear from me about yourself what I see not how you should hear from anybody else. For some years past, among the men by whom in effect the Government of British India is conducted in this country, there has been a most ardent longing to see you Governor-General; under the notion that in that case, in alleviation of the miserable condition of the people, something great and good might be done. I speak of the four men styled "Examiners;" for so far as regards that country, disposal of patronage excepted (the only part of the business in which any real interest was taken), out of the twenty-four Directors, twenty-three yield *auspices*, one alone a glance, and that a hasty one, at the despatches received and orders sent out in consequence. Of the four Examiners, all of them very well disposed men, Mill† almost alone finds appropriate active talent, in addition to intellectual aptitude. When

* The celebrated writer on jurisprudence.

† The historian of British India.

he came in there had been, in relation to the financial department, not to speak of others, more than a twelvemonth's despatches of which no notice had been taken. In the Board of Control, the *gens en sous-ordre*, by whom in like manner has been taken what little cognizance has been taken there of such matters by anybody, I have heard spoken of as participating in the same wishes.

Just now the best thing (I have heard it said) is that you should be Governor-General: the next best thing that you should be—the Board.

For my own part, delighted as I should be to see you in either of those situations, I should be rather sorry than glad to see you in any other. The reason can scarce be a mystery to you; if it be, the difference between a hundred millions of human beings, and twenty millions, added to that between alleviation of misrule in the one case, and support to it in the other, may explain it.

No person knows of my writing to you, nor has any one the least suspicion of my communicating with you in any way, on this occasion.

FROM MR. BANKES.

Kingston Hall, Sept. 24th, 1822.

Dear Colchester,— . . . . . I have not yet seen the Chancellor*, who came to Encombe as soon as the new arrangement was settled, stomaching not a little the readmission of Canning into the Cabinet. But what could his colleagues do? for there certainly would not have been strength enough, nor power of maintaining the long debates in the House of Commons, without his assistance.

. . . . . .

Most sincerely yours, H. BANKES.

Friday, Nov. 1st.—Returned to London.

The Speaker, who, after some delay, had offered himself as a candidate for the University of Cambridge, declined it on the supposed inability of any Member to be chosen Speaker at the meeting of Parliament, who had not already taken the oaths in the House; an objection reported to have been made by Mr. Pitt, in 1801, to Mr. Charles Dundas, but one certainly without

* One of Mr. Bankes's sons was married to a daughter of Lord Eldon.

any foundation, as every Speaker on the meeting of a New Parliament is so chosen, and by Members *none* of whom can have taken the oaths at the table, for want of a Speaker.

13*th.* — Lord Sidmouth called; we had a long conversation; and he related to me many particulars which passed between himself* and the King, and afterwards with the Cabinet respecting Canning's appointment to the Foreign Department.

The Duke of Buckingham applied to be Governor-General of India. C. Williams Wynn would not accept the Chair of the House of Commons, or else the Governor-General's place would have been offered to the Speaker.

16*th.* — At the Cambridge University election, Lord Liverpool supported Lord Hervey†, a professed friend to Roman Catholic claims, against the Speaker (who for other causes withdrew); and he now continues to support him against W. Bankes, a declared opponent of those claims.

20*th.* — Attended a Committee of the Privy Council, on an appeal from Jersey; and ordered the Court to proceed in a criminal prosecution, notwithstanding the presiding Judge was father-in-law to one of the prosecutors, and nephew to the other: no such objection being allowed in England on a criminal trial; and because in so narrow a population it would often be difficult to administer justice if such objections were admitted.

FROM MR. BANKES.

Kingston Hall, Nov. 18th, 1822.

Dear Colchester, — Your kind wishes with regard to my son William cannot fail to be most acceptable to me: he has met

* Lord Eldon's objections to Canning were founded on that statesman's support of the claims of the Roman Catholics; but Lord Sidmouth (though agreeing on that point with Lord Eldon) was also, and perhaps chiefly, influenced by his disapproval of Canning's foreign policy with respect to the independence of Buenos Ayres, and other States in South America, which led to his retirement from the Cabinet in the end of November in this year. —See *Life of Lord Sidmouth*, vol. iii. p. 413.

† Now Marquis of Bristol, nephew to Lord Liverpool.

with better encouragement than could have been expected, and whatever may be the issue of this contest, which he determines to see the end of, the support he will receive from the resident members of the University, of whom he has a clear majority over any one of his competitors, and from the heads of houses, of whom he is sure of a most decided proportion above all the three, must be extremely creditable to him.

Lord Liverpool and the Speaker make each of them as silly a figure as any two dignified persons ever did upon such an occasion. The former by bringing his sincerity upon the Roman Catholic claims into question, and exposing himself to the merited taunts of his friends and his enemies; and the latter for not having a mind comprehensive enough to embrace the whole of a question which half a dozen passages from the journals, and a reference to the practice of the House of Commons in very recent times ought to have made perfectly plain to him. Such consideration and reconsideration, and such a rejoinder upon his own reconsidered opinion, ill become the dignity and decision of the chair. Most truly yours,

H. BANKES.

23rd.—Robert Grant gave up the contest for Cambridge.

25th.—Lord Liverpool to-day spoke of Lord Hervey's success as certain; of Scarlett's numbers as large; of Bankes's chance as ridiculous.

27th.—Final close of the Cambridge Poll:—W. Bankes, 419; Lord Hervey, 281; Scarlett, 219.

Rode with I. W. Ward *, who related to me the successive offers made by Canning of the place of Under-Secretary of State in his department (to be held without sitting in Parliament, there being already two Under-Secretaries there), first to W. Lamb †, next to Ward, thirdly to Frederick Lamb ‡, all of whom have declined; it is now understood to be offered to, and accepted by, William Hill, the British Envoy at Turin, whose mission there will be for Lord Londonderry's late Under-Secretary, Lord Clanwilliam.

Sunday, Dec. 1st.—Read the Archbishop of Dublin's charge to the clergy, which has given violent offence to

* Afterwards Earl Dudley.
† Afterwards Lord Melbourne.
‡ Afterwards Lord Beauvale.

the Roman Catholics, and occasioned the breaking of his windows. He describes the Established Church of the reformed religion, as placed in Ireland, "between a church without what we call a religion, and religion without what we call a church."

Dr. Lawrence, Archbishop of Cashel, in his charge, delivered in September, recommended all his clergy to live on the most conciliatory footing with their Roman Catholic fellow-subjects.

Read also the Attorney-General Plunkett's speech on the trials in Dublin (on the 4th November last) for administering unlawful oaths, in which he states the existence of an *organised system* (like that of the United Irishmen in 1789) for the exclusive purpose of putting down the Protestant religion, and extirpating the Protestants.

Also a charge of Bishop Doyle (R. C.), warning his flock against these associations, but (N. B.) never threatening any persons with excommunication for belonging to them.

4th.—The news to-day from Verona is all for war between France and Spain.

5th.—Left London for Kidbrooke.

25th.—The French King has issued an ordonnance, accepting the resignation of M. Montmorency, created Duc de Montmorency, and announcing the appointment of M. de Villèle as his successor. Containing also the instructions to the French Ambassador at Madrid, expressing disapprobation of the present state of the interior affairs of Spain, and expressing hopes that the nation itself will find a remedy, and a determination to repel revolutionary principles and movements.

Austria, Prussia, and Russia have also sent diplomatic notes to Madrid in manifestation of their sentiments.

FROM LORD REDESDALE.

Batsford, Dec. 30th, 1822.

My dear Lord,—As the meeting of Parliament is not far distant, I am anxious to know something of the feelings of the

people in and about London, on the very important subjects which must engage our attention. On the question of peace or war, I presume, you are all in the dark, and upon that subject I can expect no information beyond the newspapers. But two other great, the Roman Catholic question, and the distressed state of agriculture, supposing peace to continue, are mighty objects of concern. If war should happen, they are more than mighty, they are tremendous. We have been so often saved by accident, that our Ministers are generally inclined to save themselves trouble by trusting to the Chapter of Accidents, and I much suspect that on that chapter they at present mainly rely; indeed, they are so singular a mixture of discordant materials, that, I believe, they unite much in the same manner as oil, vinegar, mustard, salt, &c., are united for the purpose of a salad; they are beaten and jumbled together, and are always disposed to separate when not so beaten. With some, indeed, the little attraction of sweets may operate.

What has recently passed in Ireland shows decisively that conciliation is not sought for by one party, or likely to be acceded to by the other. "Victory," and "subjugation," are now the words on both sides. His Excellency, the Lord-Lieutenant, has made a fine bustle of a playhouse row.* Indecent and savage as it was, how long has such a row been deemed a species of treason? If a bottle or a stick had been thrown on the stage to damn a play, would it have been seriously thought of to indict the wretch who threw it as guilty of an attempt to murder? The bustle which has been made on this subject appears to me to demonstrate a most alarming spirit abroad; the spirit of a Jacobin club, a spirit of intolerance. All party associations are disposed to tyranny, but now the Orangemen are compelled to be on the defensive, and their opponents are the original aggressors. From the moment that Scully and his associates thought fit to style King William "a Dutch intruder," and to stigmatise him as "the bloody Glencoe," I foresaw irritation. The glorious and immortal memory was drunk by every Mayor and every Lord-Lieutenant without the least thought of exasperation, till William was styled "a Dutch invader," "a Dutch intruder," "Bloody Glencoe," &c. This led, almost unavoidably, to accompany the old toast with new enthusiasm. Are the dissenters in this country in a rage because at so many public dinners

* On the 14th December Lord Wellesley went in state to the theatre in Dublin, and in the course of the performance a bottle and a piece of a watchman's rattle were thrown down close to his box, for which several persons were afterwards prosecuted. — *Vide* 1823.

"Church and King" is a standing toast? And why should not Dissenters be as much, or even more, offended with "Church and King," as the Roman Catholics of Ireland with "the glorious, pious, and immortal memory of William?" When "Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights" was factiously given as a toast in Guildhall, what would have been said if a Secretary of State had reprimanded the Lord Mayor for giving such a toast? They may as well think to induce the English to forget Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights, as to induce the Irish Protestants to forget what they owe to William. The battle of the Boyne was their saviour from destruction; the Popish Parliament of James had attainted every Irish Protestant of property, had, in effect, transferred the ecclesiastical establishment to the Roman Catholic priests; and if James had been victorious, Ireland might have become a Catholic kingdom under a Catholic king, and every Protestant massacred or driven from the country and all their property forfeited. It seems to me madness to suppose that the Protestants of Ireland will submit to be restrained from commemorating the battle of the Boyne and their deliverance by William. Human nature cannot bear such a force on its feelings; and as long as the Protestants of Ireland shall dare to hold up their heads, they will now drink "the glorious and immortal memory" as a standing toast; the reprimand has bestowed a value on it beyond its original value. It is the watchword of their safety.

I expect to hear much in Parliament on this subject; but I doubt whether it will be thought advisable in the ensuing session to stir the Catholic question by any direct motion. If that should be done, I think it will produce a new flame. It is now in fact avowed that the Church establishment is the object of Catholic ambition. They have declared that the existence of two establishments is a grievance; as a grievance, it ought to be abolished. . . . . And is there a chance that the Roman Catholics will be quiet until *all* their grievances are abolished? It seems to me that they are ignorant of human nature who suppose that, without the establishment, the Roman Catholics of Ireland will be content. The lower orders are taught by an interpretation of prophecy to expect the destruction of the Protestant hierarchy. To them the destruction of that hierarchy would not only appear to be, but would be a relief. They would gain by that; they would gain nothing by what is commonly called Catholic emancipation. But would they alone gain? All the highest, as well as all the lowest, would gain; for all are now taxed, according to their means, to

support the Catholic establishment; and perhaps the highest are taxed most highly in proportion to their means.

I do not think that this subject has ever been sufficiently put forward in the debates on the Catholic question. How far the estates of Protestants would be safe is a more difficult question. Of the fate of Church property in Ireland, I have no doubt, if the Catholic question were carried. The Catholics would perhaps submit to a modification of tithes, to gain the rest; and this might be held out as a bait to Protestant landholders, who seem too ready to bite at the bait. If their properties were attacked, they might take alarm. Yet look at the Catholic publications of many years past, and you will see how evidently the lands, as well as the tithes, are within their view. . . . . .

Most truly yours, REDESDALE.

CHAP. LXV.

1823.

LETTER FROM LORD REDESDALE. — AFFAIRS OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE. — CLAMOUR FOR CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION. — MR. ROBINSON BECOMES CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER. — THREATENING LANGUAGE OF THE FRENCH] MINISTERS TOWARDS SPAIN. — CONVERSATION WITH LORD SIDMOUTH. — HISTORY OF THE QUARTERLY REVIEW. — WALTER SCOTT AT CARLTON HOUSE. — NEW MARRIAGE ACT. — LETTER FROM THE BISHOP OF EXETER. — ANGRY LANGUAGE BETWEEN CANNING AND BROUGHAM. — PEEL'S FEELINGS ON THE CATHOLIC QUESTION. — DEBATE ON THE NEGOTIATIONS AT VERONA. — CONVERSATION WITH ARCHBISHOP MAGEE.

REMAINED at Kidbrooke till Jan. 21st.

LETTER FROM LORD REDESDALE.

Batsford, Jan. 7th, 1823.

My dear Lord,— . . . . . I have reason to think that the management at the Cape has been always bad, and the new colony ill-managed. Everything is still too Dutch; and the new colonists are almost all needy adventurers. One I know having suffered severely by his misconduct; and I understand he is a principal settler, and a great man among the settlers. He has some talent, and a great disposition to speculation. . . . . .

You will have seen the result of the commission for trying the persons charged with a conspiracy to assassinate the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. I had letters from Ireland, which I thought prognosticated the result. The extravagant tone in which the business was taken up seemed to my correspondent to be likely to produce what has happened. A simple proceeding for riot and assault, and that assault charged as highly criminal, and applied to the Lord-Lieutenant, would probably have met a different fate; but to talk of treason and a treasonable conspiracy appeared to all moderate people ridiculous; and I apprehend His Excellency has been considered as talking too much. I understand that John Bull has been facetious on the subject. The result will probably be that the two parties will become more violent than

ever. The dismission of Saurin to make way for Plunkett caused no small discontent at the Bar; and what has passed on this occasion may tend to increase that discontent.

How it can be supposed that such proceedings will produce conciliation, I cannot imagine. Everything which has been done during and since the King's visit to Ireland, has tended to increase inflammation; and men of high rank and fortune, who formerly favoured what is called Catholic Emancipation, have been alarmed. They now consider the destruction of the establishment as directly aimed at. The elective franchise is the unfortunate concession which has given strength to the emancipation party, compelling many to vote for and advocate the measure who would be sorry to see it accomplished; and, though they will vote for it in general terms, they will always be glad of some hitch in the business, to prevent its accomplishment. Whether the Methodists will continue their support may be doubtful. The vanity of Wilberforce is extreme; and by that he has been constantly swayed. If the Saints continue emancipators, Wilberforce will be at their head; but, if any considerable part of that body should become alarmed, Wilberforce will hesitate; and he is an adept at shifting ground. He will not be deterred by an apprehension of a charge of inconsistency.

I cannot conceive how any man of sense and observation can suppose that what is called Catholic Emancipation would produce peace in Ireland, unless it lead to transferring the establishment to the Catholics. Obtaining the establishment is important to all of that persuasion, high and low; and perhaps more to the high than to the low. . . . . .

If the establishment were transferred to the Roman Catholics, the Fingals, &c. &c., might look to primacies and bishoprics and deaneries and good livings for their own relatives and friends. Those would be more easily obtained than great offices of State, or any of those political situations from which Catholics are now excluded. The burthen too of the Roman Catholic establishment falls heaviest on the great men. They are assessed according to their means; and those who have landed property cannot conceal the extent of their means. According to an estimate made in my presence in Ireland, the cost of the Roman Catholic establishment, exclusive of religious houses, then amounted to about 250,000*l.* a year, besides large occasional demands for building cathedrals, &c. &c. From a large proportion of this charge, Lord Fingal and the rich amongst the Catholics would be in a great degree relieved. They would

possess the cathedrals and the churches and glebe-houses (the greater part built by the Protestants and the Governors of Queen Anne's bounty, &c.). Can it be doubted that this is their objects, and that ecclesiastical power and riches are the objects of their clergy? What chance is there of quiet unless these are conceded, if the rest should be conceded? The late Lord Petre gave me a hint on this subject, when he told me that he steadily held to the maxim of the English Catholics, to avoid all political connection with the Irish, because the *views* of the two bodies were different. "We," he said, "can have no *hope* of making England Catholic, but the Irish still hope, and have ground for hope; and they will ever be a millstone hung to the necks of the English Catholics. It is our obvious policy therefore to keep ourselves as separate as possible from the Irish Catholics." His reasoning was not in one respect very sound, as he must have been conscious that to the Roman Catholic religion the success of the Irish must be important. . . . . .

Most truly yours, REDESDALE.

FROM THE SAME.

Batsford, Jan. 10th, 1823.

My dear Lord, — I have read your Irish paper attentively . . . . but it seems to me that it is neither so *temperately* nor so *ably* conducted as the *Warder*, another Irish weekly paper, which has had many papers and remarks worthy of notice. It affects rather to flatter the Lord-Lieutenant, giving him, however, some good advice in a tone which shows the flattery to be rather complimentary.

It is rather too vehement on the subject of tithes, using language amounting to assertions which are (indirectly) assertions of a divine right to tithes; forgetting that a title to the land existed when our ancestors were heathens, and that tithes were therefore *a tax* imposed upon their lands when they became Christians. . . .

John Bull has some pertinent remarks on the language used by our modern Whigs when the late King's life was unquestionably aimed at, and that which they have used when *an insult* was probably all that was intended. The very recluse life of the Lord-Lieutenant was probably *a* cause of the insult. He has greatly offended the citizens of Dublin by his residence at Bray. His appearance at the theatre was manifestly political, and not intended to conciliate them, and therefore, they were not disposed to esteem highly his solitary visit. No Lord-Lieutenant has

hitherto lived in the retirement which Lord Wellesley has adopted: the citizens could not bear to see Lord Talbot in a gig; and as he went along, he was insulted with cries, "Was 30,000*l.* a year given for a gig?" In truth, the 30,000*l.* a year ought to be spent in Ireland. Most, if not all, Lord-Lieutenants have spent much more than the income of their office; and the economy even of Lord Talbot was censured. The present Lord-Lieutenant therefore (Catholic Emancipation out of the question) would not be popular with the tradesmen of Dublin.

It is evident, however, now necessary to make a stand for the Protestant establishment in Ireland; the Roman Catholics concede nothing, and the Protestants are required to concede everything. Conciliation can only be effected by *mutual* concession. Concession on one side demanded imperiously by the other, is submission not concession. It is the result of force, or of fear. The result is necessarily conquest.

One of the most fearful portents of the times is the union of Methodism and Jacobinism, with the clamour for Catholic Emancipation. The Church had formerly sectaries, and whigs, and republicans for its allies against Popery. It now stands upon the strength of its own adherents (many of whom are in a state of apathy) and the old Presbyterians, now the most moderate and the best disposed of all the Dissenters from the Church. It has also for its enemies all liberals of every description, religious as well as political. The greatest exertion is therefore necessary for its support.

Most truly yours, REDESDALE.

15*th.*—The grand jury have thrown out the conspiracy indictments for the playhouse riot, when the bottle and rattle were thrown at the Lord-Lieutenant.

In Spain the Cortes have received the notes of the Allied Powers, and reject all interference of foreign Powers.

25*th.*—Vansittart is created Lord Bexley, with the Duchy of Lancaster. Bragge Bathurst retires. Fred. Robinson is to be Chancellor of the Exchequer, which nobody thinks will answer. Huskisson Treasurer of the Navy and in the Cabinet. Arbuthnot goes to the Woods and Forests, and is to be succeeded by Herries as Secretary of the Treasury. The envoyship to Switzerland, made 4000*l.* a-year for Mr. Williams Wynn, is to be suppressed.

The speculation is that Robinson at the end of the session will make way for Huskisson.*

Lord Granville is to succeed Sir C. Stuart at Paris; Lord Clanwilliam goes to Berlin vice Sir G. Rose; Lord Burghersh is to be recalled from Florence, and that mission suppressed. N.B. So said, but not done.

The unrestrained licence of the press now exercised in Bengal by Europeans can only be counteracted by the sending home to Europe (under stat. 53rd Geo. III.) those whom the Government in its discretion thinks fit to send away, without any obligation to assign a cause which can admit of contest. The Hindostani publications amongst the natives are another source of present alarm for like reasons, as shaking the obedience of the Indian population.

30*th*.—The Speech of the King of France on Tuesday last holds warlike language regarding Spain; mentions the recall of his Ambassador, and the formation of an army of 100,000 men under the Duc d'Angoulême.

Tuesday, February 4th.—Parliament opened. Lord Stanhope moved an Amendment to the Address about bullion, paper currency, &c., and divided 2 (viz. Lord Kenyon and Lord Tankerville) against 62.

The Address, approving the policy prescribed by the Speech, was supported by Lord Lansdowne, and carried without a division.

5*th*.—Lord Sidmouth called, and related to me all the circumstances attending the removal of Bathurst and Vansittart from their offices, as pressed by Lord Liverpool; that of Bathurst originating in the time of Lord Londonderry, and urged forward, together with that of Vansittart since the adoption of Canning into the Government; which adoption appears to have been required by the Grenvilles as the condition of their continuance of support.

Bathurst retires upon a pension of 600*l*. a-year, to be augmented to 900*l*. a-year for Mrs. Bathurst, and after her death divisible between her four daughters.

* He filled the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer with universal satisfaction, and remained in it. — C. A.

Canning has taken to himself the Act of Parliament pension of 1000*l.* a-year as having been Secretary of State.

N.B. Lord Liverpool's letter to his colleague of ten years, Vansittart, notifying his removal, was not even written in his own hand, but by that of his private secretary Brookbank.

6th.—Lord Grenville has suffered a paralytic attack. The King, too, is stated to be dangerously ill.

7th.—Dined at Lord Melville's. Captain Parry may be heard of possibly next month.

In 1806 Mr. Croker, Walter Scott, George Ellis, and Gifford set up the "Quarterly Review." Walter Scott then wanted employment on it for his brother Tom, but his store of anecdote and talent of relating had no room there. Afterwards, having spent his own money and some of the Duke of Athol's (as his Grace's factor in the Isle of Man), upon representation of his difficulties, Lord Bathurst appointed him a paymaster in Canada, and from thence he sent "Waverley," or the sketch of it. When it appeared in print, Walter Scott being in London, the Prince Regent invited him to dinner. Croker and Lord Melville were of the party, and the Duke of Montrose, Duke of Argyle, &c. The Regent filled a bumper. He said "it could not indeed be in the Blessed Bear of Bradwardine, but here was health and prosperity to the Author of 'Waverley.'" It was drunk with acclamation; and when the cheers had subsided Mr. Scott rose to profess his sense of the high honour intended him, for he could not misunderstand the condescension and gracious compliment; but that "upon his honour he was not the author of 'Waverley,' and had not seen it till it was printed." *

This disclaimer, in its plain meaning, nobody did

* An account of this dinner is given in *Lockhart's Life*, c. xxxiv. But Scott's reply is stated to have been, "That he had no claim to the compliment paid him, but that he would take care that the news of his health having been drank should reach the author." Lockhart states that his information came from the Chief Commissioner Adam, who was at the dinner.

or does believe. All his friends and his family believe him to be the putter forth of his brother's original sketch, filled up and finished by his own hand.

10*th.* — House of Lords. The Duke of Somerset had *not voted* on the question for the address, but had nevertheless protested against it; and, upon motion, his protest, he having been present at the debate, though he had not voted, was allowed to stand on the Journal.

11*th.* — The Dublin Jury on the ex-officio information trials, having been shut up from three o'clock on Tuesday to 11 A.M. on the following day, was discharged, not having agreed on any verdict.*

FROM MR. WILBRAHAM.

Lathom House, Feb. 9th, 1823.

My dear Lord Colchester,— . . . . . The proceedings in Parliament will be very interesting and important this session, and it appears not unlikely that, whether we may wish for a war or not, we may have it in consequence of the language of our formerly pacific opposition, who, a few years ago, urged the Government to take the very contrary line to what they now urge; and not to think of succouring the Spaniards against the French. Consistency, however, is not to be imputed to the Whigs of the present day.

I shall be curious to see how Canning bears the brunt of the battle. He is better off than his predecessor in having Robinson in a situation in which he must speak, instead of in a situation in which he was generally idle. As for poor Nicholas†, with all my regard and respect for him, I have often wished him to have a successor who had more firmness, and who had less general benevolence, and thought less well of mankind. Peel is a host: what Huskisson is as a Cabinet Minister remains to be seen: I hope he will learn to look a man in the face when he speaks to him. . . . . .

Yours very truly, G. B. W.

* Afterwards Plunkett (the Attorney-General for Ireland) was violently attacked for having directed the prosecution. And Sir Francis Burdett moved and carried the appointment of a Committee to inquire into the conduct of the Sheriff of Dublin, whom he charged with having packed the jury, but the inquiry of the Committee came to nothing.

† Vansittart.

14*th.* — Privy Council. On the Coronation claim of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster to the scaffolding in the Abbey, we intimated to the Treasury that their right appeared to be well founded. The scaffolding had been sold, and the money impounded, pending the decision.

It appeared from Mr. C. W. Wynn that the Dean and Chapter had removed *and sold* the iron railing of the royal monument of Queen Eleanor from one of the side aisles of Henry VII.'s Chapel, without any ostensible right.

Accounts from Ireland that Lord Wellesley had dismissed three of his household for being present at a dinner of the Beefsteak Club, where the Lord Chancellor and others drank Lord Talbot with three times three. Secretary Peel with nine times nine, and Lord Wellesley's health in dead silence.

17*th.* — House of Lords. On the motion of Lord Stowell, a Committee was appointed to consider the present state of the law of marriage, and the amendments necessary. To a question of Lord Lansdowne respecting the repayment of the Austrian loan, Lord Liverpool answered that the principle was recognised, and it remained only to settle the details of the arrangement.

19*th.* — In the Marriage Committee Lord Ellenborough proposed that all marriages celebrated in the face of the church should be indissoluble. Lord Stowell that they should be annulled for fraud and defect of requisite conditions.

22*nd.* — Marriage Law Committee. Agreed to propose a short Bill to suspend the operation of the prospective clauses in the last Act for a limited time, in order to allow more leisure in the interim for maturing one general and comprehensive law upon the whole subject. Lord Stowell proposed his counter-resolutions, and after long discussion the two propositions of Lord Stowell and Lord Ellenborough were withdrawn; and, upon my suggestion, it was agreed to proceed on Monday next in such course as Lord Stowell, the mover of the committee, should offer. And

it seemed to be agreed that the best way was to read Lord Hardwicke's Act, 26 Geo. II., clause by clause, adopting, rejecting, or amending, as might seem best; and adding such other provisions, enacting, or declaratory, as might contract the question of Scotch marriages, foreign marriages, &c.

24*th.* — Lord Lansdowne, pursuant to notice, asked of Lord Liverpool the state of our foreign relations as to the event of a war between France and Spain. Lord Liverpool declined explanation or discussion at present as injurious to the issue of pending negotiations.

28*th.* — In the House of Commons, Canning declared the hopes of a peace between France and Spain to be materially diminished, though not entirely destroyed.

Tuesday, March 4th. — Received a visit from the Rev. Mr. Carus Wilson, son of Mr. C. Wilson, M.P., to give me some information respecting the Jesuits at Stonyhurst; he showed me two letters, dated 14th and 15th Nov. 1822, from (the Rev.) J. Wilson, of Mytton, near Stonyhurst, from which it appears that their possessions have greatly increased of late years; and are increasing by the bounty of the Weld family, one of whom is become a priest there. Their land now amounts to 1000 acres; their numbers some few years back were 300, but since the setting up of Clongowe's Wood in Ireland, they are from 250 to 260. They wear the habits of Jesuits, and call themselves Jesuits, and are earnest in their endeavours to make the neighbouring peasantry "turn," as they call it, giving them employment, and occasionally money, to set themselves up in farms: but unless they "turn," they are not retained. They encourage also their young men to marry Protestant girls and gain them over, which produces many unhappy marriages. Of the 250 or 260, about 100 are priests, or professors, the rest are students. Lately these regulars had a controversy with some of the secular priests at Preston, which was published. The representations of the influence and practices of the Jesuits at Stonyhurst, as given in Poynder's History of the Jesuits, is

considerably exaggerated; and the informant was an injudicious man of indifferent character.

The chapels in Preston are two — one small, but the other, when crowded, may contain 2000 persons. By the late returns of population, as obtained by Mr. Wilson, it appears that the Protestant Church of England in Preston exceeds the number of Roman Catholics by more than two to one; and, although all have increased in the last ten years, the Roman Catholic population has scarcely maintained the same proportion as in 1811.

5th. — Committee on Marriage Law. Scotch marriages at Gretna Green, &c., made in fraud and defiance of the law of England, under consideration: and it was proposed to declare that they should not be deemed valid in England, unless the parties had been previously domiciled in Scotland for a time to be limited. But, contra, it was argued (without denying the frauds now practised) that the marriage according to Scotch law was at least good in that country; and there would be the greatest mischief in making the same parties man and wife in Scotland, and not man and wife when they crossed the border back into England. Also, that if this evasion of English law were stopped, others remained, which were as easy to be practised, and could not be stopped; *e.g.* crossing to Calais or Boulogne, &c., and marrying there by French law.

Dined at Lord Stowell's, and met, among others, Sir Howard Douglas. He told me that the whole system of fortification along the French frontier, which had been carrying on by the Prussians upon Carnot's principles of defence, is about to undergo a considerable, or rather total change; it having been demonstrated by Sir Howard first, and since by the French engineers, that Carnot's mathematical propositions were founded on erroneous assumptions, and incorrect calculations. That the Duke of Wellington was perfectly satisfied that the change was indispensable; from the preceding investigations in his own experiments in the Ordnance

Department; and had communicated his own opinion on the whole matter to the Prussian Government.

7th.—Marriage Law Committee. Discussed Roman Catholic marriages, and agreed to a clause for registering them after banns and license.

House of Lords. Upon the King's message about the disposal of his property acquired before he came to the throne, an address was voted according to the terms of the message; but Lord Ellenborough declared his disapprobation of the King of this country holding at any time separate and private property; and he should oppose any law to enable the King to give away the Pavilion at Brighton.

A dinner was given by 100 Members of the two Houses, with some merchants and others, to the Duke S. Lorenzo, late Minister from Spain to France, and now passing through London.

8th.—Marriage Law Committee. Lord Stowell produced a declaratory clause as to marriages in foreign countries.

N.B. A partial measure of this sort was brought forward by Lord Holland in July, and the Bill passed, exceedingly ill-drawn and very defective.

12th.—Went to Kidbrooke and Brighton.

15th.—News of the deaths of Lord St. Vincent and Lord Keith.

26th.—Current reports in London and at Brighton, that the King is married to Lady Elizabeth Conyngham.

FROM THE BISHOP OF EXETER.*

Great George Street, March 22nd.

My dear Lord,— . . . . . Our Committee, soon after you left us, was reduced by sickness to five, and I often attended when I ought to have been in my bed. We have had repeated discussions, however, without coming to any conclusion upon the subject of nullity and voidability, and are to meet on Monday for decision. The general feeling seems to be in favour of finding a substitute for both. The other points, it is supposed,

* Dr. Carey.

except that of foreign marriages, will not give us much trouble. We have determined to leave W. Smith to bring in his own Bill, and to provide as he can for his Unitarians. With regard to the Roman Catholics, it is rumoured to us that they have expressed no wish to be considered in the Bill to be introduced, for there is no petition upon the subject, only a letter from Dr. Milner, who, you know, does not always speak their sentiments.

Ever yours most sincerely, W. Exeter.

FROM THE SAME.

Great George Street, April 1st.

My dear Lord,— . . . . . Nullity was first disposed of; voidability was then carried by 6 to 3. Lords Shaftesbury, Sidmouth, Stowell, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishop of London, and myself being for it; Lords Lansdowne, Auckland, and Ellenborough, against it. Lord Lansdowne at the same time expressing himself almost in favour of it, and doubting.

. . . . . .

After a discussion such as took place when you were present, it was judged better on the whole not to touch upon foreign marriages.

It having been determined to omit Unitarians who *had* petitioned, it was thought better not to introduce Roman Catholics, who *had not* petitioned; but I believe that there was not the smallest feeling of jealousy, and that no one member of the Committee would object to the principle of granting the indulgence both to Unitarians and Roman Catholics.

I fear that Lord E. has not had sufficient influence in framing the Bill, to induce him to take it under his powerful protection, and that he will endeavour, therefore, to raise unpleasant discussion, as well on the voidability clause, as on the subject of the prohibited degrees, to which he has been perpetually recurring. . . . . .

Most truly and faithfully yours, W. Exeter.

Sunday, April 6th. — The King has had a severe attack of the gout, but is better.

11th. — Lord Duncannon is clear that the Roman Catholic question will be lost on the 17th by the intentional absence of those who usually support the measures called emancipation.

15th.—House of Commons. Motion against Plunkett's unconstitutional proceedings upon the ex-officio in-

formations in Ireland superseded by "the order of the day." No division.

Discussion in both Houses upon the papers and negotiations at Verona and Paris. England is to observe a true and strict neutrality. The Spanish South American colonies are allowed to be independent *de facto*, and are to be recognised by us sooner or later, according to their condition.

17*th.* — This day in the House of Commons, after a scene of accusation and retort between Brougham * and Canning about the conduct of the latter on coming into office, and his desertion of the cause of the Roman Catholics.

Plunkett made his motion with an intimation that he would not object to any restriction of the numbers who should sit in the House of Commons. (This is an old idea of Sir J. C. Hippesley.) The Radicals seceded; and at half-past one the House adjourned generally, upon a division of 313 against 111.

FROM MR. RICKMAN.

Palace Yard, April 18th.

My Lord, — . . . We go on in the House of Commons very well as to the Catholics. Plunkett, in the anguish of an evil conscience, and terror of disgrace, was so imprudent as to defend himself by criminating others on notoriously false evidence, I am told, and this is capable of proof. The Administration, it is said, will resist Sir F. Burdett's motion on Tuesday next for inquiry into facts. If so they will be sure of defeat. All the Opposition with all the Protestants on the Ministerial side of the House being quite enough to overwhelm them, even if Plunkett should be so indecent as to vote against inquiry himself.

Last night we had a curious scene as to the Catholic question.

* Brougham accused Canning of "having exhibited the most incredible specimen of the most monstrous truckling, for the purpose of obtaining office, which the whole history of personal tergiversation could furnish." Mr. Canning: "I rise to say that is false." As Canning refused to retract the word "false," Bankes moved that he and Brougham be committed to the custody of the Serjeant. Ultimately Brougham declared that he meant nothing personal, and on this Canning declared himself satisfied.

The Catholics being certain of defeat, and many of the Opposition hating Plunkett as *a rat*, accused him of bad faith, and the Radicals (about a dozen) seceded on that pretence, to disguise the majority which they anticipated against the Roman Catholics. At half-past twelve nobody offering to speak, the gallery was cleared for a division. To prevent which, Sir John Newport moved an adjournment, because, he said, strangers were excluded. It was of no use to say that it could not be otherwise when the debate was over, and all sorts of adjournments were proposed to prevent any division upon the real question, in which the Roman Catholics would have been beaten by about threescore. I suppose the debate will be resumed on Monday, but that they will avoid showing their weakness by a division.

. . . . . .

Yours truly, J. RICKMAN.

22*nd*.—Returned to London.

23*rd*. — Bankes called. Peel is partly disposed to accede to Lord Nugent's intended motion for putting the British Roman Catholics on the same footing of privilege as the Irish; but query about giving the British Roman Catholics the election franchise, and repealing the Test and Corporation Acts in their favour. King's birthday, but no Drawing-room, his Majesty having the gout.

24*th*. — House of Lords. Debate till three in the morning, on the Verona Congress, and negotiations at Paris and Madrid. Lord Ellenborough proposed an address of censure; amended by Lord Granville for commendation, and carried by 96 to 29 present besides proxies.

FROM MR. RICKMAN.

Palace Yard, April 23rd.

My Lord,— . . . Till the decision of last evening the Commons business was at a crisis . . . And it is now to be expected that the exposure of Mr. Plunkett will lengthen the session a fortnight, say from the middle to the end of June. It was quite uncertain after the division of Thursday last, what was to be the issue of the proceeding. Everybody seemed desirous of adjourning the debate till to-morrow; but that having been previously determined in the negative with other views the Speaker declined putting that particular question, and before the next meeting of the House, Mr. Plunkett found

it convenient to wriggle out of the Roman Catholic question at this time. Lord Nugent is to favour us with a minor Roman Catholic question on May 2nd; and I hear that Mr. Peel has no objection to what he intends, meaning, I suppose, to *part* of what he intends, though I should think it unwise to grant him an atom of it; because, from placing the English Roman Catholics on the same footing as the Irish, it will be argued, of course, that the Irish should be as the English; that the Test and Corporation Acts should be repealed, &c. &c.

Your Lordship's most obedient servant, J. Rickman.

28*th.*—Peel, Dawson, Sir George Hill, Lord Clive, Lord Cranborne, Bootle Wilbraham, Sir E. Knatchbull, and others (about ten or twelve) met at Bankes's house to-day. Peel stated his own opinion with that of Lord Liverpool to be favourable to the granting to English Roman Catholics the elective franchise which the Irish Roman Catholics now enjoy, but not to exempt them from the Corporation or Test Acts, so as to place them in England on a higher footing than the Protestant Dissenters, but leaving both Roman Catholics and Protestant Dissenters to the protection of the Annual Indemnity Bill, if they took or acted in any such offices. The detailed points, however, of Lord Nugent's proposition were left to the time of his moving for his Bill, which would not be opposed, except that Bankes said he should strongly protest (though not divide unnecessarily) against importing the elective franchise, seeing the mischievous uses to which it had been put by the Irish Roman Catholic priests in the late county Dublin Election.

In the House of Lords, in the Marriage Law Committee, we revised and corrected some clauses; read the draft of a report by Lord Stowell, and postponed the consideration of it till Thursday next, when Lord Redesdale is to attend upon his proposed property clause to prevent mercenary marriages.

29*th.* — Attended Lords Committee on Appellate Jurisdiction. Was called to the chair. The Lord President of the Court of Session, and the Lord Chancellor, and Lord Redesdale each delivered his opinion

at large upon the existing evil of the large and growing accumulation of appeals (especially from Scotland), and upon the possible remedies. Each was desired to put his opinions in writing, to be considered by the Committee at their next meeting. Lord Liverpool postponed stating his view of the best remedies till we should have these papers before us.

30*th*.—The third day of the adjourned debate in the House of Commons upon the negotiations at Verona. The division at four in the morning, after a speech of three hours from Canning and one of two hours from Brougham, was, for Ministers, 372; against them, 20.

Thursday, *May* 1*st*. — In conversation with Lord Liverpool, he agreed that the organ across the choir in Westminster Abbey ought to be removed, as at the Coronation. He talked of having two triumphal arches erected, one at each end of Waterloo Bridge, with at one end a statue of *the King* (qu. George III.), and at the other end one of the Duke of Wellington.

3rd.—At ten Dr. Poynter* came by appointment, at his own desire, upon the subject of Roman Catholic marriages. He enlarged upon the mischiefs resulting from the invalidity of Roman Catholic marriages without the additional ceremony of a marriage in the Protestant Church, especially among the lower ranks, who cast off their wives, often after a short cohabitation, on the alleged invalidity of Roman Catholic marriages in England. He stated also the repeated expectations given to the Roman Catholics by Lord Liverpool, Lord Sidmouth, &c., for the last three years, that some relief would be given; that at present he understood we had in the Lords Marriage Committee the subject before us; and that he had also recently been in communication with Dr. Phillimore upon a Bill to legalise, under certain forms, their marriages and baptisms, and to register them. To this I suggested that in such a Bill they might also include their burials, as completing the

* Vicar Apostolical of the London district.

registration for evidence of title to property by descent, &c. And, upon the whole, if they wished to be included in our Marriage Bill, they must come soon by petition; or, if they preferred the more extensive measure of such a Bill as above described, they should equally exert themselves to lose no time in the state of the session, but between these modes they must choose for themselves. And so we parted, with many civil expressions on his part for my former courtesy to him when he applied to me as Speaker to be present at the Roman Catholic debates in the House of Commons.

6*th.*—In the House of Lords Lord Cawdor moved to refer Reports, &c., on the Welsh judicature to the Appeal Committee. Opposed by Lord Liverpool, the Chancellor, and myself. In the course of this short discussion Lord Liverpool expressed himself to be "not adverse to the consideration of putting the administration of justice in Wales under the English judges, if for other reasons it should become necessary to increase their number towards facilitating the despatch of business now grown so overwhelming in some of the courts of Westminster Hall."

8*th.*—Attended Marriage Law Committee at the House of Lords. Finally settled report and clauses of the proposed Bill, including Lord Redesdale's clause for guarding against mercenary motives by placing the property acquired by marriage with an infant under the entire control of the Court of Chancery; not by way of forfeiture at the suit of a common informer, as proposed by Lord Redesdale, but as a *trust* for the parties and family to be settled by the Court for the benefit of the innocent party and issue, to the exclusion of the party obtaining such marriage by fraud or contrivance.

9*th.*—Mr. W. Parker, late of Cork and the Cape of Good Hope, came by appointment at his own request: 1. To describe the active and overwhelming influence of the Roman Catholic priesthood in Ireland, with modern instances of it in elections. 2. The hypocrisy

and duplicity of Coppinger, Roman Catholic Bishop of Cork at this time, writing most loyal addresses to his clergy, and also promoting their persecution of Protestants. 3. The establishment of a Jesuit seminary at Cove, near Cork, founded in 1814, besides Clongowe's Wood, Clandalkin, and Kildare Street. 4. The interview of Sir Harcourt Lees with Lord Liverpool and the Duke of York upon the subject of a mission by two men from Father Hayes to Cobbett, and the notice of an approaching insurrection. 5. His own grievances, and the misgovernment of the colony of the Cape, under the *Jesuit* secretary Colonel Bird (brother to the principal of Stonyhurst), granting lands to himself, to the Roman Catholic priests, and Roman Catholic proprietors, and putting the Protestant inhabitants under the superintendence of a Roman Catholic set of commissioners:

The Bishop of London has declined interfering in the ecclesiastical concerns of the Cape, he having no jurisdiction there.

10*th*.—Attended House of Lords Appeal Committee; told Lord Liverpool, in giving my impression, that, if the arrears were done away by some temporary tribunal, another Chancellor (by aid of the new improvements in contemplation for the amendment of English and Scotch proceedings) would be able to keep down the growing business; also that a Deputy-Speaker of the House of Lords, with assessors appointed, would be the best tribunal; the Deputy-Speaker to be one of the Peers, and Lord Redesdale at this time a sufficient and the only person fit for such Deputy-Speakership. To this latter proposition he by no means assented.

12*th*.—House of Lords. Lord Grey brought on his motion for negotiation papers, to vindicate his own consistency in 1810 and 1823, about support of Spain. Charged Canning with inconsistency in joining an anti-Catholic Administration; stated that France, in her hostility to England, was now employing 1000 men daily to enlarge the basin of Dunkirk.

15*th*.—In the House of Commons an Address was

carried without a division, for ameliorating the condition of slaves in the colonies, with a view to their future participation in the civil rights of her Majesty's subjects, due regard being had to private interests.

21*st.*—Called on Sir Edward Littlehales Baker *, from whom I heard a further account of Irish outrages, and his opinion, long since formed, that they must necessarily end in rebellion. Large tracts of land have been left uncultivated this year in the south of Ireland, and a famine is dreaded.

22*nd.*—Attended the Appeal Committee in the House of Lords. My draft of report was read. We agreed to prepare instructions immediately for a commission in Scotland, to consider of what changes may be expedient, 1st, in the forms of pleading; 2nd, intermediate appeals in Scotland from one division of the Court of Session to a larger body of the judges; 3rd, in what cases the decision in Scotland may be made *final*, &c. The Lord Chancellor, Lord Redesdale, Lord Lauderdale and myself, the Sub-Committee.

Agreed, further, that the new tribunal to clear off the arrears must be the House of Lords. That the Deputy-Speaker, if a commoner, should be empowered to deliver the judgment with his reasons, in all respects as the Lord Chancellor does now, although not to vote.

And upon the question of having one or more Assistant-Judges from Scotland, the Committee divided, and the proposition was negatived by 8 to 6.

27*th.*—By appointment met Dr. Magee, Archbishop of Dublin, at the Bishop of Durham's.

His information related to communications with Government upon the pending Tithe Bills. None of the clergy in Ireland have been consulted by Lord Wellesley. The Bills are supposed to have been prepared in England by a Roman Catholic barrister, Mr. Blake, high in the confidence of Lord Wellesley. Mr. Peel and Mr. Goulburn incline to persist in them. Lord Liverpool alarmed the Church of Ireland last

* Mentioned as Colonel Littlehales in the earlier years of this Diary.

year by declaring that no principle of tithe regulation in Ireland necessarily affected tithes in England; they must be separately dealt with.

Unions of benefices are gradually severing; but, being made for creating one adequate income out of the two, if tithes are to be limited in future by the past average, there will not be enough remaining for two incomes to the two parishes when severed.

Maynooth fosters a worse local spirit of narrower bigotry than belonged to the Roman Catholic priests when educated abroad.

The Roman Catholic hierarchy have not exerted themselves to put down the present disturbances.

Monastic establishments have increased rapidly, and are daily increasing in and about Dublin, and in other parts of Ireland, by large purchases and frequent intercourse with Stonyhurst.

The Protestant clergy round Dublin are in danger in exercising their functions, and are insulted by Roman Catholic processions at their burials.

CHAP. LXVI.

1823.

LETTER FROM LORD LAUDERDALE. — COMPLAINTS OF THE SPITALFIELDS WEAVERS.—ROMAN CATHOLIC ELECTIVE FRANCHISE BILL THROWN OUT IN THE LORDS.—LORD COLCHESTER'S MOTION FOR A RETURN OF ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCHES, RELIGIOUS HOUSES, ETC.—LETTERS FROM LORD REDESDALE, LORD STOWELL, AND LORD LIVERPOOL.—THE FRENCH ARMY TAKES CADIZ.—LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP MAGEE.—MODE OF GOVERNING IRELAND.—TITHES.—CAPTAIN PARRY'S VOYAGE TO THE NORTH.—DEATH OF LORD ERSKINE.

TUESDAY, May 27th.—News from Spain that Abisbal*, who had declared for a change in the constitution, was arrested by his army.

LETTER FROM LORD LAUDERDALE.

May 27th.

My dear Lord,—I return you Lord Redesdale's paper. Either he or I must have mistaken the nature of the objects to which the inquiry of the commission was to be directed. I understood them to be limited to the *forms* of proceeding before the inferior Courts, the Court of Session, and the House of Lords; and I certainly drew the paper I submitted to you, not imagining that the Commissioners were to inquire into the propriety of altering, *in toto*, the law of Scotland.

Lord Redesdale, on the contrary, seems to consider the object to be not only an alteration in the proceedings, but an inquiry into the propriety of altering the law.

I say *in toto*, for, as it at present exists, the Court of Session is indeed a Court of Equity, as well as a Court of Law; but in all cases it exercises, to a certain extent, both functions; and if you are to say that in some cases it shall be a court of strict law, and in other cases a court of equity, severing the one from the other, I believe there is no Scotch lawyer who will not say that this cannot be effected without a total overthrow of the law of Scotland. Yet such seems to be the object at which he aims.

* General O'Donnel, Conde d'Abisbal.

Again, he treats of alterations of the law, directing his attention more particularly to the law of entail, which, I must think, is not a proper object for such a commission. If a declaratory Act upon that subject is to pass, neither the Commissioners nor the most profound lawyers can give an opinion that any man would think deserving of weight, whether by such measure litigation would be diminished, till such a time as that declaratory Act is framed, and till there is an opportunity of painfully considering it in all its bearings.

In the year 1754, the Faculty of Advocates, encouraged by the Court, undertook to frame a Bill for the purpose of explaining and declaring the law under the Act of 1685. It was referred to a Committee to draw such an Act. The Act was drawn and printed, of which I have a copy; but, when it came to be considered, the Judge and Faculty of Advocates, who had been eager for the measure, were, after due deliberation, convinced that they had better let the law alone; and no further proceeding took place.

I only mention this to illustrate the proposition, which I think sound, that in altering laws, no man can judge whether the alteration will be beneficial till such time as he has the new law distinctly before his eyes, and has an opportunity of most attentively and deliberately weighing and considering all its bearings; and that there is *nothing so dangerous* as to sanction a loose examination by Commissioners, whether it appears to them that new laws would or would not be advantageous. . . . .

If indeed a statute could be devised, which had the characteristic that Lord Redesdale here supposes to be possible, "*to preclude litigation*," no one can hesitate in pronouncing on the advantages that would attend it; but human nature must be altered before the legislature of any country can devise such a statute. . . . . .

Ever yours, LAUDERDALE.

Tuesday, June 3rd.—House of Lords. Committee on Marriage Law. Clauses making voidable all marriages of minors by licence without consent of parents struck out upon division by 28 to 22.

5th.—Motion for inquiring into the delays of the Lord Chancellor after two nights' debate was refused in the House of Commons, by 174 to 89.

11th.—Lord Redesdale moved to-day (a thing hitherto unknown in the House of Lords) for the opinions of

the Judges on hearing the two sides upon a Writ of Error without hearing the reply of counsel, being satisfied without further argument, and such a course was much approved.

12*th.*—Appellate Jurisdiction Committee. We received from the Chancellor his statement of alterations to be made in the Court of Chancery, with a view to lessen the load of business there, and allow him more time for the House of Lords. We agreed to incorporate it in our report, and to set up the whole report in print for consideration.

Lord Liverpool gave me the following memorandum:—

1. Is any new authority wanted to enable the Deputy-Speaker (not being a Peer) to give to the House his opinion and reasons in matters of appeal?

2. Can any person be inserted in the Commission of the Crown as Deputy-Speaker who has not a writ? and can a writ be issued by the Crown to any Commoner?

3. How can a Deputy-Speaker be paid? Could he not be paid as the Chairman of Ways and Means is now paid, by address of the House of Lords?

So little had he made up his mind as to the measure which was to be adopted, when he first went into Committee. . . . . .

And when he moved for the Committee he did so without any previous consultation or communication with the Chancellor.

The standing order, No. 4, of the year 1660*, was not discovered to be applicable to this question until after the meeting held this day.

15*th.*—The Chancellor said he would undertake in a quarter of an hour to satisfy Mr. Secretary Peel that he did not understand Lord Nugent's Bill for dispensing with the Corporation and Test Acts as to the Roman Catholics. (Query. Why do they not talk together?)

* Enjoining that "the Judges (and such of the King's Privy Council as are called by writ to attend) sitting by are not to be covered until the Lords give them leave; and they, being there appointed to attend the House, are not to speak or deliver any opinion until it be required," &c.

16*th.* — The House of Lords beset by Spitalfields weavers, a most orderly though numerous mob. It was agreed to hear them in a Select Committee.

19*th.*—In the House of Lords the Duke of Devonshire's motion for inquiring into the state of Ireland.

Speakers for the motion, Lords Clifden, Darnley, Gosford, Caledon, Duke of Leinster, and Lord Lansdowne.

Against it, Lords Maryborough, Bathurst, and Liverpool.

The answer to the motion was:—"We have done or set in progress all the measures you have ever suggested or that we could devise (Roman Catholic emancipation excepted). Can you suggest more? They shall all be fairly and fully considered. The whole reign of George III. was a series of acts of beneficence to Ireland. And since the Union we have given an open corn trade, amended the administration of justice, promoted education, and taken the whole Irish debt upon ourselves; taken off all assessed taxes, and you now pay instead of the Union two sevenths, only two twenty-sevenths."

Division. — Contents — For the Motion	43
Proxies	16
	59
Non-Contents	66
Proxies	39
	105
Majority	46

In the course of this debate, Lord Liverpool, sitting by me, said that the impropriation of tithes in Ireland was from one third to one half of the whole; that of the landed property about forty-nine fiftieths were in Protestant hands.

20*th.*—House of Lords. Lord Stowell presented a Bill for declaring valid the marriages solemnised at St. Petersburg, by the chaplain to the Russian Company in the chapel of the late factory, dissolved by the last Emperor of Russia, where, until that time, marriages had been usually celebrated.

22*nd.*—Public news. The King of Spain has removed

to Cadiz. The Portuguese counter-revolution at Lisbon is put down. Insurrectionary movements have taken place in the counties of Derry and Kildare.

23*rd.*—In the House of Lords, Lord Liverpool revived the Appellate Jurisdiction Committee to consider of matters for standing orders according to the measures proposed in the report of the same Committee, and gave notice of a motion for Thursday next.

27*th.*—The Duke of Montrose told me that the King has had plans and estimates of the repairs and improvements for Buckingham House and Carlton House, and the difference is inconsiderable.

Last year, while the King was sitting to Sir Thomas Lawrence for his portrait, Lady Congnyham came in, and observed what an excellent room the octagon room (which was then filled with a portion of the late King's library) would make for receiving company. And not long afterwards, what those who heard the remark apprehended came to pass, and the donation of all the books was made to the public.

Went to Westmacott's. Saw the preparations for his vase in commemoration of the victory of Waterloo, composed of two vast blocks of Carrara marble, dug out by Buonaparte's orders, for a vase to celebrate his victories, and to be placed in the palace of the King of Rome, at Paris. The Grand Duke of Tuscany gave them to the King, who has directed that he (the king) shall appear upon the alto-relievo composition which is to surround the bulb of the vase. Its height will be about twenty feet. Westmacott has finished the lower part with the foliage and handles.

Wednesday, July 2nd.—I sent to Lord Lauderdale, by his desire, Lord Holland's copy of the clause intended for the Marriage Law Amendment Bill, as to marriages abroad.

N.B. Lord Lauderdale and Lord Holland, to whom I had stated my objections to adding this *general* clause to the *particular* Bill, nevertheless attempted to add it, and called upon me to support it.

8*th.* — House of Lords. On second reading of the Irish Tithe Composition Bill, Lord Liverpool opened the motion of the measure. Debate, but no division.

9*th.* — House of Lords. Debate on second reading of Roman Catholic Election Franchise Bill.

Division. — For the Bill —	Present	. . . .	43
„ „	Proxies	. . . .	30
			73
„ Against it —	Present	. . . .	41
„ „	Proxies	. . . .	39
			80
	Majority against the Bill	. .	7

The Dukes of York and Cumberland and ten Bishops voted against the Bill. The Ministers (except the Duke of Wellington and the Chancellor), and all the Opposition, with the Duke of Sussex, and two Bishops (Norwich and Kildare), voted for it.

10*th.* — The Privy Council met at the Rolls! As no Equity Judge could conveniently attend at Whitehall to assist in disposing of some motions on appeals which were thought to require that assistance, upon Lord Harrowby's authority, or rather suggestion (for no precedent could be shown), the offer of the Master of the Rolls was accepted by Lord Stowell, to hold a sitting at the Rolls House for that purpose; his honour being prevented by a dangerous infirmity from sitting in any other place. Lord Stowell, with Mr. Beckett, accordingly went there twice or thrice: the Lord President did not go; nor would I have gone if it had been proposed to me. At this rate a future Lord President, with more plausible reason, might make the Lords of the Council meet in his back-room at a house in Harley Street, or Park Lane, if he had a headache, or should think it troublesome to come down to Whitehall.

14*th.* — House of Lords. Committee on Journals and index. Allowance of 800*l.* per vol. of Journals to Mr. Brodie for making the index. The House of Commons allow only 600*l.* for a much larger and more complicated work.

16*th.* — House of Lords. Third reading of the Spitalfields Weavers Bill: Lord Bexley moved it*: Lord Harrowby, in a long speech, opposed it; Lord Liverpool replied upon him: the Lord Chancellor supported Lord Harrowby, and, after a few words from Lord Rosslyn, the Bill for repealing the present laws on the subject was amended and cut down to the repeal of only so much as restrained the master-manufacturer from employing his capital elsewhere; thereby leaving in force the present powers in the magistrates to regulate the wages of the journeymen, &c. A debate, in which the Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Duchy were *beaten* by the Lord President and the Lord Chancellor.

I should have voted with the latter, thinking the manufacturer had been quiet under the present laws; and if (as alleged) the continuance of these laws would drive the trade out of London, so much the better.

17*th.* — House of Lords. Amended and passed the Weavers Bill. I gave notice of a motion for to-morrow to obtain returns from Roman Catholic Chapels, Schools, and Monastic Establishments, in consequence of the Bill ordered by the Commons in their votes of the 30th inst. "for enabling Roman Catholics to make endowments for pious and charitable uses." I had previously shown a copy of my proposed motion to the Chancellor, and mentioned it to Lord Redesdale, who approved of it. Lord Hastings came down to the House of Lords, apparently (as he said he was) in perfect health.

Had a long conversation with Wallace upon his political position and past resignation; and his communication with Lord Liverpool and Canning upon that occasion.

N.B. In the autumn Wallace was made Master of

* This was a Bill framed by Huskisson to repeal the Act (usually known as the Spitalfields Act), which empowered the magistrates to fix the wages of journeymen silk manufacturers, and which imposed other restrictions injurious to the trade. It was ultimately lost, as the Commons refused to agree to the amendments of the Lords, which had been introduced mainly by the influence of the Lord Chancellor.

the Mint, vice Lord Maryborough (turned out), who complained bitterly of the way in which he was turned out by Lord Liverpool. He was made Master of the Buck Hounds, but this he called "sending him to the dogs."

LETTER FROM LORD REDESDALE.

Harley Street, July 17th, 1823.

My dear Lord,— . . . . . With respect to your proposed motion, I apprehend the churches and chapels are equal in number to the parishes, and in some cases more numerous. They are styled *chapels*, and not *churches*. Each parish has one parish priest, and several have a coadjutor. The number of the Roman Catholic parochial clergy is therefore much larger than the number of the Protestant parochial clergy. There is no Mortmain Act in Ireland, and therefore no general restraint on alienation of lands in mortmain.

I apprehend the principal object of your motion is to obtain a return of schools, academies, and religious houses, and of the number of persons bound by monastic vows, or vows to a religious order or society. The Roman Catholic parochial clergy belong to their respective parishes, but they are frequently subject to interference by mendicant friars.

With respect to schools, many are indifferently Roman Catholic and Protestant; and a return of such schools cannot easily be made. I should therefore confine the inquiry to schools exclusively Roman Catholic, or schools for persons designed for holy orders, Jesuits' schools, &c., and monks and mendicant friars. I believe there are about 200 such places, including what may be called monasteries of different descriptions.

Some of these have large revenues, and there are many such in England. Many of the principal Irish gentry are educated at Stonyhurst. I could not extend the motion to the Roman Catholic population generally, but would confine it to monasteries, colleges, &c. I would particularly avoid a return of the Catholic population.

I think you ought to inform Lord Liverpool of your intended motion, and send him a copy.

. . . . . .

Affectionately yours, REDESDALE.

Proposed Form of Motion as sent to Lord Liverpool, Lord Redesdale, Lord Stowell, &c.

That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to give directions to the Archbishops and Bishops of England and Ireland to procure from their parochial clergy, and in his Majesty's name to require from all persons invested with peculiar jurisdictions in their respective dioceses:

An account of all churches and chapels, schools, academies, and colleges, monasteries, convents, and religious houses belonging to or occupied by Roman Catholics or reputed Roman Catholics, within their respective dioceses, specifying the parishes wherein the same are situated.

And also an account of the number of Roman Catholics or reputed Roman Catholics within the same, belonging to, or reputed to belong to such school, academy, or college; or to any such monastery, convent, or religious house, or to any religious order or society of persons bound by monastic or religious vows.

And that his Majesty will order such account to be laid before this House on the first day of the next session of Parliament.

FROM LORD STOWELL.

My dear Lord,—Suppose after "situated," were added, "and to what religious order the said monasteries, convents, &c. belong."

But, are you quite clear that this is an advisable step to be taken in Ireland at present? It will certainly be supposed to be hostilely intended. I rather think it is a matter of which *the Minister* ought to be apprised, because it may lead to consequences in the present fermenting state of humours there.

Yours truly, STOWELL.

FROM LORD LIVERPOOL.

[Private.] Fife House, July 18th.

My dear Lord,—I should very much have wished to have had more time to have considered the motion of which you have been so good as to give me notice, and to have communicated with others upon them, as they appear to me to be of the utmost importance.

As it is, I must request you, if you feel it necessary to make the motion at all, to confine it to England; for I am persuaded

that such an inquiry made in Ireland in consequence of an order in the House of Lords through the Bishops of the establishment, might be productive of the most prejudicial effects. And Mr. Peel, to whom I have shown the motion, is of the same opinion.

I conceive that, as far as respects the religious houses, the information might be obtained privately through the Lord-Lieutenant or the Secretary.

Believe me very sincerely yours, LIVERPOOL.

REPLY TO THE ABOVE.

[Private.] Spring Gardens, July 18.

My dear Lord,—In consequence of your note, which I have just now received, I shall certainly confine the motion to England.

And with respect to Ireland, I should think it very desirable that the information, so far as relates to religious houses, should be obtained in the manner which you have suggested.

. . . . . .

Very truly yours, COLCHESTER.

18*th*. — House of Lords. Lord Liverpool told me, as my motion was now limited to England, "he should not object." The Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London, both approved of it as "very useful." Lord Rosslyn came in great haste at five o'clock, and stirred up an Opposition. The Peers present were about twenty.

I made the motion, prefacing it with observations. Lord Rosslyn opposed it violently. The Chancellor, who had promised to support the motion, and who even this day in the House told me he should *vote for it*, desired me to withdraw it, and in a speech of compliment made it his request that I would do so for the present, and have this considered as a *notice* for renewing the motion if the Bill for enabling Roman Catholics "to make endowments for pious and charitable uses" should be brought forward in the next session.

To this request I replied: first, vindicating myself upon the *urgent call* for information arising out of the proposed Bill; secondly, laying the blame of the delay upon the movers of the Bill below, for coming so late

to the House of Commons as the 3rd inst.; in the next place that the Bill by its title was to apply to the whole of the United Kingdom, and not, as Lord Rosslyn mistakenly supposed, to Ireland alone; and showing that as to England, there was no novelty in using the intervention of the Bishops, who were accustomed to correspond with their clergy upon such subjects, by questions circulated at their visitations. And as to Ireland, owing to the different state of the Church there, the Government must be resorted to for obtaining similar information. That as to the *harsh language* of the noble Earl, the motives he had been pleased to impute to me, and the alleged tendency of my conduct to create flame and irritation throughout the country, all these charges were perfectly indifferent to me, and I should leave it to the people of England to judge between us. With reference to the appeal which had been made to me to withdraw the motion for the present, if such seemed to be the pleasure of the House, I should be ready to withdraw it; but I gave this *public and formal notice* that, if any such Bill as that lately moved for should be brought forward in the next session of Parliament, I should *certainly renew* the same motion.

The King (according to Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt's account) is in very low spirits, his legs prodigiously swelled.

N.B. In the autumn, by living much in the open air, he recovered his strength.

20*th*. — In my ride, met Watson Taylor, who, as a *Parliamentary Protestant*, regretted the Chancellor's shabby desertion of my motion.

25*th*. — The King has been writing to Peel to save a condemned criminal. Lady Conyngham has written to him to the same effect, and also to the Duke of Wellington to interest him in the prisoner's behalf. But all this interference has of course made the thing impossible, even if there had been a pretence for stopping the course of the law, which there was not.

News of the taking of Corunna by the French.

28*th.*—Left London for Kidbrooke.

Wednesday, August 20th.—Pope Pius VII. died. Cardinal della Genga was elected his successor. He took the name of Leo XII.

In the autumn Cadiz surrendered to the French army.

Ferdinand, in consequence of the interference of France, revoked his vindictive edicts issued from Port St. Mary.

British Consuls and Commissioners were sent to all the independent Spanish colonies in South America.

FROM LORD COLCHESTER TO LORD AMHERST.*

London, July 23rd, 1823.

My dear Lord,— . . . . . The best service which I can perform as a correspondent, if I can render any, will be to write straightforward a miscellanous account of occurrences of all sorts, public and private, taking the chance that many of them may reach you by other channels; but perhaps you will catch them more expeditiously thus, than by searching through the long files of newspapers.

Between the first of March and the 19th of this month, when Parliament was prorogued, the King's health has been in a very fluctuating state; gouty attacks and relapses till Easter, after which he came to London and held a levee which demolished him. Since then he has been to the Cottage (now called the Lodge) at Windsor, where he became well enough to attend Ascot races; from thence he came to London, and held councils, gave dinners and balls, till he became ill again: and on Saturday last, being too ill to prorogue in person, he went back to Windsor in very low spirits, and with swelled legs. But he is soon to have a sailing party at Spithead. . . . . .

Of Parliamentary matters the most prominent have been the debate on the papers of the congress at Verona; these were approved in the House of Commons after three nights' debate by 372 to 20, and the conduct of ministers was afterwards approved in the House of Lords by 96 to 29. The Marriage Act of George II. has been amended in several particulars, but the most important consists in taking away the ordinary motive to marriages with minors, by putting all property acquired by any such mar-

* Lord Amherst had gone to India as Governor-General in the beginning of this year.

riage, without proper consent, into the power of the Court of Chancery, to settle in whatever mode may be best for all the parties, except the one who has unduly procured such a marriage. The accumulation of appeals in the House of Lords, and chiefly from Scotland, has led to the adoption of a ballot to compel Peers to attend five days in every week throughout the session, *i. e.* three to be set down for each day, with proper exceptions for excuses on account of health, &c., and a penalty of 50*l.* for non-attendance upon the day appointed. The Roman Catholic question has of course been brought forward, but in the House of Commons it was put aside for this year by 313 to 111. A Bill was afterwards passed through the Commons, for granting the elective franchise to the English Roman Catholics in like manner as the Irish Roman Catholics now enjoy it; but this was negatived in the House of Lords, by 80 to 73, although all the Ministers except the Chancellor and the Duke of Wellington voted with the promoters of the Bill. Upon the question of a Committee upon the state of Ireland (June 19th) it was negatived in the Lords, by 105 to 59. . . . . .

An Act has passed for rebuilding London Bridge, which will be ready for you on your return. The passage from London to Dublin through Bristol, and from thence by steamboat, is performed in thirty-seven hours.

Our weather has been very bad all this year; cold winds all the spring, and no leaves upon the trees in Sussex so late as April 18th. After that, blighting N. E. winds, which shrivelled up all the first leaves of the fruit trees, and starved the grass, and now St. Swithin has deluged us with rain. Fruit, however, and the corn are well spoken of; hops in a miserable condition; fly, flea, and mould, all in succession, have devastated our hop gardens. Country prices for grain of all sorts have risen. Manufacturers are in full employ.

Foreign politics have taken the course which you might have predicted. France pursues the plan of re-establishing legitimate monarchy in Spain, and her armies have advanced to Madrid, Seville, and Cadiz, to which latter place the Cortes have carried the King, but with little chance of maintaining their absurd constitution. Portugal, to the surprise of the English newspapers, has undergone a counter-revolution, and the King is to *give*, not receive, a balanced form of Government; but it is not yet explained. I should have remarked that there are still on foot guerilla and other armies in Spain. Mina in Catalonia, Quiroga at Corunna, and Morillo, who seems in Gallicia to be trying to set up a Spanish native party, who shall be neither Cortes nor Despotism. But our news on these points is very

indistinct. The Greeks are nearly forgotten, but what we do hear speaks rather favourably of their cause and their prospects.

. . . . . .

Yours, my dear Lord, always most faithfully, C.

FROM LORD REDESDALE.

Batsford, July 27th, 1823.

My dear Lord,—Urgent business had long required my presence here, and I became very impatient for leave to depart. The judicial business of the House alone detained me so long. The part which I have taken in that business has become a burthen too heavy for my age; and I feel that I must soon give it up. The urgency arising from an accumulated load of appeals has alone detained me so long from that retirement which my years and the state of my health lead me most anxiously to wish for.

Your motion, abandoned as you were by those from whom you might have expected support, will, I have no doubt, have done good. It will draw attention to alarming circumstances which have been carefully withdrawn from public notice. The extent of secret endowments I know to be great. Many years ago it was proposed to me to sanction them by a legislative Act. I refused, and gave as my reason for refusal, that such endowments would be a premium on Dissent; and that, instead of encouraging Roman Catholic endowments, I wished to restrain Protestant endowments not connected with the Established Church. And that I would rather prohibit all future endowments for the benefit of the Established Church, than countenance endowments for ecclesiastical establishments of any other description.

I think it now evident that Lord Liverpool and those members of Administration who are considered as his friends, are yielding to the opposite party in the Administration in everything. . . . . I am persuaded it has become necessary to cry aloud and spare not.

Liberality is the word of the day. That word produced twenty years of confusion and misery in France: it threatened Italy, Spain, and Portugal, and produced much mischief in all those countries. It still threatens France; it annoys Germany; it has spread into Russia; and it is seriously threatening the British Empire with the overthrow of all its ancient institutions, by which it has hitherto flourished. It means anything or nothing, at the will of those who use it, and it agitates weak

minds, and produces that sensibility so admirably ridiculed in the print of the Goddess of Reason, weeping over a dead sparrow, and trampling on the guillotined head of Louis XVI.

I trust you will not be daunted by the cool reception of your motion. From what motive can it be refused but that it is wished to blindfold the Protestants of England; to prevent their seeing the dangers which threaten them till it shall be too late to save them from that danger?

But I have no apprehension that the Protestant people of England, properly informed, will desert the principles on which the government of England, since 1688, has been rooted. They ought to be informed. Being informed, I have no doubt how they will act. I trust they will be quiet, but firm.

A letter from Lord Norbury laments the increasing emigration from Ireland, but expresses a hope that we will enter for him a "remanet Norbury." The state of that country is truly alarming, and I believe the principal Roman Catholics there have apprehensions which they dare not express. The tyranny of Popery and its devotees is one of its worst features, and many a Roman Catholic is compelled, by priestly authority, to do what the poor heart would fain refuse, but dare not.

Lord Petre (grandfather of the present) once said to me on that subject, "I must sleep." And I am convinced that many feel the same necessity, compelling them to do what they disapprove. The priests have the women at their command; and, with their aid, the women rule the men. . . . . .

My dear Lord, truly yours, REDESDALE.

FROM LORD KENYON.

Gredington, July 28th.

My dear Lord,—I am greatly indebted to your Lordship for your kindness in communicating to me an authentic copy of the sensible, statesmanlike speech you delivered in support of your important motion concerning Catholic establishments in England in the House of Lords. I should assuredly have had much satisfaction in supporting it by my vote had I been present; and I shall hope to do so in the next session of Parliament, when I trust many others, who really are friends to the good cause in their hearts, will be more aware of their duty towards so sacred a cause. It is really quite sickening to witness the weak, vacillating conduct which prevails; but our cause is so good, and I believe there is so much of sound leaven in the nation,

that I trust in God the good Protestant cause will be for ever triumphant.

Many thanks for your kindness in making me one of those proxies whose remarkable number, thirty-nine, turned the scale in favour of the Church and Constitution. On a former occasion, when our majority was thirty-nine, the Lord Chancellor and the Duke of York, in reference especially to our thirty-nine articles, drank the thirty-nine Peers who saved the thirty-nine articles.

. . . . . .

Believe me, my dear Lord, your most faithful,

KENYON.

FROM ARCHBISHOP MAGEE.

Dublin, July 29th.

My dear Lord,—I feel myself much honoured and obliged by your Lordship's communication and the copy of your Lordship's observations in the House of Lords.

In these observations your Lordship has pressed matter of the greatest consequence, and opened up inquiries that cannot fail to lead to the most valuable results.

In truth, were it not for a few who, like your Lordship, preserve the remembrance of the principles of our British Constitution, and whose love for those principles impels them to stand forward firmly in their defence, I do not see how the established religion in either country could hold its ground, so general seems at present the rage among our public men to press into the ranks of Popish politics, or of any politics that promise to beat down the bulwarks of our establishment.

But I must not occupy your Lordship's time with unavailing lamentations. The information which your Lordship expresses a desire to procure in this country, I will have great pleasure in exerting myself in every way properly to obtain.

The affairs of this country (your Lordship will have perceived) are apparently in a state of greater quiet than they have been in for some time back; but the *system* has undergone no alteration. All are prepared, and vigilance must not be relaxed.

. . . . . .

Your Lordship's very faithful, W. DUBLIN.

FROM LORD REDESDALE.

Batsford, Oct. 30th.

My dear Lord,—I think the state of Ireland at this time most perilous. I am strongly persuaded that a firm and proper

Government, upon the principles which I pressed upon Lord Hardwicke after the disturbance in 1803, would have done much in the lapse of twenty years towards introducing good order into that country; but the Government then was not adapted to the steady pursuit of any measures, the secretaries having been changed no less than four times between 1803 and the retirement of Lord Hardwicke. During this period the Lord-Lieutenant and his secretaries never agreed. Wickham's ill health disabled him from exertion; Lord Bexley never came to Ireland; Sir Evan Nepean and Lord Hardwicke were in open hostility; and though Sir Charles Long obtained more authority, he had to struggle with the Lord-Lieutenant, and others who had the confidence of the Lord-Lieutenant. Lord Hardwicke, too, latterly flirted with the Roman Catholics, and verged manifestly towards the politics which he has since adopted.

The Duke of Bedford, urged by the Ponsonbys and others, pursued a system which, if continued would have shortly placed the country in the state in which it now is. This system was arrested in its progress, but it had already done great mischief, and the subsequent Administrations were too feeble to counteract that mischief, whilst a divided Cabinet here tended to weaken the effect of any measures which those administrations thought fit to adopt. The ground, therefore, was prepared for what has followed. It is ridiculous to talk of governing a country by law, where law *cannot* be duly administered. In 1803 the law, with proper exertion on the part of the Government, might have been duly administered; but twenty years of mismanagement have so increased the evil to be overcome that I fear force alone can never subdue the bad spirit which almost universally prevails. It is idle to talk of ameliorating the condition of a people not obedient to law, until they shall have first been made obedient to law. The government of a dictator, firm and well judging, assisted by a great armed force ready to execute his will, is now become necessary to the peace of Ireland. A Cromwell, at the head of such an army as he had, not subject to the control of a Cabinet in England — where is to be found such a man? Where is to be found such an army? And how is the government of such a man, if found, to be rendered independent of a Cabinet here?

He ought also to have so fully the confidence of Parliament, and the spirit of the measures adopted by him ought to have been so fully previously adopted in Parliament, that there should remain no hope of obtaining countenance here for any complaint against him. The people of Ireland must be fully

persuaded that his orders must be obliged. His government must bear some resemblance to that of the French in Italy, but it must be uncorrupt, just, and humane, and so far different from the French government in Italy.

In this conceit I have imagined what is not possible; but if we mean to save Ireland from great misery, we must approach as nearly to what I have imagined as possible.

The first thing to be done must be to put an end to all the hopes of the Roman Catholics obtaining the overthrow of the Protestant establishment. This can only be done by a firm union of all Protestants in both islands. Can we hope for this? The two Houses of Parliament might pass strong resolutions on this subject. But can we hope for unanimity in such resolutions? Can we hope to carry such resolutions without strong opposition? May we not rather fear that such propositions would be rejected, or so modified as to be more mischievous than beneficial? I despair, therefore, of bringing Ireland to a state of quiet. The system now pursued, I think, must lead to increased agitation, and finally to insurrection, and perhaps open war is better than the secret war now carried on.

I considered the late Tithe Bill as an experiment, which I apprehended would, if it produced no other effect, show the unreasonableness of the Irish landholders on the subject of tithes. Tithes are undoubtedly a great oppression to agriculture. They are a tax upon the most important manufacture, the production of food. If the woollen manufacturers, for instance, were obliged to pay the tenth yard of cloth manufactured for the maintenance of the clergy, what would be the effect? Just the same as the payment of the tenth of agricultural produce. The price must be raised in proportion to the charge, or the profit of the manufacturer would be wholly absorbed. A profit of 10 per cent. is esteemed a fair mercantile profit; but the tithe of the manufactured cloth would be more than 10 per cent. on the price for which cloth now sells. Importation would keep down the price, but it would ruin the manufacturer if the article could be imported at a cheaper rate. If, therefore, tithes could be transferred from the occupier to the landowner, it would be beneficial to cultivation, though it would fall heavy on the proprietors of land. On this ground also, I have approved of the commutation of tithes in enclosures.

We give two-ninths of arable, and one-eighth of green land to the tithe-owner. So far as tithes belong to the clergy, they put so much land in mortmain. But land in mortmain is not so injurious to the country as it may appear to be, and, therefore, not so injurious to agriculture as tithes taken in hand.

And I thought the Bill might lead to some permanent commutation, or at least to a settled rent, putting all the occupiers of land on an equal footing with respect to cultivation.

The French agriculturists have gained a great advantage by throwing the maintenance of their clergy on the nation at large, instead of tithes which pressed wholly on agriculture. Formerly land was almost the only property productive of income; and, therefore, many charges were imposed on land which ought, in the present circumstances, to be a charge on property generally, if that could be effected. It seems to me that the present state of the European world is so changed that other changes must follow. Moneyed property, the profits of trade and manufactures, are now a vast proportion of the income of the inhabitants of this country, and the persons deriving income from these sources bear that proportion only of the public burdens which are taxes on expenditure; while the income derived from land maintains the Church, the poor, the roads, the administration of justice, &c. &c., to a vast amount, and pays at the same time all taxes on expenditure; and the direct burdens on land increase with the riches produced by trade and manufactures, and the moneyed property. This I take to be a great cause of distress amongst the agriculturists and their landlords.

Truly yours, REDESDALE.

Tuesday, Nov. 4th.—Returned to London.

6th.—Attended the Board of Longitude at the Admiralty. Mr. Barrow sketched out the coast explored by Captain Parry in his last voyage; the passage through Prince Regent's Inlet now promises to be the best communication, perhaps the only one, between the northern and north-east seas. The crews of the "Hecla" and "Fury" have volunteered to go again; also Captain Franklin by land.

10th.—At the Lord Mayor's dinner (Waithman, Lord Mayor), none of the Ministers attended; the Duke of Sussex, Lord Nugent, Sir James Mackintosh, Hume, Hobhouse, Grey, Bennett, &c. (all of them Opposition members), dined there.

The meeting of Parliament is fixed for Tuesday, February 3rd. A winter assize is appointed for the Home Circuit.

By private information, the King walks with great pain and difficulty, even across his room.

22*nd.*—Account of Lord Erskine's death in Scotland, aged seventy-five.

27*th.* — African discoveries are proceeding prosperously under Udney, Denham, &c. They have followed the Niger to a lake *, into which it discharges itself, of fresh water; and in May last they were proceeding to coast the lake, and follow the course of the river from its discharge, which they expect may take a direction eastward. The distance from the lake to the nearest known point of the tributary streams which supply the Nile is about 1000 miles. These English travellers wear English dresses, and are everywhere well received.

At Lisbon, when Sir Harry Neale gave his fête to the King of Portugal, the French Ambassador (M. Hyde de Neuville) declined Sir Henry Neale's offer of a boat to bring him on board; went, *uninvited*, three miles to the King's place of embarkation, and when on board the "Revenge," gave his arm to the Princess, and proceeded to show her all about the ship, till Lord Beresford cut the matter short, and gave him to understand "that the English Admiral on board his own ship did all the honours of it." And the King and Royal Family then put themselves under the care of Sir Henry Neale.

Tuesday, Dec. 2nd. — The Attorney-General † accepted congratulations as Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. The Solicitor-General ‡ of course made Attorney-General. Further expected arrangements. Shadwell § to be Solicitor-General. Baron Graham to be Chief Baron.‖

The Lord Chancellor means to preside in Scotch Appeals, as well as in the House of Lords as Speaker; and during his absence from the Court of Chancery, his

* Tschad.

† Sir R. Gifford, created Lord Gifford.

‡ Sir John Copley, afterwards Lord Lyndhurst.

§ Afterwards Sir Launcelot Shadwell, Vice-Chancellor of England.

‖ This did not take place; Alexander was made Chief Baron.— *Vide* Lord Redesdale's letter, Jan. 15th, 1824.

business there is to be done by the Judges named in the Commission of Assistance.

5th. — Dined at Mr. Peel's, with the Duke of York, &c. The Duke of York talked a great deal; his chief topics were the character of the late Lord Melville, whose manliness he praised highly, especially commending him for "*refusing*, on grounds of private honour, to *disclose* the purposes to which he had applied public money." This must have referred to his (as it always appeared to me) strange and unwarrantable declaration when he came spontaneously to defend himself, by requesting to be heard in the House of Commons pending the proceedings previous to the impeachment.

16th.—Left London for Kidbrooke.

CHAP. LXVII.

1824.

MITFORD'S HISTORY OF GREECE. — LAW PROMOTIONS. — DELAYS IN THE COURT OF CHANCERY.—CONVERSATION WITH THE DUKE OF CLARENCE.—PRINCE HOHENLOHE. — LETTER FROM LORD AMHERST ON THE BURMESE WAR.—MANAGEMENT OF AFFAIRS IN INDIA.—LETTERS FROM LORD REDESDALE.—LORD LIVERPOOL'S SPEECH.—COMMITTEE ON THE STATE OF THE DISTURBED DISTRICTS IN IRELAND.—CONVERSATION WITH LORD CAMDEN ON PITT'S VIEWS RESPECTING CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION. — RESTORATION OF SCOTCH PEERAGES. — THE KING'S OPINION OF LORD LIVERPOOL AND CANNING.—THE KING OF THE SANDWICH ISLANDS IN ENGLAND.—SHORT-HAND WRITERS.—HISTORY OF LORD TEIGNMOUTH.

LETTER FROM LORD REDESDALE.

Batsford, Jan. 15th, 1824.

MY DEAR LORD,— . . . . . I have doubted whether my brother* has sufficiently read on the subject to entitle him to pronounce so strongly on some points as he has done. In commenting on his history, reviewers have called him a *bold* writer; and perhaps divines may say the same or more. At the same time I believe that lay writers on such subjects do at least this good, that they call the attention of laymen to them more strongly than better works on the same subjects by clerical authors. I lament that he has not concluded his history as he intended, by carrying it on to the period when Greece became a Roman province. His history of Alexander was formed with that view; purposely avoiding interruption of that story by recurring to the contemporary history of the Grecian republics. But his age, failure of sight, and, as he says, failure of memory, deterred him. In his next month, if he shall live so long, he will have completed his eightieth year.

Of the law promotions I think Gifford's was unavoidable, and the best that could be made. If I were in Alexander's situation, I should be miserably anxious; but there are men who do not feel so strongly when tempted by distinction. He accepted the place of Master with much reluctance, having had higher views.

* William Mitford, the historian of Greece.

But you truly observe, that the office of Chief Baron requires more than ordinary professional knowledge. A Chief Justice of the Common Pleas has not half the variety of duty. A Chief Baron ought to be a good common lawyer, and at the same time a good equity judge. He ought also to have some knowledge of revenue law, though that is more easily learnt. It is understood that the Chief Baron is to assist as temporary Speaker in hearing appeals. And it is said that Alexander has studied the Scotch law, but he has had no Scotch practice, not even at the bar of the House of Lords. Gifford has of late been in almost every appeal; and I understand that the lieges of Scotland are disposed to think he will do their business well. But I think he cannot long remain Chief Justice, unless a great change should take place in administration, and make some Opposition lawyer Chancellor. I apprehend the Chief Justice* of the King's Bench has prudently declined a peerage; but perhaps Lady Abbott may have changed his resolution. Gifford, I understand, is to be a Peer, and sit as temporary Speaker. If the seal is designed for him this will break him in to the duties of Chancellor.

I have heard nothing of the Scotch Commission; but I have heard that the Scotch lieges all cry out against a Scotch temporary Speaker. They expect impartiality only from an Englishman. . . . . Most truly yours, REDESDALE.

Saturday, January 24th. — Lord Sidmouth called. Huskisson's admission to the Cabinet was not previously notified to the Chancellor and others of the principal members of the Government.

25th.—At the Admiralty Mr. Barrow showed me experiments made by Sir Humphry Davy to exhibit the effect of plating a strip of tin upon a sheet of copper to prevent the corrosion of copper by salt water, which appeared to be completely successful.

29th.—The King of the Netherlands has dismissed M. Fagel from his post of Ambassador, simply because he declined being his Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. He intended to reduce the embassy to an envoyship, but it is still to be an embassy as before; and M. Falck, lately Colonial Secretary of State, is to

* Sir C. Abbott, afterwards Lord Tenterden.

be the Ambassador in place of M. Fagel, who will still reside in England.

The Duke of Wellington has offered Alava* a home at Strathfieldsaye.

Sunday, February 1st.—Saw Mr. Butterworth, who gave me much information respecting the state of Ireland during his few weeks' visit there last autumn; of the universal apprehensions of an approaching conflict between the Protestants and Roman Catholics, and corresponding exertions of the Protestants to spread the knowledge of the Scriptures among the lowest classes by readers sent out by the Readers' Society in Dublin, who put these itinerant readers under the most active clergymen of the district, to whom each reader reports his proceedings.

3rd.—Parliament opened by commission.

After the moving of the Address by Lord Somers, Lord Lansdowne made a long speech, moving no amendment, but descanting upon free trade, the Holy Alliance, Spain, South America, and Ireland. Lord Liverpool answered him upon all these topics. The only new fact stated was that 216 out of 900 livings and upwards in Ireland were now in progress of commuting under the Tithe Act of the last session. By all it was agreed to do what could be done for improving the condition of the slaves in the West Indies, but to make it as little as possible the subject of debate, and in no degree of declamation or violence in acts or words.

5th.—Lord Liverpool proposes that the Report of the Commission upon Law Proceedings in Scotland when presented shall be referred to a Committee to consider of the Bills necessary for carrying into execution the several suggestions of the Commissioners. It is understood that Lord Gifford is to take the Chancellor's place in his absence. Lord Melville still wishes for the presence of some Scotch Judge or Judges, to accustom them to the judicial habits of England.

* General Alava had been lately exiled from Spain on account of his constitutional principles.

12*th.*—Lord Gifford was appointed (alone) to act as Speaker in the absence of the Lord Chancellor; and the former patent appointing the Chief Justice of the King's Bench and the Chief Baron of the Exchequer was revoked.

13*th.*—Attended the Committee of the Privy Council on Jersey business, and agreed to recommend an order "That upon every act, petition, memorial, or other application to his Majesty in Council, which should be referred to a Committee, his Majesty would be pleased to authorise such Committee to proceed also upon every other application to his Majesty arising thereupon, in like manner as if specially referred:" this new and larger mode of reference becoming necessary on account of the long intervals between Council and Council, and the inconvenience of the delay occasioned by waiting for fresh references of each fresh paper presented.

House of Lords. The Chancellor renewed his pledge of consulting the other Judges and the officers of his court upon the remedies which might be applied to any defects of proceeding in the Court of Chancery, arising out of the existing rules and orders of his court; for which purpose he had caused them to be collected and arranged. And he should put them into a course of examination by Commissioners, or otherwise, as might be most effectual.

Note.—In *June last* he told me that the collection was then *in his hands* for this very purpose; but the business has slept from that time; and there is now a notice of motion depending in the House of Commons for inquiring into the state of business in the Court of Chancery.

17*th.*—Went to the State Paper Office, now in Great George Street, since its removal from Scotland Yard, and saw the recently discovered autographs of the several parties to the Gunpowder Plot; the several confessions of Guido Fawkes, who first signs his name as John Johnson; the interrogatories written and signed by King James; the confession of Garnett, &c., with

Garnett's denial at first of any correspondence, &c., and his written declaration, after his own letters were produced, that his denial, although made upon his oath and his priesthood, did not bind him otherwise than in the equivocal sense of the words he had used, and *not* in the sense in which he gave them to be understood.

18*th*.—Dined at Butterworth's with Lord Lorton, the Bishop of Limerick, &c., and had a full conversation on Irish affairs. All agreed that the Roman Catholic clergy do *not* exercise their influence to put down or prevent disturbances; that employment is asked for and desired by the poor; that the gentry are harsh towards the peasantry, and too much given to let lands at exorbitant rents, and take out the value in labour at low rates of pay, keeping account with them and giving no money down. That the military power might be usefully increased threefold to keep down the turbulent and protect the loyal and honest; that justice has not its free course in the execution of civil process; that the Petty Sessions and Constabulary Act have done much good; that the continuance of the Insurrection Act is indispensable; that the Roman Catholics in the north, as well as in the south, are sworn, and that all look for the fulfilment of Pastorius's prophecy of the extirpation of the heretics in 1825. That the leaders of the outrages are not of the lowest class, but middle men, upper farmers, &c., of broken fortunes, haters of tithes, and more especially of *rents*.

24*th*.—In the House of Commons, Mr. Williams moved for a Committee upon the delays in the Court of Chancery. Mr. Peel acquainted the House that the Lord Chancellor had advised a Commission under the Great Seal, and Mr. Canning assured the House that it should be executed with diligence, sincerity, and efficacy. The original motion was in consequence withdrawn.

In the House of Lords the Bishop of Exeter (Carey) brought in a Bill for amending last year's Marriage Act, by rectifying a *clerical error* about banns and marriages in places appointed while churches were repairing.

25*th*. Mr. Gordon came from Lord Lorton to relate the result of his observations upon the state of society in Ireland, especially as between Roman Catholics and Protestants.

1. That the Protestant clergy have begun by preaching against the errors of Popery to large mixed congregations of Roman Catholics and Protestants, to shake the faith of the Roman Catholic multitude; his instances were Mr. Buche, in Dublin, and others in Mayo, &c., which had been followed by recantation; this progress the Roman Catholic priests see with apprehension, but endure passively.

2. That education and distribution of the Scriptures are everywhere making great inroads upon the subjection of the Roman Catholic peasantry to their priests, who resist these measures by the most violent exertions of their spiritual authority; denouncing, admonishing, excommunicating, &c.

3. That the Roman Catholic clergy nevertheless use no such authority for repressing outrage, burning, or murder. No excommunication for such proceedings.

4. The Roman Catholic clergy have, *on the contrary*, in some instances sworn in Ribbonmen, and there is one now in the gaol at Castlebar, committed with a gang of Ribbonmen by Colonel Jackson of Mayo.

5. That Pastorius's prophecy of the extirpation of Protestants in 1825 is universally and industriously circulated and believed.

6. That friars and confraternities multiply exceedingly, and carry on a very extensive secret correspondence through all parts of the island.

7. That in Cork and other towns large schools have been opened, with friars in the habit of their order teaching the children.

Monday, March 1st.—In the House of Commons a motion was made against the Lord Chancellor for a breach of privilege by his remarks in the Court of Chancery, on Saturday last, upon a newspaper report of Mr. Abercromby's speech in the debate of Tues-

day last respecting the delays in the Court of Chancery.*

For the motion, 102; against it, 151.

3rd.—Went to Lord Redesdale upon the subject of my intended motion for returns of Roman Catholic chapels, schools, and monastic establishments which Sir Henry Parnell and Sir John Newport propose by their new Bill to allow Roman Catholics to endow.

Attended the Privy Council Committee to consider of judgment on Boyd's claim upon the finance of the Duchy of Valois; opinions divided: Lord Stowell, Sir H. Russell, and myself for the claim; Sir John Nicholl, Sturges, Bourne, and the Lord President against it. But they deferred to *Lord Stowell's decided opinion*, and judgment is to be given accordingly.

9th.—House of Commons. Sir Henry Parnell gave up his notice of moving for "a Bill to enable Roman Catholics to purchase and hold lands for pious and charitable uses," alleging that by some recent determination in the Court of Chancery in Ireland, the Irish Roman Catholics have the same rights with regard to acquiring and holding property as English Dissenters; citing Mr. Plunkett for his authority as to the state of the law; he (Mr. Plunkett) not being then in the House. The case said to be decided was that of a

* See Twiss's Life of Eldon, vol. ii. c. 46, especially pp. 490-502. Lord Eldon, feeling particularly offended at the attack made on him by Mr. Abercromby, who was under personal obligation to him, had, in giving a judgment in his court, pointed out the inaccuracy of Mr. Abercromby's statements, and denounced one of them (though without naming the person who had made it) as "an utter falsehood."

Mr. Abercromby, on the Monday, moved to summon the short-hand writer, who had furnished the report of the proceedings in the court to the papers, to the bar of the House, and reasserted the statements which the Chancellor had denied. Mr. Canning encountered it with a speech in which he gave his opinion that Mr. Abercromby's speech, of which the Chancellor complained, was really not an attack on the Chancellor himself, but on the faulty system of the court, which required to be amended; and imputed the offence which the Chancellor had taken to be caused by the fact that Mr. Abercromby's language had been, in the opinion of those lawyers who had heard it, very incorrectly reported. Peel, taking the same side, argued that the charge, as reported to have been made by Mr. Abercromby, was one which the Chancellor could not possibly pass over for a moment, and the Ministers (as is recorded above) easily defeated the motion.

legacy from a Roman Catholic lady for some pious or charitable foundation.

10*th.*—At the levée the Duke of Clarence talked with me. He condemned the use of chain cables.* He also talked of the appellate jurisdiction of the House of Lords; and stated his own opinion of the indispensable necessity for the presence of the Lord Chancellor in the Court of Dernier Ressort; and the propriety of discharging the ordinary duties of the Court of Chancery by the ordinary Judges.

N.B. This was the purport of my own speech last year.

11*th.* — At the Privy Council, Mr. Peel and the Law Officers of Jersey attended on a charge against the State for allowing Militia Officers to withdraw from the service and its duties by *resignation* of their commissions without the King's acceptance.

13*th.* — Met the Chancellor at dinner at Lord Shaftesbury's. He told me that he thought the present mode of hearing appeals would *not* succeed; that the faster you heard them, the more they flowed in; that Lord Liverpool also thought so, though he did not say so; and that he (the Chancellor) was satisfied there must be an intermediate Court of Error in Scotland, composed of the Lord Commissioner of the Jury Court, and the Lord Chief Baron (both to be Englishmen), conjointly with the Lord President; that he had formerly offered to bring in such a Bill, but Lord Liverpool would not hear of it.

14*th.* — Met Sir Humphry Davy. He related to me a conversation which he had in the north of Ireland last year upon the subject of Prince Hohenlohe's miracles in Dublin. Speaking of them with a Roman Catholic Priest, and others, he professed his readiness to believe in any miracle clearly such, if well attested; but, putting out of the question all disputable cases of nervous affection, &c., let any person be produced having lost a leg, an arm, or a joint of the little

* The "Columbine," commanded by Lord Colchester's son, had just been lost off the Morea, through the parting of her chain cable in a gale.

finger (being parts of the human body which by no natural process can be reproduced or generated again if once lost), and then let Prince Hohenlohe's powers be tried, &c.

The Popish priest present exclaimed, "That if any Roman Catholic listened to such heretical arguments, he would certainly be damned to the lowest pit of hell."

15*th*. — Lord Lansdowne moved an address to recognise the independence of Spanish America: Lord Liverpool moved an amendment, which was carried by 95 to 34.

LETTER FROM LORD AMHERST.

Barrackpore, March 15th, 1824.

My dear Lord,—It was on this day twelvemonth that we embarked from Saltram.* My thoughts naturally revert to England, and, in so doing, bring to my recollection by far the best Gazette I have received from thence, namely, your kind letter of the 23rd of July. . . . . I am tempted to say a great deal upon the various topics on which you write to me, but all would now be the retelling of an old story; and I will, therefore, confine myself to the most prominent articles furnished by this part of the world.

In the first place, I have to tell you that I most unexpectedly find myself engaged in war with the king of Ava. For some years back frequent aggressions of the Burmese on our territories have led to angry discussions between the two governments; and, as Lord Hastings had enough to do with Nepaul and the Mahrattas, I am not surprised that we have been looking on for some time past with indifference on the gradual conquest by the Burmese of most of the independent states, which formerly existed between our frontiers and theirs, and which might be considered as affording the best security to our territories. This forbearance has, naturally enough, been attributed by the Burmese to no other feeling than fear.

On some further outrages being committed by the Burmese on our subjects in the early part of last year, it was thought advisable to station a small military post on our island called Shapoorie (you have no chance, I think, of finding it in any

* Lord Morley's seat near Plymouth.

map), forming part of our Chittagong territory, and adjoining their province of Arracan. They immediately threatened that, if this post was not withdrawn, they would seize the island.

A few days after my arrival I wrote a letter in answer to the Rajah of Arracan, proposing that a deputy on his part and one on mine should adjust the boundary in an amicable manner. The reply was, an attack on the island, and the expulsion of our few soldiers there. This was somewhat more than mere vapouring; but, anxious to avoid a war, I satisfied myself in the retaking of the island, and writing to the King of Ava to complain of the proceedings of his local authorities.

All remained quiet for two or three months, when down comes a force from Ava, threatening to invade our territory from one end of the frontier to the other, and to *reannex the province of Bengal* to the dominions of its rightful owner, the Lord of the White Elephant. Accordingly we have been compelled to assemble together, as hastily as we could, a sufficient force to drive the Burmese away from our frontier, and to undertake, as far as the season will allow, their expulsion from their newly acquired territory of Assam. But the commencement of the rainy season will very shortly recall our troops from the field; and, as our enemy, however barbarous, is the most warlike of our Eastern neighbours, and on no account to be despised, we are preparing to put forth a considerable portion of our strength, and to assail him in his most vulnerable, and at the same time, most important possessions; and, I trust, that about two months hence, we may be masters of Rangoon, the Liverpool and Portsmouth of Ava; from whence I shall hope to dictate the terms of a moderate, and, therefore, lasting peace.

I do trust that you are at peace in Europe, and that war is, therefore, somewhat of a novelty; otherwise what shall I say for having filled three sides of paper with matter of so little interest to you. I confess all this business has been a subject of great vexation to me. I had not looked to any interruption of the prosperous career of improvement which we had entered into, and which I should most zealously have pursued; and I should consider myself ill-requited by a triumphal entry into Ummerapoora for the employment of resources devoted to a much better purpose. However, the more vigorously the war is carried on the speedier, I trust, will be its termination; and, before I hear from you again, I shall hope to tell you that peace is established between us and the "Golden Feet."

This is a *glorious country*, and glorious is the situation of

him who governs it. I repeat to myself every day for my guidance the beautiful lines of Horace, descriptive of the character of Lollius; for, if I cannot pretend to the

"Animus . . . secundis,
Temporibus dubiisque rectus,"

I do not see why I may not hope to be

"Abstinens
Ducentis ad se cuncta pecuniæ;"

why I may not endeavour that it should be said of me that

"Honestum prætulit utili;"

and that

"Alto vultu,
Explicuit sua victor arma."*

At least all this is an honest ambition; but, if I go on in this strain, you will think me strangely altered from the plain man you knew in England. I will therefore say a few words in an ordinary tone, respecting ourselves and our occupations. In the first place, I have to thank God that our health has hitherto continued unimpaired. We have yet to encounter the hottest season, but I am told by no means the unhealthiest. The two or three months we have lately passed of what might really be called cold weather, must, I should think, tend greatly to brace up the constitution after the relaxation of the summer months. I apprehend our year may be thus divided: six months hot, two warm, two cool, two cold. In the latter I used to find a trot of ten miles before breakfast a very agreeable exercise. At *no period* of the year is it safe to encounter the *midday sun;* but umbrellas are always at hand, and people to carry them. You are aware probably that you are allowed to do nothing for yourself; and I honestly confess that in hot weather it is very agreeable to have an assistant whose peculiar business it is to mend your pens, cut your pencils, and seal your letters. I cannot but say that our mode of life is very much to my taste. I rise with the sun, or, I should say, half an hour before him; am occupied all day long till the dusk approaches; then a ride on an elephant; the remaining two hours, or two and a half hours, passed in dinner and evening society, till the wine and water walks in of itself, and everybody departs. This, I doubt not, is the life we shall lead, with very little variation, for the next six months; for all gaieties, such as balls, masquerades, &c., cease with the cold weather.

* Odes, lib. iv. 9.

I am writing to you from our country house, sixteen miles from Calcutta; a most delightful spot, with fine spreading trees, and the Hooghly branch of the Ganges flowing under our windows. There is certainly more variety in the grounds than in the rest of Bengal. I do believe some of our *mountains* may be fifteen or twenty feet above the valleys. Here I get through most of my work, being subject to none of the interruptions which I must submit to at Government House.

The public business is carried on by the Secretaries of the six departments: Judicial, Territorial or Revenue, Secret and Political, Military, Persian, and General; and the contents of their respective boxes usually occupy all my daylight hours. There are most able men to be found in the Company's service; in fact, every young man at a distant station is compelled to look to his own resources for a due discharge of most arduous duties; and this forms them for almost all the branches I have mentioned. Adieu, my dear Lord.

Most faithfully yours, AMHERST.

16*th*.—House of Lords. Lord Bathurst laid on the table a new Order in Council, for regulating the condition of *slaves* in the ceded island of Trinidad, reserving for separate and future legislation (by like orders) those in Sainte Lucie and Demerara; and then explained at large the view taken by Government of the whole question, as connected with the paramount right of legislating by the mother country, the more advisable resort to colonial legislature; the various improvements to be made in the state of slaves, punishments, marriages, testimony, manumission, &c.; deprecating all emancipation by State authority, but encouraging the slaves to purchase it by their own industry; after which he explained the proposed plan for a resident ecclesiastical jurisdiction, with ministers and catechists sent out to instruct the negroes in Christianity; the claims to indemnification of the planters; the experiments of free labour, and their failure hitherto in Ceylon, Colombia, North America, &c.; and he read the copy of a proclamation issued last week by his Majesty in Council, exhorting all slaves in the West Indies to conform to the laws, and obey their masters, &c. His speech occupied two hours; and, after a general ex-

pression of concurrence from Lord Holland, the House adjourned.

17*th.*—House of Lords. I moved for accounts to show that 33,000*l.* had been issued, since 1794, for making indexes to the Journals of the House of Lords, for which only twenty-two volumes had been indexed in thirty years; and I offered to show by another account that 1200*l.*, which was asked for making an index to one volume and a half per annum, would in one year, under the Clerk of the Journals, completely index twenty-seven volumes. Accounts ordered.

18*th.*—Lord Liverpool presented a report from the Committee on Procedure in Courts in Scotland.

Lord Liverpool this day opened a negotiation with Sir George Rose for his surrender of the office of Clerk of Parliament; and Lord L. told me that he should neither consent to place Sir G. Rose's son (the new Clerk) at the head of the table, nor would he advance Currie (the second assistant) to it; but it must be a person of higher qualifications. I suggested "a gentleman of the rank and description of King's Counsel;" to which he assented.

19*th.*—In the House of Lords I moved an instruction to the Select Committee on the office of Clerk of the Parliament, to consider of the office of Black Rod, with regard to the business of the House, and its connection with the office of Clerk of the Parliament.

20*th.*—The Dean of Christ Church called, and told me of the King's commands, through Sir William Knighton, for the Dean to give his two first studentships to Sir Henry Calvert's son and Sir Michael Seymour's son: his own desire to have given them, and all future nominations, to merit only, as Dr. Cyril Jackson had done: such desire approved by Lord Liverpool. An answer was sent accordingly to Sir W. Knighton; but more letters came, and a final *command peremptory* to give both studentships as directed by the King.

24*th.*—The Chancellor violent against the Unitarian Marriage Bill.

25*th.* — Sir George Rose came, and settled finally the terms of his arrangement for his office, in consequence of his interview with Lord Liverpool.

Afterwards Lord Liverpool wrote to desire to see me, being confined to his house by indisposition. His only business was about the mode of arranging Rose's patent, which I did afterwards with the Chancellor. He desired we might go on with the Committee without him (Lord Liverpool); but that I declined doing, choosing to have his authority and him agreeing throughout, that we might not be disclaimed at last, or all thrown overboard except the favourite arrangement with Rose.

30*th.* — Clerk of the Parliament Committee met. The Chancellor decreed that we could suspend further proceedings until we had the Attorney-General's opinion whether the Crown *could* grant a valid patent to effectuate the purposes of our arrangement.

House of Lords passed the Slave Trade Piracy Bill, negativing a Committee, and reading it a third time, that it might be sent immediately to the United States of America, and the treaty be ratified for mutual search.

Thursday, April 1*st.* — Board of Longitude. Voted 500*l.* to Professor Barlow, of Woolwich, for his discovery of the method of correcting the local attraction of a vessel upon the compass by placing a plate of cast-iron so that its action upon the needle should be equal to that of the vessel. This method has been tried and found effectual in His Majesty's ships "Leven," "Conway," and "Griper," and found also (which was not thought of by the inventor) to make the needle traverse freely in the high northern latitudes where it dips most.

2*nd.* — House of Lords. Debate on second reading of the Unitarian Marriage Bill. For second reading, 21, including the two Archbishops, the Bishops of London, Lichfield and Coventry, Exeter, &c., Lord Harrowby, Lord Lansdowne (the mover of the Bill), &c. Against it, 20, including the Chancellor, Lords

Stowell, Sidmouth, Westmoreland, and the Bishops of St. Asaph, Salisbury, Lincoln, Chester, &c. Proxies for the Bill, 14; against it, 13.

6th. — Left London for Kidbrooke and Brighton; stayed there till the end of the month.

FROM LORD REDESDALE.

Harley Street, April 6th, 1824.

My dear Lord,— . . . . . The Act of 1793, providing that no Roman Catholic taking the oaths there mentioned should be subject to any penalties, disabilities, &c., certainly has received a very extended construction; and it is very difficult to say to what it does, and to what it does not extend, and I believe it was *purposely* so worded. The benefit of the Act 21 and 22 George III. is not wanted, and the proviso is, therefore, a dead letter. The 9th William III. c. 1. as to burials, extends to Protestants as well as Catholics, and therefore is not affected by the Act of 1793. I am persuaded the Bills now in progress on this subject are likely to produce great discontent amongst the Protestants of Ireland, and there will be many a dispute whether the dead person was a Roman Catholic or a Protestant, and battles for the body, as in the recent case in Galway.

There is great tenderness for scruples of conscience on the one side, and none on the other. . . . . .

Yours most truly, REDESDALE.

FROM THE SAME.

Batsford, April 8th.

My dear Lord,— . . . . . I left my proxy with Lord Stowell, to vote against the Catholic Bills, but it seems to me that Ministers are determined to carry them through, and suffer the Opposition to malign their friends without contradiction, because they wish to carry these Bills through. The Burial Bill is a notable scheme to produce harmony. I grow old, and my head, as well as my body, will no longer bear the fatigue. I wish the Chancellor fairly out of his office, and though I should be willing to assist Lord Gifford as well as my health will permit, I cannot go through the labour which I have endured.

Most truly yours, REDESDALE.

FROM THE SAME.

Batsford, April 11th.

My dear Lord,— . . . . . Lord Liverpool's speech on Lord Darnley's motion has been much praised, but I think

his Lordship has yet much to learn with respect to Ireland. An Irishman generally knows that in England the law will be too strong for him; but in England the Irish character will sometimes break out, as in the riots in St. Giles's. Teaching to read and write is not education: education ought to begin almost with the mother's milk. A child of six months old may be taught to obey, and if not so taught, will soon become fractious, and at last ungovernable. Liberal notions have too much weakened parental discipline in England: in Ireland parental discipline is almost unknown.

Truly yours, Redesdale.

FROM THE SAME.

Batsford, April 16th.

My dear Lord,—I have read the petition of the Rev. Mr. Hamilton. I cannot approve of individuals thus petitioning on public grievances; but the grievance of which he complains is one of the sources of the present state of Ireland with regard to religion. Many of the unions have been abominable jobs. In many of the unions under the authority of the Privy Council, I may presume that the Council was imposed upon. In one case the parishes really joined because the midstream of a great river was their common boundary; but the parish church was on one side of the river in the smaller parish, and the larger was on the other side. The access to the parish church was by the bridge at Mallow; three miles from the church, and three miles from the nearest part of the other parish. Here the *words* of the Act were complied with, but the *intent* of the Act was defeated. One union was attempted while I was in Ireland, but the Privy Council rejected the application, though the Archbishop of Dublin (Lord Normanton) strongly supported it. I found in another instance, eleven parishes united. The episcopal union of Lackeen, where (according to Mr. Hamilton) the two parishes united to Lackeen are distant thirty miles from it, seems to have been a gross abuse of episcopal power; but everything is always job in Ireland. The proper measure would be to have a Commission of Inquiry, or to have returns of all the unions, describing the connection of the parishes, amount of income, &c., which would probably answer the purpose; and to enact that on the vacancy of any, the union should cease, and the bishop should then report to the Privy Council on what grounds it would be fit to continue the union, stating all the circumstances of the different parishes. The Council might then

allow any really proper to remain, and disallow the others; returning to Parliament a statement of the grounds on which the continuance of any union should be allowed or disallowed. The first thing to be done to restore peace to Ireland, is to put the Established Church on a proper footing, and to put an end to jobs of every description.

Edmund Malone built a church on his estate, and gave it an organ, making it a handsome building within. He was told that he had made a church to which nobody would come; but in a short time there was a congregation of 200 persons. Similar exertions would, I have no doubt, in many places produce similar effects. The clergy consider large livings and pluralities essential to the existence of the Church, here as well as in Ireland. I believe that large livings and pluralities are the bane of the Church, both in England and Ireland. The first effort of a wise Government should be to Anglicise and Protestantise Ireland: whenever the Catholic question shall come forward, this should be urged. It is necessary now to hold bold language, and to set abuse at defiance. And I am persuaded that forbearance does no good. Conciliation is out of the question. Protestantism must be strenuously supported, or it will be lost in Ireland.

I conclude we shall have the Catholic question agitated notwithstanding the reports to the contrary. It must be manfully withstood, and the Church not only supported, but urged to support itself by a thorough reform of abuses.

My dear Lord, most truly yours, REDESDALE.

Sunday, May 2nd.—London. Barrow told me that the Navy Board press chain cables on the Admiralty, and the Admiralty resist them. In the course of last winter twenty-two ships at Gibraltar anchored with chain cables, and eighteen parted. He added that Sir Charles Blagdon, several years ago, had declared that they ought not to be trusted, as no proof of their strength ever made could ensure their continuing of the same quality for any length of time. A particle of latent sulphur in the composition would in time decompose the iron and destroy its strength.

4th.—House of Lords. Debate on motion for going into Committee upon the Bill for relief of Unitarians, and legalising their marriages, &c. Opposed by Bishop of Chester, St. David's, the Chancellor, &c. Supported

by Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishop of Exeter, Lord Liverpool, &c. The Bill was lost.

10*th.*—Met Lord Camden, Mr. Thornton, &c., upon the Pitt subscription. The fund is now about 15,000*l.* Lord Camden is to go to Cambridge and see about a plan for a Pitt printing-house, to be built out of the residue after a second statue; augmenting the Pitt Cambridge Scholarship to 100*l.* a-year, and founding one of equal amount at Oxford.

11*th.*—The Alien Act was read a second time in the House of Lords, upon a division.

13*th.*—Attended the Committee (re-appointed) on Scotch Judicature, &c. Appeals; *Pro formâ* opened the Committee, in which I was called to the chair; and the Chancellor stating that a Bill was in readiness for consideration, Lord Liverpool proposed to refer it to the Chancellor, Lord Redesdale, and Lord Gifford for their observations.

14*th.*—News of Lord Byron's death at Missolongi.

17*th.*—House of Lords. Lord Liverpool moved for a Committee on the state of the disturbed districts in Ireland. Lord Lansdowne moved an amendment to extend the inquiry to the whole of Ireland. Division: For amendment, 20; for original motion, 50.

18*th.*—Committee on state of Ireland. Nineteen present out of twenty-three Members. Examined Mr. Blackburne and Mr. Blacker, two Irish barristers, who had been employed to carry the Insurrection Act into execution. Sat seven hours, from ten to five.

21*st.*—Read Dr. Doyle's letter of 13th inst., dated Carlow, and published in the "Morning Chronicle" of Tuesday, describing the population and Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland as all equally disaffected to British sovereignty; and proposing at once a reconciliation of the Church of England to the Church of Rome as the only means of binding Ireland to Great Britain.

House of Lords, Irish Committee. The Silk Weavers' Bill passed on a division of 61 to 55.

22*nd.*—Attended Privy Council. A precedent was

found for the King in Council referring a question of prize and booty (unappropriated by any prize act) to the Treasury, "to do as they shall think fit." And resolved accordingly to deal with the petition against the conduct of the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Arbuthnot as trustees and agents for the Deccan prize money.

23rd.—Lord Camden told me that being a member of Mr. Pitt's Government in 1800, he knew that Mr. Pitt had never *matured* any plan for giving what is called emancipation to the Roman Catholics. That he had considered the subject as connected with the Union, and had talked upon it with Lord Melville, Lord Rosslyn (then Chancellor), and Lord Auckland; from which latter persons it came to be known to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and so to the King; who thereupon so expressed himself as to put an end to the Administration.

24th.—House of Lords. Lord Lansdowne moved the second reading of the English Roman Catholic Elective Franchise Bill. I moved an amendment to put it off for six months.* The others who spoke were Lord Westmoreland, Lord Redesdale, Bishop Ryder, Bishop Law, the Chancellor, and Lord Liverpool.

Division. — For Second Reading — Present		63
" " Proxies		38
		101
" Against it — Present		74
" " Proxies		65
		139
Majority		38

Upon the second reading of the Bill for enabling Roman Catholics to hold revenue offices, and become justices of the peace, and to give the Duke of Norfolk full powers to execute the office of Earl Marshal,

* Lord Colchester's speech, on moving this amendment, is printed among his "Speeches upon the Roman Catholic Claims," published by Hatchard, 1848.

Division. — For Second Reading—Present	. . .	67
„ „ Proxies	. . .	42
		109
„ Against it — Present	. . . .	76
„ „ Proxies	. . . .	67
		143
Majority	. . . .	34

At the beginning Lord Liverpool presented four Bills for restoring Scotch Peerages, viz. Mar, Kenmure, Nairn, and Strathallan; and for reversing the attainder of Lord Stafford, executed in the reign of Charles II. for his alleged share in the Popish Plot.

N.B. In the divisions on the Roman Catholic Bills, there voted for Lord Lansdowne's motion five of the Cabinet Ministers: Lords Liverpool, Harrowby, Westmoreland, Bathurst, and Bexley. Lord Melville did not vote, Roman Catholics being excluded in Scotland by the Union from being elected or electors, or holding any offices, as appears by the claim of right incorporated with the Union Act.

See the correspondence of Lord Grey and Mr. Brougham with the Catholic Association in Dublin, and their objections to the Roman Catholic petition and the refusal of the Catholic Association to alter it; all in the newspapers of this day.

25*th*.—House of Lords. Lord Lansdowne moved for a copy of the instructions given to the Board of Excise to forbear from administering the oaths of supremacy, &c., to the officers under them. Lord King and Lord Holland ridiculed the notion that the First Lord of the Treasury was to be accounted the first authority in that House, when he was defeated by large majorities twice in one night by another Cabinet Minister,—the Lord Chancellor.

26*th*.—House of Lords. Debate on proceeding upon the Scottish Peerage Restoration Bills, Mar, Strathallan, &c. Whether the alleged facts of pedigree must be proved to sustain the recitals in the preamble. Ap-

pointed a Committee to search for precedents. Curious and learned speeches by Lord Redesdale and the Chancellor *pro* and *con*.

31*st*.—Meeting of Caledonian Canal Commissioners at the Speaker's to settle Report. 278 vessels have passed in the last six months from sea to sea; one from Riga to Glasgow. Besides from 500 to 600 along the Canal to Loch Oich. The depth of Loch Ness is greater than that of the German Ocean between Scotland and Denmark.

House of Lords. In the Irish Committee agreed to a short report for continuing the Insurrection Bills.

At five (the Duke of York being present, and the House very full), Earl Grey presented the petition of the Irish Roman Catholic Association, in a speech of twenty-five minutes, supporting the demand of Catholic emancipation, disavowing their prayer for a reform of the temporalities of the Church, and the disfranchisement of corporations, &c. The petition was withdrawn, when half read through, it appearing to be continued in loose, unconnected sheets, to which no signature was attached.

Tuesday, *June* 1*st*.—Bootle Wilbraham called, to converse with me upon a projected reform of Committees of the House of Commons upon private Bills, now under consideration by a Select Committee on the matter. My own opinion was that the best method in all cases would be a Select Committee of seven upon each petition or bill. The member presenting it to be Chairman, and six others, to be taken by rotation from the list by which the House is called over. This, or any other change, full of difficulties, but anything is better than the present disgraceful scenes.

Met Lord Arden. Conversed with him upon Lord Liverpool's declining health.

House of Lords. Irish Committee. Agreed to a short report, and the Bill to be brought in by Lord Harrowby in the House of Lords immediately upon a vote of confidence in the Committee, to be adopted by

the House. The whole Committee (except Lord Holland, who never attended till this day for an hour, and after the Report had been agreed to) concurring in its necessity for one year. My own opinion was for continuing it also "to the end of the then next session of Parliament," so as to cover at once the whole of 1825. To which it was replied that, as the inquiry must be renewed next year, it might then be continued further, if necessary.

Mr. Wrixen Beecher (Miss O'Neil's husband), M. P. for Mallow, was examined respecting the disturbances, and their origin on Lord Courtenay's estate.

2nd.—Lord Liverpool sent me the opinions of the Attorney and Solicitor-General upon the case of the Clerk of the Parliament, expressing their doubts of the legality of proceeding by patent, to make any alteration in the patronage of the Clerk of the Parliament. He desired me to appoint the Committee upon the office of the Clerk of Parliament, to meet and proceed.

Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt called about his office of Black Rod. I complained to him of the droves of ladies who came and took chairs by the side of the Throne to hear debates, quite unprecedented. He said that the Chancellor had sent his two daughters there on Monday last, and Lord Liverpool had desired particular accommodation for two ladies of his family to-morrow, and so nobody could be refused.

At the House of Lords Lord Liverpool submitted to the Lord Chancellor and myself such amendments in his new Revenue Offices Bill as should restrain it to the Board of Customs, of Excise, &c., and the persons appointed by, and employed under, them.

In the Committee on Scotch Courts and Appeal Judicature, we agreed to a Report, and to present and pass the Bill this year. I presented the Report and Bill to the House. It was agreed in the Committee that Professor Bell of Edinburgh, an advocate, and one of the Commissioners employed to prepare and amend the Bill in its different stages of previous discussions,

should be allowed 1500*l.* for his time and labours, and Lord Liverpool undertook for the Treasury paying it, upon a letter from me as Chairman.

In the House, Lord Liverpool's Office Bill was read a second time.

4*th.*—Committee for regulating the office of Clerk of the Parliaments; Lord Shaftesbury in the chair. Agreed to the report as prepared at the meeting before Easter, varied only by recommending the new arrangement of the Clerk's patronage to be settled by law, instead of by any other further patent.

In the House, this report was presented and ordered to be printed; I gave notice of moving the second reading of the Scotch Judicature Bill on Wednesday next. Lord Liverpool went through the Committee on the Office Bill, cutting it down to the offices of Commissioners of the Board of Customs, Excise, Stamps, &c., and the persons employed under them.

N.B. Lord Liverpool, who for some months past has always favoured and laid up *one* leg, now coils *both* legs upon the bench where he sits, and is evidently in worse health. His pulse was forty in March, fifty-four when he returned from Bath, and is now forty again.

[Anecdotes and opinions from *good sources*.]

The present King says, "Lord Liverpool has more irritability and less feeling than any man he ever knew."

The King hates Canning, and is personally of Protestant principles (or "sentiments"), but will take any minister who, by popularity or otherwise, will make his government easy to himself. If Lord Liverpool fails, he will immediately send for the Duke of Wellington.

Canning may for a time be at the head, but has not personal authority, or sway, or following in the House of Commons, and cannot maintain himself long in that state.

All will fall to pieces, and be broken in small parties and factions.

8*th.*—At the British Museum saw the King of the

Sandwich Islands, with his Prime Minister, and his Admiral, who came to visit the Museum, accompanied by Mr. Byng of the Foreign Office. These three personages resembled three coloured large Lascars. They moved from room to room very slowly, looking very attentively at everything which a Frenchman (M. Rives) their interpreter explained to them; but (as their practice is), they affected a great and stately indifference, although it seems when they return home, they talk it all over among themselves very fully. The Queen, being indisposed, did not come, to the great disappointment of the numberless persons who were improperly allowed to crowd the apartment.

The Sandwich Islands are eleven in number, two uninhabited, and Owhyhee is the largest. The population is about 300,000 persons. They import hardware and cloth to the amount of about 100,000*l.* annually. The men here and at home wear the European dress, and are Christians. The King says he shall state to nobody the objects for which he is come, but to our King, and his King, George IV. It is however understood that he wishes for a guarantee and protection against the apprehended encroachments of Russia, and against the cheating of the North Americans, who sell him charcoal for gunpowder, and other bad articles of trade at exorbitant prices. The King has placed about 2,500*l.* in dollars with Mr. Byng for paying his expenses; but he is supposed to have brought more.

To guard against the misrepresentations or intrigues of the French interpreter, an old companion of Captain Vancouver, who speaks the language, has been sent for from Huntingdonshire, and is to dine with him to-day. Captain Charlton, a very intelligent person in the merchant service, employed under the great mercantile house of Palmer and Co., in London, will probably go back with his Majesty, and set up a considerable commercial establishment at Owhyhee.

Short-hand writers attending Parliament.

Mr. Gurney, the short-hand writer to the Lords Committee, told me this day that their first appearance was in the House of Lords in 1786, upon the slave-trade inquiries. In the House of Commons in 1792, at the Bar of the House, on Eau-brink drainage.

House of Commons in 1802. By M. A. Taylor's Bill they were introduced upon Election Committees.

House of Commons, 1806. On Lord Wellesley's Impeachment Committee, Mr. Gurney, junior, attended to take down the evidence at the Bar of the House.

Mr. Gurney's establishment consists of four constant clerks, and he has at this time thirteen Committees to provide for, all sitting at the same time in the one House of Parliament or the other.

10*th*.—Met Lord Teignmouth at dinner at Lord Redesdale's (formerly Sir John Shore*, now seventy-three years old). He told me that he was taken from the head of Harrow School and placed at a Frenchman's academy at Hoxton, to learn merchant's accounts, an understanding of which was then reckoned necessary for persons going to India. He there found the present Lord Hastings, who had been placed there by Lord Huntingdon; General Loftus was with Lord Hastings, then Lord Rawdon, at Bunker's Hill; where Lord Rawdon was the first of two who mounted the American works. Lord Teignmouth spoke highly of Lord Hasting's admirable measures in his late government of India. Lord Teignmouth is clearly of opinion that the free press cannot be suffered in India with safety to the empire. He concurred in all the praises bestowed on Bernier's little work on "Aurungzebe's History;" and said that after reading all the other accounts of Oriental writers, Bernier's was far the best and the most curious.

* Governor-General of India from 1793 to 1798.

CHAP. LXVIII.

1824.

ASSAULT ON MR. BROUGHAM.—SIR JOHN MALCOLM.—EARL MARSHAL'S BILL. —LORD COLCHESTER VOTES FOR SECOND READING.—DECIDED LANGUAGE OF THE DUKE OF YORK.—LETTER FROM LORD REDESDALE.—DISTRESS OF THE FARMERS.—QUESTION OF THE EXPORTATION OF WOOL.—SIR W. KNIGHTON'S RUDENESS TO THE KING.—LETTER FROM LORD REDESDALE. —IRISH AFFAIRS.—RECOGNITION OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE SPANISH COLONIES IN AMERICA.—DIFFERENCES IN THE CABINET.—MR. WALLACE'S REPORT OF THE STATE OF IRELAND.—LETTER FROM DR. HAMILTON ON THE FEELINGS, ETC., OF THE IRISH ROMAN CATHOLICS.—PROSECUTION OF MR. O'CONNELL.

FRIDAY, June 11th.—House of Commons. One Gourlay, a turbulent and discontented Scotch gentleman farmer, who had become a democrat in Canada, and a Radical in Somersetshire, caned Mr. Brougham in the lobby of the House of Commons. He was taken to Cold Bath Fields and confined there as insane.

16th.—House of Lords. Attended Irish Committee. Mr. Macarthy, from the County of Cork, was examined. Read over the Duke of Leinster's evidence of Monday last. He fully admits the Jesuits' establishment at Clongowe's Wood; and is of opinion that it would be right to have a single responsible Lord-Lieutenant for each county in Ireland, instead of several Governors for each county.

Saw Sir John Malcolm. He is about to publish a third edition of his work on the "Political State of India." The Government at home have declared it as a principle, that for the government of each Presidency in India they mean to appoint, *not* servants civil or military of the East India Company, but individuals of high character from Europe, unconnected with Indian affairs. Query whether, therefore, also *ignorant* of them?

Mill's "History of India," according to Sir John Malcolm, is very correct as to the facts; but very erroneous in the mode of appreciating characters and measures, by measuring persons and things of 1750 in India according to English political principles of 1820.

17*th.*—House of Lords. Finally settled Church Buildings Bill, and other miscellaneous business.

The Church Bill was an *arrant Tack* to the 500,000*l.* grant by adding fourteen more clauses to regulate the building of other churches; not by any part of the public grant, but by voluntary subscription. A Tack of different matter to a grant of money; contrary to the rule laid down by Lord Chancellor Finch, in 1678, and the modern cases of the Curates' Bill, in 1804, and the Irish Customs' fees, August, 1807, in the time of Lord Chancellor Eldon.

18*th.*—House of Lords. Irish Committee. Upon Lord Carberry's suggestion I re-examined Mr. Macarthy upon the practicability and benefit of establishing by law a system of parochial relief for the impotent poor, *i.e.*, those disabled from labour by sickness or age; and for widows not having children able to maintain them. He had seen the plan successfully tried in one parish in the county of Cork, for a year or two, till it was defeated by the influx of other poor from neighbouring parishes.

19*th.*—House of Lords. Second Report on the Office of Clerk of the Parliament, presented with appendix table of fees, establishment of out-door clerks, present and future plans, &c.

The Earl Marshal's Bill for enabling the Duke of Norfolk to execute his office in person without previously taking any other oath than that of allegiance and office, was read a second time, on the motion of Lord Holland, upon a division. The Chancellor having moved to put it off for three months. For *now* reading it, 24; against it, 11.

The Chancellor, when I asked him whether he should oppose the Bill, replied, "He did not know that, but he thought that it ought not to proceed now."

The Duke of York attended and demanded the division, and voted in the small minority. He seemed to be much vexed at the result; and his attendance, whether voluntary or on request, was to be regretted, unless a better attendance of Peers had been secured.

I voted with the majority for the second reading, having always professed a readiness to let the Roman Catholics enjoy their mere *honours*, though not to share in political *power*, &c. And having so stated expressly as to this particular instance in my speech on the 24th inst.

Amongst the eleven non-contents were the Duke of York, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, the Bishop of Gloucester, of Raphoe, &c.*

21st.—House of Lords. Passed the Earl Marshal's Bill without opposition; and sent it down to the House of Commons, where it went through the first and second reading.

The Duke of York came down this day too late, but he had spoken his mind so strongly everywhere, that a very strong muster of Peers attended.

23rd.—House of Lords., Irish Committee. Examined Mr. Robinson, of Canada, upon the emigration of last year from Cork to Upper Canada, north of Lake Ontario.

In the House, Lord Holland gave notice of a motion on the protest entered against the Earl Marshal's Bill.

24th.—House of Lords. Lord Holland moved a counter-resolution of fact against the fourth† reason in the protest entered against the Earl Marshal's Bill, concluding with leave to the ten dissentient Lords to withdraw or correct the whole of their reasons, or any

* The King entertained a great objection to the measure, and even intimated an inclination to refuse the Royal Assent to it. See his note to Lord Eldon in *Twiss's Life of Lord Eldon*, vol. ii. p. 522.

† The Bill had passed the second reading without any debate, and the fourth reason of the protest stated, as one ground for objection, "because at this very late period of the session, and at the early hour of five o'clock, before Peers arrived at the House, the present decision cannot be considered as the sense of the House, many Peers being absent, and the House being taken quite unawares." The division had been—For the Bill, 24; against it, 10.

part of them. Lord Abingdon proposed to limit his protest to the fourth reason. The Duke of Newcastle stood out for the whole of his protest, unless compelled by the House to do otherwise. No division.

N.B. The precedents for proceeding in the House upon protests are 1701, William III.; 1722, George I.

1794, George III., Lord Radnor's protest; words expunged, 24th Feb., 3rd March.

1801, Lord Holland, Albemarle, Thanet, and King, 23rd March; reasons expunged, 31st March.

25*th*.— Prorogation. Lord Gwydir, as Great Chamberlain, claims sole right to issue tickets of admission for ladies on the first and last days of the session. The *first* day is allowed, because, until the King, by his speech, has opened a session, everybody, Peers, Commoners and all, are deemed to be assembled in his palace to learn his pleasure. But on the *last*, the Peers, being assembled as a house, claim the right of introducing strangers. And Lord Arden this day claimed the right of introducing two ladies *without* the tickets of the Great Chamberlain, and if obstructed, declared his intention of moving the House.

The King looked very heavy, languid, morbid, and livid, the crown pressing heavily on his brows. The Speaker made a long speech with the Money Bill, and the King a much shorter speech.

Saturday, *July* 3*rd*. — Received a letter from the Church and Corporation Land Tax Office, to inform me that Lord Bexley had appointed a board at the Treasury Chambers next Monday, at eleven, for reading the patent, administering the oath, and proceeding to business.

Lord Bexley, to whom I wrote for explanation, answered that "When the old board was superseded some time ago, it was understood that the business would substantially pass into the hands of the Lords of the Treasury; but Lord Liverpool thought it right to insert a few other names in the Commission, partly *honoris causâ*, and partly to give occasional assistance.

I am one of that number, and it was wished that I should attend as having been an active member of the old board; and the Commission was summoned at an early hour on Monday to suit my convenience."

N.B. I did not think it necessary to go.

4th.—Lord Bexley came to explain farther that, after the deaths of Lord Auckland and Lord Glenbervie, Lord Radstock, who had been joined with them, was pensioned off; and under the former Act a new Commission had been issued, in which my name, and (he believed) Lord Redesdale's, with Sir C. Long's and Arbuthnot's were inserted, together with Lord Bexley's. The secretary, Mr. Dacosta, kept all the books and papers, at the old Audit Office, in Whitehall Place; but the board meetings were to be held always at the Treasury.

The King certainly quits Carlton House and removes into Marlborough House, of which Prince Leopold gives up the remainder of his term under the Duke of Marlborough, which would expire in 1835.

Prince Leopold expressed to the Duchess Dowager of Leeds his regret that he had a house to seek, or perhaps to build.

5th.—Wrote to Ireland to stop my ten per cent. contribution on the salary of Privy Seal, Lord Bexley having told me that the Order of Council imposing this tax upon all Civil List officers was on Wednesday last rescinded.

8th.—Went to Chantrey's workshop in Pimlico. He is now casting a bronze statue of the present King, for Brighton, for 3000*l.*; but it will cost him 4000*l.*

The Duke of Wellington, looking with Chantrey at the statue of Achilles (so called), in Hyde Park, said, "I don't think that it has much to do with me. The only way to give it any connection would be to put four bas-reliefs upon the pedestal, one on each side, and (then naming four actions in the Peninsular war, &c.) the first subject should be my entry into Madrid, where

I was received by old and young with demonstrations of feeling which were quite extraordinary."

9th. — Visited the Miss Berry's, who read to me a letter from Sir William Gell, at Rome, describing the miserable state of the metropolis, and country round it: the assassinations in the streets; the banditti in the mountains, and all over the Campagna: the dirt in the streets; the absence of Ambassadors, the decay of artists, the pasquinades upon his Holiness, and the unpopularity of his ministers: the demand upon Naples for the "Hoquenée:" the notice to the Austrians to withdraw their troops from Ravenna, &c.

Upon a public building was stuck up a paper—

"Il Leone dorme."

The Pope, to whom it was announced, wrote under it,

"Sì, svegliera,"

and ordered it to be replaced. A third line was immediately subjoined:

"In Paradiso."

14th. — Death of the King of the Sandwich Islands this day, in the Adelphi; his Queen died last week, and her corpse was deposited under St. Martin's Church till it could be conveyed to her own country.

Portugal is left to itself; no troops of France or England are to interfere.

South American independence is doubtful, as to Peru, Chili, and Mexico; the Royal party gaining the ascendency over the Republicans. Buenos Ayres is absolutely independent; and Colombia apparently so.

20th. — Left London.

Sept. 16th. — Louis XVIII. died, and was succeeded by Charles X. In August a law was passed in France establishing Peers for life, and requiring a majorat in the case of hereditary Peers.

In Spain the insurgents in August seized Tarifa, but were soon expelled.

At Algiers, the Exmouth Treaty was renewed in July by the appearance of the English fleet. The

Consul withdrew. A Vice-Consul is to be appointed during his absence at half his salary.

FROM LORD REDESDALE.

Batsford, Sept. 18th, 1824.

My dear Lord,— . . . . . The general poverty of the farmers has led to very bad management during the last five years, and I think the country will suffer from the rage for cheap corn. The great depression of the farmer, occasioned by the sudden fall of prices on the peace, has arisen from the total destruction of the farmers' credit. All *borrowed* capital was instantly withdrawn from the land; and like the run upon banks in the time of alarm, every farmer was called upon to pay every shilling which he owed. By these means, and the great fall of prices occasioned by the necessity of selling to pay debts, above 100,000,000*l.* of capital was probably withdrawn from the cultivation of land, and the consumer did not buy his bread or his meat cheap in comparison to the loss sustained by the farmer. The consumer did not want all that the farmer was under the *necessity* of selling. The consumers' wants were *gradual*. The farmers' necessities *instant*. There immediately rose a vast body of middlemen, amongst whom the Quakers have been pre-eminent, and many of these have made immense fortunes. Corn-dealers and cattle-dealers swarm over the country; they act *in combination*, and make their own prices. They are in most parts of the kingdom a new race of men, many of them originally without capital, and compelling the farmers to take their notes at three and four months, instead of money; and often receiving from the consumers a considerable part of the money necessary to pay the notes before they become due. These speculations have been to a great extent and generally successful, in consequence of the extreme distress of the farmers, and the advanced prices obtained from the consumers.

We have two corn-dealers at Moreton, and one at Bourton. The latter was *a little* blacksmith, and is now a *great* man. Sixty-four corn-dealers entered their names as such for the Stow market. This evil will now, I think, be permanent, and the consumer must pay for the terrible expense of the farmer in cultivating his land, and gathering and threshing his crops; and for the trouble and expenses of the corn-dealers, and for the emoluments of the corn-factors, to whom the corn-dealers are frequently compelled to entrust their corn at a distant market.

But these things have not alone changed the condition of the

farmers. The poor rates, county rates, road rates, &c., have increased greatly, and are to the farmers an *income* tax, and *to no one* else. These taxes amount in many places to 40 per cent. on the farmers' income. And this income tax must eventually fall on the landlord. Hence the decay of country gentlemen. Whilst all other parts of the population have *increased* (and since the year 1730 the population has more than doubled), the country gentlemen have decreased in a much larger proportion. That unbought magistracy, which has been so much talked of, consists in many parts of the clergy. In this county the business could not be done without them; indeed they do nearly *the whole*. There are *large* proprietors, but the *small* proprietors of the rank of gentlemen have almost vanished from the country.

But, notwithstanding the distress of the farmer, and his eagerness consequently to save expense of labour, the labourer in husbandry has risen in the scale, at least in this county. There is one curious circumstance disclosed by the statements of the Savings' Banks. The labourers' deposits are much more numerous in the country districts, in proportion to the population, than the mechanics' and manufacturers' deposits in the manufacturing districts. The deposits in the Savings' Banks at Stow, on June 30th, 1824, amounted to 32,783*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.*, invested in Exchequer Bills, besides 2201*l.* 19*s.* 2*d.* in 3 per cent. Stock. The total number of depositors was at the same time 660, of whom above 400 are labourers or servants. About ten of the depositors have credit for above 200*l.*; one for above 300*l.*; and one for above 400*l.*; but these are principally trustees for friendly societies; therefore about 650 of the depositors are creditors for sums under 200*l.*; the average of the whole is therefore about 50*l.* each; and of the depositors to the amount of 50*l.*, though many are servants or working handicraftsmen, many are also labourers. Perhaps this is one result of the poor rates; no one being called upon now to sustain his relations in poverty, but all resorting to the poor rates, except perhaps parents and children.

In the manufacturing districts the deposits in Savings' Banks, compared with the population, are almost as nothing. In some large manufacturing districts the deposits are scarcely half the amount of the deposits in the Stow Bank. This is said to arise from several causes: first, the extravagance of the manufacturers; secondly, their benefit clubs, which do not think fit to place their money at the Government rate of 4 per cent.; and, thirdly, the quick calls on the benefit clubs, in consequence of frequent illnesses arising from debauchery.

These are curious subjects of speculation, not only for political economists, but for statesmen; especially in a country where the constitution is in a very great degree founded on land, and considering the qualifications which the possession of land alone gives. I see the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews are at war on the subject of political economy, but to my mind neither appears to look sufficiently into the subject. Each has adopted a system, and each endeavours to make everything agree with his own system; and neither will look back to the political economists of older times, who generally reasoned upon *facts* and not upon *theories*.

. . . . . .

With respect to Ireland, I augur no good from a ministerial journey there, unless there is a disposition to lay aside prejudice, and open eyes to truth, which I doubt. *Everything* is wrong in Ireland, and has been wrong for at least 800 years, as far as we know anything of the country; and yet some people are so foolish as to imagine that Catholic emancipation would set all right. So Wilberforce and Co. imagine that negro emancipation would instantly produce the most industrious and happy population imaginable. So the Duc de la Rochefoucauld fancied that French emancipation would make the happiest people in the world; and he was massacred under that fancy. Modern politicians and speculators seem to me to forget the nature of man. . . . . .

Marsden * is just returned from a fortnight's expedition to Ireland. . . . . He says there is an apparent *comparative* quiet, but he does not rely upon it; and he considers what has been done under the idea of conciliation as having only produced increased irritation. I believe his opinion is that there may be something serious, but that the strong force now on foot may probably prevent explosion, so long as it remains on foot. He does not seem to entertain a high opinion of the *policy* of the Lord-Lieutenant, or of the prudence of the Attorney-General; and I hear from different quarters that the latter has been considered as having acted on many occasions very indiscreetly. Lord Manners † talks of resigning, as his situation has become very uncomfortable; but this seems to be generally little regarded. . . . . Ministers here have little disposition to make Plunkett Chancellor, fearing he would not be very manageable. In Ireland the Lord-Lieutenant and Secretary do not draw together in anything, and even the Under-

* Irish Under-Secretary, 1802. † Chancellor of Ireland.

Secretary is often not trusted in common business, others being employed, with the semblance however that everything emanates from the Lord-Lieutenant. This state of things is not likely to produce quiet in any Government, and least of all perhaps in Ireland. . . . . .

Most truly yours, REDESDALE.

FROM THE SAME.

Batsford, Sept. 26th.

My dear Lord,— . . . . . The prevalence of the mercantile and moneyed interest over the agricultural, makes arable land of much less comparative value than belonged to it 100 years ago. The arable land improved and well cultivated 100 years ago, yielded a much more *valuable* rent than it now yields; and, according to the system now adopted by political economists, it seems to me not improbable that, in the course of another century, population increasing as rapidly as it has increased in the last 100 years, a large importation of grain will take place in consequence of the establishment of what is called free trade. I look, therefore, to a comparative diminution of the profits of arable land *as such;* and that it is, therefore, important to consider how land can be made valuable when not cultivated with the plough. The increase of *wood land* may therefore become advantageous, as well as the increase of *pasture* land; and the arable land may be cultivated only as it may be made on succession to produce green food and dry food for cattle and sheep. The *poor* lands *must* be so cultivated, for such lands will yield most in that mode of arrangement. The rich lands will be generally laid down in pasture.

I include in free trade, a *free exportation of wool;* for if corn and wool are to be imported duty free, and wool is not to be exported but subject to duty, the landed proprietors must be rapidly ruined. They have nothing to export but wools and the produce of their mines, particularly coal mines. The modern political economists seem to me to be palpably erroneous in their theories, and they are now disputing among themselves with as much violence and as little of fair reasoning as has recently been employed by the Roman Catholics and Protestants in Bible Society meetings in the county of Cork. From such disputations one good may arise; they may put an end to the folly of hoping to conciliate the Catholics of Ireland. The bitterness between the parties daily increases, and O'Connell's speeches, applying to England, appear to me to deserve the most serious attention of Government.

As you probably may not otherwise see a Cork newspaper, I send you one: you will judge from it what hope there can be of conciliation. The Catholics sing the song of victory, not only in Ireland, but in England, and indeed all over Europe. According to them, all the world is becoming Catholic. Does their language import that their victory would be mildly used? that Protestantism would be tolerated in their Catholic empire? I wonder whether Lord Liverpool ever looks at an Irish newspaper. If he does, is not his conduct unaccountable, unless he believes that there is not a word of truth in what is there stated; and that O'Connell, Shiel, &c., are perfectly well disposed to a Protestant Government, provided they can only obtain equality of rights; and, having obtained so much will seek for no more; not even for the ecclesiastical establishment in Ireland. What is Canning doing in Ireland? Can he have gone there merely to marry his daughter to Lord Clanricarde? . . . . . .

My dear Lord, most truly yours, REDESDALE.

FROM MR. BANKES.

Tregoth, near Truro, Sept. 28th.

Dear Colchester,— . . . . . Canning's short visit to Ireland is like a fable without a moral: no one can credit that it was out of pure friendship for the Marquis, for whom he probably feels very little; and his stay was not long enough to concert any measures with the Roman Catholic bishops and leaders. Can it be connected with any project of a dissolution of Parliament? which, however, I entirely disbelieve, as I can divine no adequate reason for it, and there are always many against creating a bustle in quiet times.

. . . . . .

Most truly yours, H. BANKES.

FROM LORD COLCHESTER TO LORD AMHERST.

Kidbrooke, Oct. 5th, 1824.

My dear Lord,— . . . The other Indian matters which, in addition to your war, have occupied the public attention of late, have been Mr. Buckingham's fruitless attempt to obtain favour with the East India Company, or the Board of Control, and the publication of the papers concerning the transactions of Lord Hastings's Government with the Court of Hydrabad, upon which no public opinion has been yet pronounced, even by our lords and masters, the newspaper editors of the United Kingdom. . . . . .

Of public matters at *home* a tranquil session of Parliament has passed, and yet an early dissolution is talked of, though nobody can say why. There is, however, much canvassing; revenue and trade all flourishing; the landed interest is in better plight, though rents are not everywhere forthcoming, nor tenants to be found for good farms. . . . Lord Liverpool is said not to have succeeded in re-establishing his health during the recess. Canning is just returned from a ten days' visit to Lord Wellesley at Dublin.

In Ireland Messrs. O'Connell and Co. continue to levy parochially, what they call "the Catholic Rent," to a large amount.

. . . . .

In France the accession of Charles X. has been received with enthusiasm of course, and the Censorship of the Press has been removed, which of course will give him a great newspaper popularity.

In Spain matters are still very unsettled, the active or suspected constitutionalists are treated with the utmost rigour, and the French troops alone stop the recurrence of all the former troubles. Sweden and Norway seem to have made a satisfactory marriage, and the Storthing or Representative Legislature has adopted all the means recommended by Bernadotte, except that they hesitate about the royal negative to their legislative propositions. It seems, however, as if that would be at last granted.

In the Mediterranean Greeks and Turks are fighting as usual, each claiming signal successes in the islands of Ipsara, Samos, &c. The active policy of the Pacha of Egypt is expected to enrich him, if not his country; and large exportations of good cotton from Egypt are looked for in England, and so eagerly as to have occasioned great Lazzaretto preparations in Milford Haven. The dispute with Algiers has been settled upon the basis of Lord Exmouth's treaty, although not without a close approach of our fleet, and a heavy discharge of Algerine artillery; but with little or no mischief to our squadron. Genoa is reviving under an improved policy of the Court of Turin, which since this annexation by the Treaty of Vienna, had treated the Duchy of Genoa with much harshness; its commercial spirit of enterprise is revived, some thousand sail were sent out from Genoa in the course of last year, trading upon Genoese capital, and a few weeks ago a vessel straight from thence to California.

Of South America it is difficult to know anything with certainty. The British Consuls, probably furnished also with political as well as commercial instructions, have reached their

several destinations. Buenos Ayres seems to be completely established in its independence; Mexico next in order, but less certainly. The recent landing and execution of Iturbide * appears to have extinguished the possible source of another revolution in that country. But Yucatan still disputes the sovereignty of Mexico, and contends for a separate existence under General Santana. Columbia boasts much of its solid establishment; but of Peru and Chili all our accounts hitherto are very dubious.

In Africa we have had a war, of which the first news was disastrous in the defeat, capture, and death of Sir Charles Macartney; but within these few days, despatches have been brought from Cape Coast, with intelligence of a pitched battle, in which the Ashantee army of 15,000 men have been totally routed by the British and their allies, of which I suspect the Shrapnell shells and Congreve rockets were the most effective.

There remains to be spoken of the Polar expedition renewed under Captain Parry, who proceeds to the Regent Inlet, and so (if he can) into the Polar Sea, and straight for Icy Cape and Behring's Straits. Of him news has been received to his entrance into Baffin's Bay. Captain Lyon, who proceeded through Hudson's Bay to Repulse Bay, has been heard of also; landing in Repulse Bay, he is to cross the isthmus supposed to be about four or five days' journey, where he will find (what has been already discovered from the hills on the isthmus) an open sea. And he is then to proceed westward to Cape Turnagain, the eastern point at which Captain Franklin terminated his journey last time. Captain Franklin, whom I met a fortnight ago at Lord Camden's at Bayham Abbey, told me that he is to set out in February next, and to proceed down Mackenzie's River till he reaches the open sea at its mouth; from whence he is to despatch an officer eastward as far as the Coppermine River, which he visited on his last expedition; and Captain F. himself will stretch to the westward, and endeavour to make his way to Icy Cape. If all these plans are carried into full execution, the whole north coast of America will be ascertained. The practical uses of the discovery I leave to your Excellency's consideration.

But I must not conclude without mentioning also that Captain Beechey is now fitting out for an expedition to the South Pole, or for such land as he may find in those parts of the globe. Meanwhile Captain Lord Byron has sailed in the "Blonde".

* At the Mexican revolution Iturbide had been made Emperor of Mexico.

with the mortal remains of their Majesties the King and Queen of the Sandwich Islands, to be deposited in their native country. From the learned I have heard that a considerable trade is carrying on, and may be increased in British ships from Europe to the Pacific, where our Sandwich friends may do us much service, and save the Americans the trouble of selling them their wares at higher prices. . . . .

My dear Lord, most truly and most faithfully yours, C.

Wednesday, Nov. 3rd.—Returned to London.

FROM LORD REDESDALE.

Batsford, Nov. 16th.

My dear Lord,— . . . . As the papers have announced your attending the nomination of Sheriffs, I conclude that you are in winter quarters, and may know something, or at least may *have heard* something, of things in general. And, as the newspapers are our ordinary informants, and generally contradict each other, and not seldom contradict themselves, their information is of little use. Judging from all that I learn of Ireland, both from correspondents and from newspapers, it seems to me in a very alarming state. The lenity of Lord Cornwallis, after the rebellion of 1796, tended greatly to the encouragement of future rebellion, and his Anti-Orangism led to his total neglect of Protestants, and even of those Roman Catholics who had shown any symptoms of loyalty to a Protestant Government. Most of his successors have trod, more or less violently, in his steps. The Catholics are treated as an injured people, and the Protestants as tyrannical oppressors, as persons who are to be put down. With conciliation ever on their lips, they have done that which makes conciliation impossible. It seems to me almost certain that a battle must be fought, unless Parliament can be prevailed on to concede everything, Establishment and all. And if so much should be conceded, what will be the relative situations of Great Britain and Ireland? The Catholic Association already demand a repeal of the Union. Will they be content without it? That obtained, how long will a Catholic Parliament in Ireland act in political union with a Protestant Parliament and Protestant Government in England? Lord Fingal once said he wished the Reformation had gone further, or not so far. And he probably meant, either that Ireland should have been made a Protestant country, or that the Establishment should have remained with the Catholic Church.

Could Queen Elizabeth have maintained herself in Ireland if she had left the Establishment in the hands of the Roman Catholic priests? and could she, losing Ireland, have maintained herself in England? These are questions which I have put to many, and which no man has yet ventured to answer. I conclude, therefore, that the transfer of the Establishment in Ireland to a Protestant clergy was an act of necessity. Is the state of things so materially different now that what was then necessary with respect to the Establishment, is now no longer necessary? That Ireland, with a Roman Catholic Establishment, a Roman Catholic Parliament, separate from the Parliament of Great Britain, will remain united with Great Britain? The Catholic Board already boast the assurance of foreign assistance, and bid us look to the consequences of a continental war.

Have those Ministers who favoured the Catholic question ventured to say in Parliament one word upon this important part of the question? It seems necessary to call upon them "to speak out upon it, to tell us plainly what they mean, to open out fully their plan." I believe they would, if so called upon, be compelled to silence, or to confess, as Mr. Pitt honestly confessed his own weakness, that they have no plan. What I read or hear every day assures me that they have no plan, and they should be driven to confess it. . . . .

Very truly yours, REDESDALE.

Nov. 19*th.* — In this day's *Morning Post* appeared the first letter of Æneas Macdonnell, styling himself the confidential agent of the Roman Catholic Association in Ireland; a long, violent, and disputatious performance.

21*st.* — Called on Sir Charles Stuart. The government of Madras has been offered to Sir Charles Stuart, who hesitates to accept it, as being beneath his rank after filling the Embassy at Paris for nearly ten years.

N.B. In a letter from Lady Elizabeth Stuart, after their return from a visit to the King at Windsor, she says "the King told Sir Charles he had predicted that he (Sir Charles) would refuse Madras."

24*th.* — Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt called upon me. He had just left the King, with whom he found Sir William Knighton, who said, without ceremony or circumlocution, to the King upon some subject, "It is not so; I

know it is not so." He then proceeded, "I am glad Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt is here, I have a question to ask him." The King replied, "You may ask him what questions you please, he is the poorer man for having known me;" and thereupon he held out his hand to Sir Thomas to be kissed, who kissed it accordingly.

Sir Charles Stuart, when recalled, having written to express his regret and surprise that he should have received so abrupt a dismission after so long and faithful a service, was assured that his Majesty was perfectly contented with his services, but that other arrangements rendered the change at Paris necessary, &c. &c. To which Sir Charles replied, that he was happy to find that he still enjoyed his Majesty's favour, and professed his readiness to serve the Crown *in any quarter of the globe;* whereupon Madras was offered.

Mr. Browne's discovery of a power to be created by a gas vacuum superior to the power of steam, and without any lateral pressure to endanger the machine by bursting, is to be exhibited next week. Mr. Browne was brought up under Brunel, the inventor of the block-cutting machinery.

The prevailing idea is that Lord Liverpool will soon retire on account of the state of his health. That Canning's visit to Ireland was with a view to arrangements with Lord Wellesley for removing to England, and to make way for Lord Bristol, whom Canning visited in Suffolk last week.

FROM LORD REDESDALE.

Batsford, Nov. 18th, 1824.

My dear Lord,— . . . . . I am glad to find that the Chancellor is so well. His continuance in office at the present time, I think of public importance, politically considered. I also fear that, with all his faults, the Court of Chancery would suffer from his retirement.

The Vice-Chancellor *, I fear, will not rally, and though he has many faults, it will not be easy to supply his place, unless people will be content with a quiet judge who will do the duty tolerably

* Leach.

well in a humdrum way. Such a judge is not a bad judge, but humdrum is not the fashion of the day. The dash is more in vogue.

We have odd reports on the Speaker, and there is a rumour that he is to be placed elsewhere, and that Charles Williams Wynn is to succeed him. It is said that Canning wishes to shove Wynn out of the Cabinet.

Irish politics, I think, will most puzzle our Ministers. The *Catholic question* seems to have gone so far as to alarm many who were friendly to Catholic emancipation, and the lawless state of Ireland seems to render it difficult to contend that the claims of the Catholics, yielded to a certain extent, can be bounded by law. If fear is to operate, what bounds can be set to the operation of fear? It is extraordinary how little men profit by the experience of former times, or even of their own times. Many of the first reformers in France, many of the first reformers in Spain, meant well; but to what excesses were they carried? In our own country, in the reign of Charles I., it is clear that two-thirds of the House of Commons did not mean to produce what happened, and were gradually expelled by the other third. Violence, carried to extremes, always produces counteraction. The violence of the Exclusionists in Charles II.'s reign, produced the tyranny of his last years. Men fled from petty tyrants to the throne. The violence of the Catholic Board may probably produce a counteraction. But the folly of the Roman Catholic priests in Ireland engaging in a war of words on the use of the Bible seems to me, on their part, the height of folly. Will it not produce among their people a desire to read the interdicted book? Do not children always desire to do what they are forbidden to do? And is not a Roman Catholic treated by his priest as a child? If Catholic emancipation can be resisted with a high hand, so as to render its attainment hopeless, may not the men of sense among the Catholics be disgusted by their priests refusing to let them read the Bible, and emancipate themselves in another way? The Catholic rent, too, seems to me to have a tendency to the same end. Archbishop Broderick frequently said that he thought the plunder of the priests would, in the end, make Protestants. The purse is always a tender thing. If they cannot hope to plunder the Protestants, will they long submit to be so plundered? I think the Catholic rent will extinguish itself. Many Jacobite families contributed for a long time to support the Pretender by remittances. These remittances gradually fell from 40,000*l.* a year to 4000*l.* a year. And then the head of a Jacobite family whom I knew said, "Why

am I to pay double taxes?" and discontinued his subscription. *The tax converted him*, and I think the Catholic rent, added to the extortion of the priests, may convert many in Ireland. I urged this against giving pay to the Roman Catholic priests to save the poor from this oppression; I thought the oppression was the best preacher of Protestantism. If an effectual stand can now be made, I think the danger will be over, and that some exertions to enforce obedience to law in Ireland, joined to the violence of the Catholic Board, and to the oppression of the priests, may still Protestantise Ireland. . . . . .

Truly yours, REDESDALE.

FROM MR. BANKES.

Kingston Hall, Nov. 20th.

Dear Colchester, — When you have satisfied yourself by the books you have now access to, I shall beg you to instruct me with the result of your inquiries as to the articles of Limerick.* I looked into Dalrymple's Memoirs and Somerville's History without finding anything to the purpose; but my own general impression, I know not whence derived, is that there was a want of good faith on the part of the King's Government in the execution of them.†

The Catholic rent is a most efficient and dangerous instrument in the hands of those whose end is mischief. I fear that legally it can hardly be distinguished from other voluntary contributions, by which we see an endless variety of objects, good and bad, wise and foolish, promoted and pursued. It will be curious to observe what language the members of our divided Cabinet will hold upon this very important subject.

Demands naturally grow with the probability of their accom-

* The Treaty of Limerick, at the beginning of the reign of William III. (Oct. 3rd, 1691), was divided into two parts — one military, one civil. By the military articles it was agreed that such Irish soldiers as wished to go to France should be conveyed thither. By the civil articles it was not stipulated that the Roman Catholics should be competent to hold any political or military office, or be admitted into any corporation; for those points, though earnestly pressed, had been expressly refused by Ginkell, as inconsistent with the constitution, but it was stipulated that they should enjoy "such privileges in the exercise of their religion as were consistent with the law, or as they had enjoyed in the reign of Charles II." — *Macaulay*, c. xvii.

† In the session of the English Parliament, which opened Oct. 19th, 1691, a Bill was passed through the House of Commons which contained some clauses inconsistent with the civil articles of this treaty, but they were objected to in the Lords, and upon a conference the Lords' amendments were, with some slight modifications, agreed to. — *Macaulay*, c. xviii.

plishment. It cannot have escaped you that some of their leading orators begin to find that a Catholic emancipation, as they term it, is not enough, but that other concessions are also required before they can be restored to a state of constitutional freedom. . . . . Yours most sincerely,

H. BANKES.

Friday, Dec. 2nd. — Dined and slept at Lord Sidmouth's.

After the close of the last session, repeated discussions took place in the Cabinet upon the proposed immediate recognition of Buenos Ayres. Lord Liverpool, urged by Canning and Huskisson, prevailed upon the rest, except Lord Sidmouth, the Duke of Wellington, and the Chancellor, to recommend it to the King; the Duke of Wellington and the Chancellor yielding, but Lord Sidmouth still protesting. The King, upon receiving the minute, expressed his surprise at the apparently *unanimous* opinion; the minute, though not so expressed, apparently implying it. A correspondence followed between Canning and Lord Sidmouth. I saw their respective letters of July 28th, 29th, 30th, and 31st. In the end the King was informed of the difference of opinion (but *not* by Lord Sidmouth); and, in fact, no recognition took place, nor any treaty of commerce, which had been suggested by the Duke of Wellington as a middle term.

Nothing further passed during the summer except cards of call from Canning and Huskisson, but none from Lord Liverpool or any of the Ministers. The Duke of Wellington, however, admitted that the commercial treaty was not the proper course, and in a visit at Early Court, told Lord Sidmouth that he (Lord Sidmouth) was perfectly right throughout.

N.B. Canning's letter of July 29th was very dry, and had a very peevish postscript about the inconvenience of Lord Sidmouth's coming or not coming to Cabinets when summoned, arising, in the instance now noticed, out of a mere mistake.

On Friday last (Nov. 26th) Lord Sidmouth, who

had not attended the two Councils which were holden at Carlton House in that week, wrote to Lord Liverpool, requesting him to acquaint his Majesty with Lord Sidmouth's desire to be released from any further attendance at Cabinets, as his constant residence in the country necessarily rendered his attendance at Cabinets more precarious and irregular than was consistent with the duty he owed to his Majesty's service, and to his own satisfaction.

On Monday, the 29th November, Lord Liverpool expressed his regret and concern at Lord Sidmouth's determination, and at the cessation of that uninterrupted communication upon public affairs which had continued for so many years, but that "if domestic arrangements rendered it inconvenient to him to give the same attendance at Cabinets [and, N.B. in the House of Lords], he could not blame his decision, and he would lay Lord Sidmouth's letter before his Majesty."

And so Lord Sidmouth is now out of the Government; and he proposes to communicate this to the Duke of York, as well as to others of his friends.

I asked him what he should do, and where he should sit in the House of Lords. He said he should certainly attend there frequently, and not sit upon the Treasury bench, but either on the bench below the fire, or perhaps on the cross bench, as heretofore.

The *general* argument against the recognition of South American independence is that Great Britain and her allies in Europe have been for twenty years past united to put down revolutions and revolts; and to give an avowed sanction now to the independence of the South American colonies of Spain, while there are armies in the field, Royalist and Revolutionist, is to do the very thing so loudly complained of by us, when France and Spain interfered in our contest with our North American colonies.

The *particular* argument *for* recognising the independence of Buenos Ayres stands upon this ground: that Buenos Ayres has, *de facto*, been independent of

the mother country for several years. To this it is answered: But Colombia and Peru are still fighting with each other, and the issue is doubtful. To this it is rejoined: Colombia and Peru form a separate and remote case, unconnected with that of Buenos Ayres. The refutation of this follows, viz. that, as we know, Buenos Ayres did march an army into Chili, not long since, to assist in the conquest of Peru, the cases cannot be so far separated as to make it an unreasonable expectation that the Royalists, if victorious in Peru, would in like manner march downwards upon Buenos Ayres.

3rd.—Met Mr. Wallace (Master of the Mint) in the Park, just returned from Ireland and Scotland; having matured the plan for which he was appointed a commissioner, by bringing the revenue of all parts of the United Kingdom under one central management in London.

This morning he has been impressing on Lord Liverpool, as the result of his own impartial and unprejudiced observation whilst in Ireland, the indispensable and urgent necessity of adopting at once some decisive measures for establishing a firm Government there; and, whether for concession or coercion, the present Government there must be broken up, or the Union is at an end. The Protestants and Roman Catholics are more completely separated than ever; the priesthood rule the populace; and the issue of the Bible Society contests has been to make the Presbyterians join the Established Church in one common resistance to the Roman Catholics.

6th.—Lord Sidmouth showed me the Chancellor's answer to his communication of having withdrawn from the Cabinet; and told me that Lord Bathurst had to-day expressed his surprise at not seeing him at the Cabinet, Lord Liverpool never having mentioned the fact of his departure.

7th.—Sir Charles Flint showed me some private letters from Ireland, representing even the North to be

in great alarm, and all Protestant families in Antrim getting rid of their Roman Catholic servants. Troops are moving down towards Limerick; the guns, &c., at Dublin are putting in order; the Lord-Lieutenant's accounts are all full of the improved state of public affairs; the Roman Catholic Association have published a pacificatory address to the Roman Catholic population, full of inflammatory matter.

Private letters from India are full of alarm on account of the Burmese irruption into Chittagong, and their menacing approach on the side of Calcutta.

10*th.*—Lord Sidmouth called, and talked over Lord Liverpool's neglect of his own promises respecting the arrangements for Bragge Bathurst's family two years ago; also the neglect of making the stipulated provision for the son (natural son, called nephew) of Captain Wright, R.N., who distinguished himself at Acre, and was afterwards murdered in the Temple at Paris. Poor Captain Wright, the son, is recently dead, and has left his widow with only the Commanders' Widows' Pension of 70*l.* a year, and four small children. Lord Sidmouth urges the continuation of the pension of 100*l.* a year intended for Captain Wright to be given to his eldest son. I told him of the Treasury grant of 1200*l.* to Sir M. Maxwell, in compensation for his charges in carrying out Lord Amherst to China, and desired him to press Harrison of the Treasury, who had announced the grant, also to pay it to Lady Maxwell.

He read me a letter from the South of Ireland, full of apprehensions of the renewal of the scenes of 1798, and the attempt at fulfilling Pastorius's prophecies of the extirpation of the Protestants in 1825.

15*th.*—Left London for Kidbrooke.

20*th.*—O'Connell, the leader of the Roman Catholic Association in Dublin, is held to bail for words spoken on the 16th inst. about Bolivar,—"and Ireland, if persecuted to madness, will not want a like leader."

LETTER FROM THE REV. HANS HAMILTON, D.D.

Vicarsfield, Knocklopton, Dec. 13th.

My Lord,—Though I feel convinced that your Lordship must be well acquainted with the state of our unhappy country from what appears in the public prints, as well as from your correspondents in Ireland, yet I trust you will excuse the liberty I take in addressing you on the subject, and stating some facts which have recently occurred in this parish, and which too plainly show what the Roman Catholics really aim at. For these some Sundays past, *strangers* have attended at the Roman Catholic chapels in this parish, who have harangued the congregation from the altar on the subject of Catholic rent; telling them that it was for the purpose of defending them against the Orangemen, and building school-houses for their children; for breaking their chains, and restoring their political rights. At one chapel the speaker told them "the Orangemen wanted blood, and that they should have blood enough." At another, "*that they had George the Fourth at their back*, and that the Duke of Norfolk would burst their chains, and enable them to rush into the House of Commons."

The priests have also, for some time, *preached* in the same strain, but in an equivocal way, however well understood by their flocks. Their subject has been the Day of Judgment, on which they took occasion to warn them to be *prepared* and *ready* whenever *called upon*. That they could not tell the moment at which they might be called; that they must all be decided, and act together when called on; that a great and important day was at hand,

One of them declared in his sermon yesterday that they would soon have work enough to do, and blood to spill, and that he would himself lead the way. They do all they can to inflame the minds of their people against the Protestants, and lead them to suppose that a great crisis is at hand, when they are to be extirpated.

My Protestant parishioners say they never knew the minds of the Papists to be in such a state as they now are. That they make no secret of what they expect, the downfall of the Protestants. They appear to be panic-struck, nor can I be surprised at it; they are a few poor peasants settled among a numerous Popish population, by whom they are continually insulted, and who will have no dealings with them but what they cannot avoid.

In truth, my Lord, I am convinced that unless Government

takes some decided steps towards putting down this *imperium in imperio* which they have established, and that speedily, the consequences may be dreadful. Several Protestant gentlemen, I really believe through fear, *are paying the rent*, and recommending their tenants to do the same. Protestant tradesmen are threatened with loss of business, and are forced to comply, so that if Government do not interfere, the whole kingdom will come under their taxation. The purposes for which it is levied are evident, and are now no longer concealed; and I make no doubt that, when they feel themselves strong enough, they will proclaim war. They have already, and for some time, received money from abroad, and they now threaten us with foreign troops. It is, I believe, well known that all their plans have been formed and carried on by the Jesuits at Clongowes in Ireland, and Stonyhurst in England; and in a way which evades discovery; all by personal communications, nothing being committed to writing. The lower orders are not acquainted with the plan, but are sworn to be ready when called on, and to obey orders, *whatever they may be*, and let the consequences be what they will. They are now observing a particular fast, and a jubilee is proclaimed for the new year, 1825, when the prophecy of Pastorius is to be fulfilled. In fact, their minds are in such a state of enmity and expectation, that, humanly speaking, nothing can prevent their bursting out but the presence of a strong force in the country. At present the country parts are destitute of troops, and, in case of a rising the constabulary force would be overcome and disarmed. There ought to be a strong garrison in every provincial town, with detachments stationed through the country, at such distances that, on a disturbance in any district, they could afford aid in that quarter. The Popish Colleges, Maynooth, Clongowes, and Carlow, particularly ought to be closely watched; and, in the event of a rising in any parish, the priest and his coadjutor ought to be instantly seized as *hostages*, as they have now proved that they have such influence over their flocks that they could in a moment either excite or quell a rebellion among them, and, therefore, they ought to be made responsible for their conduct.

I fear, my Lord, I may appear presumptuous in thus intruding my opinion upon your Lordship, but knowing as I do the state of this country, and having been not an unobservant spectator of what has taken place since the rebellion of 1798, and being fully aware of what the object of the Roman Catholics of Ireland has ever been, and which is now being fully developed, I cannot avoid addressing your Lordship on this subject *in con-*

fidence, understanding from my friend Mr. . . . the interest you take in the welfare of Ireland. In some years past I have had frequent communications with him and Mr. . . . on the subject, personally and by letter; and I believe they can state that matters have turned out exactly as I said they would some years ago, from the system that was then pursued. I told Mr. Grant, shortly after his arrival in Ireland, what was going forward under the direction of the Jesuits, and what their designs were: and I took the liberty of putting him on his guard respecting persons who, I thought, would give him a very false idea of the real state of Ireland. I fear events have proved that I was not mistaken, nor were my fears without foundation.

Believe me, with sincere respect,
Your Lordship's faithful servant, &c. HANS HAMILTON.

FROM MR. BANKES.

Kingston Hall, Dec. 27th.

Dear Colchester,— . . . What say you to the vigour of the Irish Government beginning to show itself in the prosecution of O'Connell? Supposing that the words, as printed, can be proved, it is extremely doubtful whether, in this country, a verdict can be obtained; but even in the case of success, the Catholic rent, which is the real cause of alarm, remains untouched, and nothing but a superior degree of prudence and caution will be taught to its advocates and orators.

No declaration had been made at Cambridge with regard to the Speaker's intentions, when I last heard from thence, but a general opinion prevailed that he is not likely to offer himself at the next election. . . . . .

Yours most sincerely, H. BANKES.

FROM MR. BUTTERWORTH.

Clapham Common, Dec. 22nd.

My dear Lord,— . . . I have letters from various parts of Ireland, and they all concur in opinion that a crisis is at hand. Major Warburton, the head of the police, in his district in Connaught, is a fearless man; but he has found it necessary to bring his family to England. The Protestants are leaving their houses in the country parts, and seeking an asylum in the towns, where they can do it. I find that troops are going over to Ireland: and I have heard that the Duke of Wellington is also going on a visit to his mother.

A very curious piece of information has very accidentally fallen into my way, by which I find that there is a Roman Catholic Association in England and Scotland. I intend to give Mr. Peel a ticket of admission, which is in my possession, and which fell out of the pocket of a labourer in the factory of a friend of mine near Soho Square.

Very faithfully yours, JOS. BUTTERWORTH.

FROM DR. HAMILTON.

Vicarsfield, Dec. 29th, 1824.

My Lord,— . . . . . I find more reason every day to confirm me in the opinion I already stated, that the priests are the instigators, and will be the leaders in the rebellion, if matters are permitted to go so far; and I verily believe, from what I can learn from my parishioners, that many of the people are well disposed to be quiet, if the priests would let them alone. They have now put it into their heads, that the Protestants are to be destroyed *by fire from heaven*, and that they, the Roman Catholics, are to wait for orders from God, who will direct them how to act: that is, that they are to be directed by their priests, who are prepared to follow the directions of the Association, which is, I presume, an organ of the Jesuits. Your Lordship has no doubt heard of the arrival of some Italian Jesuits in Dublin a short time ago. There appears to be no notice taken of them, though there can be no doubt of their coming on some secret mission. I find the Roman Catholics growing less communicative, and I understand they are ordered to be silent, under pain of being expelled the society, which shows that they are actually leagued together against the Protestants. The priest I mentioned to your Lordship as having told the people at his chapel that he was prepared to head them, has since repeated the same in another chapel in this parish, where he had a wake for three days for his mother, who died about ten days ago, and where they consumed fifty-seven gallons of whisky, at the cost of 18*l.*, *paid by him*; during which time he spoke freely to them of the approaching downfall of the Protestants, &c. . . .

A Roman Catholic told me this day that he was sure there would be some dreadful work; that the people were instigated by the priests; and that there was no use reasoning with them, for whatever the priest desired them to do, they must and would do. He lamented it, he said, greatly; that he thought it would not signify if only the lower orders were engaged, as they would be easily put down; but when such men as Lord Clifden,

and his son, Mr. Agar, were engaged in it, it would be very serious. He alluded to Lord Clifden having subscribed to the rent, which he and others have done, to secure the Roman Catholic interest at the next election; but they naturally conclude that whoever pays the rent is on their side. And I regret to say, that many gentlemen, some of them magistrates, have done so. . . . . .

Your Lordship's faithful servant, HANS HAMILTON.

Since I concluded my letter, I have heard a very extraordinary circumstance; that, within these last two years, *several masks*, in fact all that were in Waterford, had been purchased from time to time, and all by Roman Catholic priests from the country, who, on buying them, put them into the crowns of their hats, and thus carried them away.

CHAP. LXIX.

1825.

DEATH OF THE KING OF NAPLES. — SIR C. STUART SENT AS AMBASSADOR TO BRAZIL. — POLITICAL CONVERSATION WITH LORD HARROWBY. — DECAY OF THE KING'S HEALTH. — COMMITTEE ON THE STATE OF IRELAND. — VIOLENCE OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC PRIESTS IN IRELAND. — BILL FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION. — CONVERSATION WITH LORD ELDON. — THE BUDGET. — REDUCTION OF TAXES. — ROMAN CATHOLIC CLAIMS CARRIED IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS. — O'CONNELL'S APPEARANCE, MANNER, ETC. — LORD LIVERPOOL STEADY AGAINST ROMAN CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION. — ELOQUENCE OF BISHOP BLOMFIELD.

AT the beginning of January news reached England of the death of Ferdinand, King of Naples.

The British Government recognised the independence of Brazil, Mexico, and Columbia.

The United States of America refused to ratify our Slave Trade Treaty with the right of search.

Thursday, Jan. 20*th.* — I returned to London.

22*nd.*—From Sir Charles Stuart, recently appointed on a special mission to the Emperor of Brazil, I heard that a general expectation prevails, and Brougham declares it as his opinion, that Canning "will sneak out of his former part of advocating Roman Catholic emancipation;" that Lord Liverpool is entirely in Canning's hands, and crouches to him on all points. Appointments of all sorts are lavished upon the friends of Opposition.

(N.B. Sir Charles said that every young man put about him whilst at Paris was by Opposition interest.)

Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt, whom I met in the street, had seen the King this morning, who complains of the peremptory tone in which the Ministers require him to open the session "in person," and go to the two theatres,

although he is inwardly suffering from the gout and rheumatism. Lord Liverpool is expected to put passages in the King's Speech representing the necessity of coercive measures in Ireland, and to move the appointment of a large Committee, before which he will lay a full view of the real state of Ireland, as preparatory to some Bill of Coercion. It is thought that the Opposition Lords will upon this secede from the Committee and oppose any such Bill in the House. All agree that the situation of Ireland is perilous in the extreme, and that the troops now raising for India may be shortly wanted to quell insurrection.

28*th*. — A Bill is prepared against the beginning of the session to increase the Judges' salaries, and to abolish fees and sale of offices. The Chief Justice of the King's Bench is to have 8000*l*. a year nett, the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas 7000*l*., the Chief Baron 6000*l*., and every Puisne Judge 5000*l*.

N.B. The salary of the Chief Justice of the King's Bench was afterwards fixed at 10,000*l*.*

29*th*. — Attended Privy Council to consider of the course of proceeding in Serjeant Rough's case, and also as to Buckingham's case on the free press in India. The practice of the Privy Council appeared to be that Indian Privy Councillors were always summoned to the Committees of Trade, Coin, and Indian affairs; but all appeals are referred generally to a Committee, and thereupon the Lord President summons whom he pleases, according to the nature of the appeals and the probability of attendance; but it is obvious that in possible cases this might put the Lord President under great difficulties in making a selection for a particular occasion, or overwhelm the Board as a Court, if Privy Councillors were to attend. And it appeared to be worth consideration whether it would not be advisable to have a large but limited list of Privy Councillors, out of whom any who had most leisure might be sum-

* And subsequently reduced to 8000*l*.

moned to attend on ordinary occasions, and the whole number upon questions of great public moment.

31*st.*—Had a long conversation with Lord Harrowby on Privy Council business, and on Ireland.

On the Privy Council I told him my opinion that in the present absolute deficiency of all assistance from the principal clerks, Buller and Greville, who knew nothing of the commonest proceedings, and the loss of all official experience in the details of business since the deaths of Cottrell and Fawkener, who were models of accuracy and funds of information, he owed to himself and the office he had filled * for so many years, to order the best of the under-clerks to put together, under his own instructions, some memoranda of the modern jurisdiction and proceedings of the Privy Council, which, from a sheet full of general heads which he might dictate, they could fill up with proper references to the Record Minute Books, &c. &c., preserved in the office, to which should be added or prefixed some brief notice of the earlier branches of jurisdiction once exercised by the Council Board, and long since fallen into disuse, but which, nevertheless, might be occasionally useful in explaining or filling up existing forms, &c.

To all this he fully assented, pleading only his own want of time to frame such instructions, and the dispersion of the books during the present interval between the pulling down of the old office and the completion of the new building. I offered, "under his instruction," to see to the execution of such a plan, but the matter broke off at that point.

As to Ireland, in renewing the Irish Committee of Inquiry this year, he thought it should be well understood that it was *not* the business of the Committee to report upon the Catholic question; that they should include Peers from the north of Ireland, as the inquiry professed now to be for the whole of Ireland; that in his view the Roman Catholic Association made Roman

* That of President of the Council.

Catholic concessions more necessary than ever; that stipendiary provision for the Roman Catholic priests (like the *regium donum* for Dissenters) was essentially necessary to place their influence on the side of Government, &c. &c.; to which latter point I entirely dissented, as only giving them more power as an endowed Church, which power they were sure to turn against the Protestant Church.

He mentioned that, when at Rome last autumn, he found Cardinal Sommaglia, the Pope's Secretary of State, firmly persuaded that the Orangemen were murdering the poor Roman Catholics all over Ireland, till Lord Harrowby set him right on this absurd and ignorant notion.

Baron de Reden and Count Munster plume themselves prodigiously on their Hanoverian Concordat. Lord Harrowby said that there was no court in Europe where it was more important for us to have an acknowledged ambassador than at Rome.

Wednesday, Feb. 2nd.—Met Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt. The King's gout totally disables him from opening the session in person; also he does not like the speech proposed for him; *speechum catticissimum*, as he called it in dog Latin, to prevent Sir William Knighton from understanding him. He would not have delivered it in its present state. Lord Landerdale is not in the Cabinet, but has as much weight in the issue of its deliberations as if he were. The run is at Canning. Great dissensions even yesterday.

Also saw Lord Chichester. The King is, moreover, disabled by the state of his mouth, and the recent loss of the few teeth which held the false teeth; and there is not time enough now to make a proper supply for this defect.

3rd.— Parliament opened with a speech by Commission. Lord Dudley made an eloquent speech in moving the Address. Lord Lansdowne reserved himself upon the proposed Bill for putting down the Roman Catholic Association. Lord Liverpool announced his Bill, and motion for a renewed Committee

on the state of Ireland, for this day se'nnight. No amendment; no division; and not a very full House.

8*th.* — Lord Lansdowne moved for copies of Lord Wellesley's despatches respecting the Roman Catholic Association: motion negatived by 42 to 20.

10*th.* — House of Lords. Lord Holland vapoured about the impropriety of printing the standing orders of the House, and Stat. Henry VIII., but made no motion. Irish Committee renewed, with an understood exclusion of reporting upon the Roman Catholic question, although with perfect liberty to inquire and report upon facts which may bear upon that question. The same Committee as last year, with Lord Clare (vice Lord Aberdeen, abroad) and the Duke of Devonshire (vice Lord Fitzwilliam, declining to serve).

11*th.* — Attended the first meeting of the Lords Committee on the state of Ireland: a general conversation upon the course of evidence to be adduced. Lord Harrowby in the chair, proposed printing the index framed under my direction for the evidence of last year. It was resolved to meet twice a week, viz. Wednesdays and Fridays from twelve till four. Discussion upon calling before us Mr. Peel, as Home Secretary; Mr. Goulburn, as Chief Secretary for Ireland; the Attorney-General, Mr. Plunkett; the Chief Justice of the King's Bench in Ireland; the Archbishop of Dublin; the Archbishop of Tuam: some magistrates and land agents to be summoned immediately.

12*th.* — Saw Mr. Courtenay, the Master in Chancery, who had pressed for a report from the Chancery Commission, of which he is a member, viz. upon one branch, "the office of Master," in the matter of which the Commissioners were all agreed; but the Chancellor would not allow it. It was proposed that some report, and such as this, should be presented unasked for on the second day of the session: it was not presented; complaints have been made; and what is now to come will not be ready for some months, and then with appearance of reluctance.

Saw the Bishop of Exeter on the Unitarian Marriage Bill. When it comes to the House of Lords he will propose the same amendment (as to entering such marriages in the bishop's register, instead of in the parochial register), as he intended last year.

Saw Cowper. He told me what I had not heard—that on the day when Lord Strangford took his seat as Lord Penshurst, on the 3rd inst., the Duke of Norfolk, acting as Earl Marshal, attended in his *Parliamentary robes of Duke*, to introduce the new Peer. Upon this being mentioned to the Lord Chancellor, then sitting in his private room with his brother, Lord Stowell, he sent for Cowper, who assured him it was totally irregular, for no Peer who had not taken his seat could come into the House in his Peer's robes, except for the purpose of taking the oaths and his seat, which the Duke of Norfolk notoriously did not intend to do. But nevertheless, when the Duke of Norfolk entered in procession with Lord Penshurst, the Chancellor allowed him so to appear, and to proceed in the execution of his office, without objection. Lord Holland, with whom Cowper remonstrated, came prepared with two or three more Lords, to support his assumed right; and alleged for the Duke's justification that he had his writ in his pocket; a paltry subterfuge, for everybody knew that he did not come there, even if he had the writ, with any intention of presenting it.

It is true that, in a new Parliament, all Peers who have ever taken their seats appear in the King's presence robed before they take their oaths afresh; but it is also true that none such come robed, unless they have previously taken their seats.

The other day the parish priest of Cove, in the county of Cork, denounced the Petty Sessions from the altar, in presence of Doctor Coppinger, the Roman Catholic bishop, as mischievous courts, promoting perjury, &c. A very respectable magistrate who attended, and generally presided at those sessions in the Cove district, having remonstrated with the bishop on the impro-

priety of such a proceeding, received this reply: "I think the priest was right; if the disputes, &c., of the peasantry were left to their clergy to adjust, they would do it much better, as they formerly did."

A person of respectability, who was making great exertions to establish a school under the auspices of one of the school societies, and who only required the admission of the Douay Testament without notes to be read in the school, having heard that the priest had denounced from the altar all parents who should send their children to the school, was talking over the subject with two of the neighbouring peasants, of a decent description, and expressed himself as anxious to know their sentiments respecting the school. They both expressed a most earnest desire to send their children, but said they were afraid of disobeying the priest; and one of them declared that he "feared the priest more than God Almighty."

And, on another occasion, a decent woman under like circumstances, lamenting that she dared not send her children, said, "I declare to the Lord, the priest could wither the most flourishing tree with a look, and strike a human being dead with one glance."

FROM DR. HAMILTON.

Vicarsfield, Feb. 11th, 1825.

My Lord,—Since I had last the honour of addressing your Lordship, nothing particular has occurred in this neighbourhood. All appears tranquil; and to a person who was not aware of the spirit which exists unsubdued among the people, it would appear that peace was restored, and no danger was to be apprehended. But, my Lord, those who are acquainted with the country, and from long residence among the people know the spirit which has actuated them for many years, and has of late been greatly excited by the Catholic Association, and principally through their priests; a spirit decidedly hostile to the British Constitution, and to every loyal Protestant; those cannot be deceived by present appearances, which are the result of caution on the part of their leaders, who have employed the influence of the priests, which is great, to prevent any breaking out of

rebellion till their purposes are matured; but they are desired to be ready at a moment's notice; and are told that they will be informed by a voice from heaven when they are to act. We all know that the unfortunate, benighted people take the word of their priest as the voice of God; and that word will be their signal.

Not long ago, when expostulating with the parents of the Roman Catholic children in a school in this parish, under the Kildare Place Society, on the priests preventing their children from reading the New Testament, even in their own version, a most respectable clergyman, who is landlord of the property where the school is held, asked a very intelligent man, a land-surveyor, whether, if God commanded one thing and the priest another, he would think himself bound to obey God or the priest. His reply was, "We are bound to obey whatever our priest tells us;" which is, I verily believe, the opinion of all the lower orders, if not of others. In fact, the priests possess an influence over the minds of the people, by which they can turn them as they see fit; and, unless this influence is controlled, they will soon break through every barrier which stands in the way of their ascendency, which is their sole object, and which in their public speeches they almost avow.

Those who speak in Parliament of the present tranquillity of Ireland, forget that the plunder of arms still prevails in different parts of the kingdom, and that, of the numbers taken for several years, very few have been given up. It is well known also that pikes have been manufactured lately in different parts of Ireland, and that quantities of young trees have been cut down, which could have been done for no purpose but pike-handles. While this is the case, we cannot attribute the present partial tranquillity of Ireland to an abandonment of their traitorous systems and deep-laid plan of rebellion. The Catholic rent is still collected, and, though they call it a voluntary contribution, I will state a fact to your Lordship which lately came to my knowledge, having occurred in an adjoining parish, by which you may judge whether it can be called voluntary. A gentleman farmer, a Protestant, was applied to by the collector to subscribe to the rent; and on his refusal to do so, the collector said "he might do as he liked, but that he was desired to ask him, and, in case of his refusal, to report his name to the board."

Protestant petitions are now prepared for signatures in favour of emancipation. Those that are left at public rooms will, I understand, get but few signatures; but, if taken about to indi-

viduals, many, especially those in trade, will *be afraid to refuse*, as they will lose their business; and others fear being held up as marked men. To these considerations, combined with electioneering interests, I am certain they owe most of their Protestant rent and signatures of emancipation; and, after all, what can they expect to accomplish by their advocating this measure as to tranquillising the kingdom? The Roman Catholics have repeatedly declared that nothing but *unqualified* emancipation will satisfy them; that anything short of this they consider an insult; that the constitution of Church and State in Ireland is to be surrendered to them, and the forfeited estates restored. Now, if the advocates for emancipation are not prepared to grant this, why disturb the peace of the country and divide the Protestants, by the continual discussion of a question which cannot be settled to the satisfaction of either party? . . . . .

Your Lordship's most faithful servant,

HANS HAMILTON.

15*th*.—In the House of Commons. After four nights of debate, the Roman Catholic Association Bill was ordered to be brought in by 278 to 123.

In the House of Lords, Lord Liverpool talked to me of Lord Ellenborough's motion for examining the Irish Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and its inconvenience.

16*th*.—Irish Committee. Divided upon the question of summoning Chief Justice Bushe. Negatived by 11 to 5. I voted with the majority. N.B. Of the Irish Committee 13 vote for Roman Catholic emancipation, and 10 against it.

18*th*.—Irish Committee. Examined Mr. Frankland Lewis, M.P., late Commissioner for inquiring into the revenue of England and Ireland, and also of education in Ireland from 1821 to 1824. His evidence was full of important observations upon the state and progress of manufactures, and the temper of the people. Great advances have been made in manufactures, especially in the cotton trade, since 1822.

In the House of Lords. The Chancellor sent for me to his room, to ask my opinion upon hearing counsel on the petition of the Roman Catholic Association, as prayed by their petition to the House of Commons; which I held in common with Lord Harrowby and Lord

Melville, to be wholly inadmissible. And the Lord Chancellor remarked, as well might the Protestants' petition to be heard upon such a general measure of legislature.

19*th*.—Went to the Privy Council Office on Serjeant Rough's case. Sir James Mackintosh not being prepared to adduce the detailed parts of the written evidence in support of the appellant's case, it was adjourned to another day. Witnesses being in attendance, it was considered amongst the Lords of the Council how far they could *examine* witnesses *upon oath*. The cases produced by the Clerk of the Council (Mr. Buller) were few; but they showed that, in complaints against governors in colonies, witnesses had been examined in 1738, 1739, &c., though *not said whether on oath*. And also that directions had been given to examine witnesses upon interrogatories, and that affidavits sworn before a Master in Chancery had been received; all of which I doubt whether legal. Under stat. 38 Hen. VIII. special power is given to the Council in matters of treason to commit, and the parties charged are thereupon tried by the Commission of Oyer and Terminer, as if an indictment had been found by a grand jury. But a Committee of Council is not a "Court of Record;" and their former proceedings to examine upon oath taken before some other authority resembles the bygone usage of the House of Commons to examine "in the most solemn manner," *i.e.* upon oath, taken before some justice of the peace, as in Oates's plot, temp. Car. II. But the House of Commons has long since given up that practice as an unjustifiable proceeding and a mere subterfuge.

23*rd*.—Met at dinner Lord Gosford, Sturges Bourne, Charles Grant, &c., all favourers of the Roman Catholic claims, and all agreeing in the increased aversion of the people of England to any further concession.

In the Irish Committee, which examined Mr. Leslie Foster to-day, Mr. Foster stated (though it was not taken down at present) from his own minute examina-

tion of the population accounts (and other information), reckoned up by county, barony, and parish throughout Ireland, that he did not err by 50,000 persons in the sum total when he set down the entire population of Ireland, and its proportionate division according to religions, at—

Roman Catholics	5,000,000
Protestants	1,800,000
Total	6,800,000

The Protestants of the Established Church he computed at double the number of Protestant Dissenters of all denominations; the Presbyterians frequenting indifferently churches or meeting-houses, according to their local convenience, or their good opinion of the officiating minister.

24*th.* — House of Lords. Lord Donoughmore presented a Roman Catholic petition for emancipation, signed by 100,000 persons, Viscount Gormanstoun at the head. Also Lord Lansdowne presented a Protestant petition in support of the former, signed by proprietors of great estates in Ireland, or resident landlords and merchants, headed by the Duke of Bedford, Marquis of Downshire, Earl of Meath, and the Latouche family, upon whom he pronounced warm panegyrics.

25*th.*—At the Parliamentary Offices examined the signatures to the Roman Catholic (Association) petition, which the Roman Catholic bishops signed with a +, the name, and D.D., but no title of bishop.

28*th.*—House of Lords. Irish Roman Catholic Association Bill brought up from the Commons and read a first time. Many petitions from Ireland against it; some for it; and two from the Archdeacons of Bath and Colchester. Bishop Blomfield spoke well in answer to Lord Holland, and stated the growth of Roman Catholic presumption in his diocese.

House of Commons. The Budget was opened. Taxes taken off, on spirits, rum, coffee, wines, iron, and the lowest assessed taxes on houses and windows.

Tuesday, March 1st. — House of Commons. Sir Francis Burdett this evening, against his own judgment, but at the instance of Lords Lansdowne and Brougham, brought forward the Roman Catholic question. Mr. Canning spoke early in the debate and briefly; and went away suffering from the gout. Division: For the motion, 247; against it, 234. Majority, 13.

2nd.—Irish Committee. Went through Mr. Blake's examination, he being a Roman Catholic adviser of Lord Wellesley, Chief Remembrancer of the Exchequer, and a Commissioner of Education. (N.B. Mr. Blake was the first Roman Catholic who ever enjoyed such an office. He is much concerned in Lord Wellesley's private affairs. Lord Wellesley was himself Chief Remembrancer, and got *full* compensation on the recent regulation of that office, it having been 8000*l.* a year, as I hear; and then appointed Mr. Blake according to the new system, which makes it 3000*l.* a year.)

In the Committee I asked Lord Liverpool, "Do you mean to give the Irish Roman Catholics their stipend out of the Consolidated Fund as proposed by Mr. Blake?" He answered, "Certainly not, unless they succeed in carrying the question upon their claims."

3rd. — House of Lords. Lord Caernarvon moved to hear counsel at the bar in support of the Irish Roman Catholic Association petition. Negatived by 69 to 23. Lord Liverpool moved the Unlawful Societies Bill. Read after a division of 146 to 44.

4th. — Irish Roman Catholic Association Bill committed. Lord Suffield's Bill for prohibiting the use of spring guns and traps for the protection of game read a second time.

7th. — House of Lords. Passed Irish Roman Catholic Association Bill without a division.

8th. — House of Lords. Attended Committee on the state of the law respecting the trial of peers for offences committed in Scotland, appointed on the motion of Lord Melville. I was placed in the chair. Read the Act of Union. A resolution, suggested,

added to, amended, &c., was directed to be circulated amongst all the members of the Committee and the discussion to be resumed on Saturday. Its object was to declare (in explanation or emendation of Stat. 6 Anne) that all offences committed by peers in Scotland should be tried, judged, and punished according to the law of Scotland. This and other resolutions upon subordinate points to be made the subject of a new Act.

9th. — Irish Committee. O'Connell examined for four hours, confined entirely to the state of the administration of justice, how far satisfactory or unsatisfactory, from the highest to the lowest jurisdiction, police included.

O'Connell appears to be about fifty-three or fifty-four years of age, a stout built man, with a black *wig*, and thin light-coloured eyebrows, above the middle stature, pale countenance, square features, blue eyes, reflecting expression of countenance ; his whole deportment affectedly respectful and gentle, except in a few answers, where he displayed a fierceness of tone and aspect. He has a considerable private fortune of 3000*l.* or 4000*l.* a year in the county Kerry, where his family have been long established, he has also a considerable practice at the bar, 4000*l.* a year more. He went the Munster circuit twenty-three or twenty-four years, but now only on special occasions.

10th. — In the House of Lords the Chancellor took me aside to say that the report was universally spread, that the Roman Catholic claims were to be conceded, and that Lord Liverpool himself was to bring in the Bill, all of which, though it might be utterly untrue, did infinite mischief throughout the country, and that Lord Liverpool ought publicly to explain himself.

11th. — Irish Committee. O'Connell was again examined for four hours on the effect of the disabilities of the Roman Catholics, and on the proposed State provision for the clergy; but with nothing of direct or indirect control over the appointment of the Roman

Catholic bishops; except that by law none should be nominated but natives of the British dominions, &c. He was also examined as to the abolition of forty shilling freeholds.

12*th*. — Committee of Lords on trial of peers for offences committed in Scotland.

Resolved, after discussion of many points, that the Lord Advocate be requested to prepare the heads of a Bill for explaining and amending Stat. 6 Anne, c. 23, relative to trial, &c.

Rode with the Bishop of London. A project was formed of an Education Company with 200,000*l*. capital in shares of 25*l*. each, for educating 2000 children. The Bishop declined being visitor, disapproving of these irregular associations under no efficient control.

The Archbishop of York told me, from Lord Harrowby, that the Concordat with the King of Hanover, gives him the power of rejecting any nomination to a Roman Catholic see.

17*th*. — The Lord Advocate and Solicitor-General for Scotland delivered in the draft of a Bill to explain and amend Stat. 6 Anne. Agreed to print it, and reconsider it this day se'nnight.

Saw Bankes. Yesterday Dr. Doyle* was examined by the Committee of the House of Commons on Ireland. He positively objected to any interference of a Protestant sovereign in the nomination or recommendation or control in choice of Roman Catholic clergy as prelates or parish priests; unwilling to receive any State provision, rejecting it absolutely unless equality of civil rights were given to the Roman Catholic laity, and even then would accept such provision only as permanently annexed to each benefice or dignity.

In the House of Lords, Lord Liverpool coming across the House to consult me about the necessity of the Crown's consent to public money being given as a provision for the Roman Catholic clergy, I took the

* Roman Catholic Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin.

opportunity of saying that, "I hoped there was no truth in the report that he had in any degree altered his mind about resisting the Roman Catholic claims to political power." To which he replied, "Certainly not, and those rumours have been contradicted." I rejoined, that I had seen paragraphs in the public papers both ways, and was glad to find the rumours of his change of sentiments unfounded. He said, "The Roman Catholic measures proposed were to be put into separate Bills."

18th. — Irish Committee. Examined Dr. Cooke, Moderator of the Synod of Ulster. He said the lower orders of Roman Catholics considered Emancipation as a restoration of the Roman Catholics to their lands; and the Protestants apprehended it as a renewal of the massacre of 1641.

24th. — Irish Committee. Examined Dr. Murray, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, and Dr. Curtis, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Armagh, and titular Primate of Ireland. The latter, a tall elderly gentleman, not backward in talking, assured us of some fact "upon my oath, — and more, — upon my honour."

I examined Dr. Murray as to the veto, such as the King of Hanover exercises, but he would not agree to that, "not knowing the circumstances of Hanover." Also as to the Regium exequatur on the publication of Bulls in Ireland: but that he would not agree to. As to toleration and the disclaimer of allowing any other mode of public worship than that of Rome, he equivocated; and when pressed with Bossuet's dicta in his History of the Variations, 6me Avertissement and Book x., he equivocated again, and said the power of the sword was only metaphorical.

25th. — House of Lords. Debate on presenting Clergy petitions. The Bishop of Chester (Dr. Blomfield) distinguished himself greatly in answering the vulgar sarcasms of Lord King.

27th. — News of the arrival of Captain Denham at

Tripoli, by a letter to his mother, that he had succeeded beyond his utmost expectation in his African discoveries.

28*th.* — Attended Committee of the House of Lords on trial of peers for offences committed in Scotland. Went through draft of the Bill, and ordered reprinting with amendments.

House of Lords. More sparring about petitions from the clergy against the Roman Catholic claims.

29*th.* — House of Lords. I presented a petition from the City of Oxford against the Roman Catholic claims.

CHAP. LXX.

1825.

LETTER FROM LORD CARBERRY. — DOCTRINE OF ABSOLUTION. — THE DUKE OF YORK'S SPEECH AGAINST ROMAN CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION. — THE KING'S DECLARATION ON THE SAME SUBJECT. — HIS CONVERSATION WITH LORD ELDON. — PASTORIUS'S PROPHECY OF THE EXTERMINATION OF THE IRISH PROTESTANTS. — EXAMINATION OF ARCHBISHOP MAGEE BEFORE IRISH COMMITTEE. — ROMAN CATHOLIC RELIEF BILL DEFEATED IN THE LORDS BY LORD COLCHESTER'S AMENDMENT. — LETTER FROM BISHOP BLOMFIELD. — CANNING'S VIEW OF THE CATHOLIC QUESTION. — CANADIAN CORN BILL.

THURSDAY, March 31st.—Left London for Kidbrooke.

LETTER FROM LORD CARBERRY.

Sunday morning, 27th.

My dear Lord,—I have been thinking much, as, I dare say, many of our Committee have, on that part of Dr. Doyle's evidence which related to the discipline, I believe he called it, of confession. He distinctly avowed that a priest was in no case at liberty to reveal anything declared to him in confession, either as to crime already committed, or intended to be committed, and that in the latter case he could not even warn the person against whom the design was meditated, or take any steps for his safety except through spiritual exhortation of the confessing person. We inquired no further, and I think we were very remiss in not following up that subject by two or three other questions, such as these: —

1. When a person has fully confessed, does he not receive absolution?

He would answer: If he be penitent.

2. Would he receive absolution if he still harboured the evil design?

He would probably answer: No.

3. If he came to confession after the perpetration of the deed, and expressed sorrow and penitence for it, would he then receive

absolution, supposing his guilt to remain secret, so that he could not be brought to justice in a criminal court?

Or, when would a person, under such circumstances, be entitled to absolution?

This frightful doctrine should be shown in all its deformity.

It appears to me a very short and clear way of accounting for many of those barbarous and bloody scenes which have disgraced Ireland. We have adjourned till after the recess; and, of course, can have no other opportunity of examining Dr. Doyle. Could any other means be devised of obtaining a further account of this *Christian Doctrine?*

Perhaps your Lordship may be at the House to-morrow, and in the meanwhile will turn this matter in your mind.

Most faithfully yours, CARBERRY.

FROM DR. HAMILTON.

Vicarsfield, March 25th, 1825.

My Lord,—Since I had last the honour of addressing your Lordship nothing particular has occurred in this quarter till last Sunday, when a remarkable circumstance took place. The Roman Catholic service generally terminates about twelve o'clock, when ours commences: so that, in going to church, we pass the Roman Catholic congregation coming from mass. However, on last Sunday coming out of church I perceived the street full of people, and proceeding towards home, I found the road equally so. This was at two o'clock. I inquired from one of my Roman Catholic neighbours if there had been a funeral, or where the crowd was coming from? when he replied that they were returning from prayers. I asked him how they happened to be so late, two hours after the usual time; when he replied that they had had *a sermon.* On making further inquiry the next day, I learned that a priest, not belonging to that chapel, had preached a very long sermon, the principal part of which was taken up with abuse of the Protestants, and renewing the order from the Pope that they should burn all Protestant pamphlets and tracts, and bring to the priest all the Bibles and Testaments they could obtain. This is all I have yet been able to come at, but I make no doubt in the course of two hours much was said to inflame the minds of the people. The Insurrection Act had been the week before taken off this county, and Mr. Lawless's protest against Mr. O'Connell had made its appearance. The priests take part with the former: and, if so,

nothing that Mr. O'Connell can propose will satisfy or quiet the country.

I fear much the examination of the Popish prelates before the Committees of Lords and Commons cannot prove useful, as (if not Jesuits themselves) they act in concert with Jesuits, whose stratagems are not confined even to Europe. . . . . .

I have the honour to be, &c. HANS HAMILTON.

FROM LORD CARBERRY.

Laxton Hall, April 4th.

My dear Lord,— Your note followed me to this place, where I remain during the recess.

I always thought we should have had some Roman Catholic bishop or dignitary of that Church from the south, where it is evident (if they will own it) their discipline and parochial regulations, as to fees and many other things, are so different from those in Leinster and the north. It is curious that but one ecclesiastic of rank should have been examined from the two provinces in which the Roman Catholic religion most generally prevails. Coppinger is too old; he cannot travel round his own diocese.

I should be more anxious for them if I thought we could get the candid truth from them; but I am convinced we do not, because I see the practice of the parochial clergy so diametrically opposite to what the bishops we have heard giving evidence state to be the rules of their Church.

If a gentleman speaks to a parish priest on any subject connected with his duties, for instance, strictness or severity in some matter, the priest always pleads the authority of his bishop, and the bishops seemed to say they had little control over the priest.

In a Limerick paper of March 30th, is the following paragraph: — "We understand the see of Rome has appointed the Rev. Mr. O'Finnan to be Coadjutor Roman Catholic Bishop of Limerick. He has been a long time resident at the see of Rome."

Is this an independent nomination of his Holiness, just now exerted to maintain his right? — a right which Bishop Doyle, I think, said had not been exercised for a long time.

Your very faithful, CARBERRY.

Tuesday, April 12th. — Returned to London.

14th. — House of Lords. I presented the Report of the Committee upon the law respecting the trial of

peers for offences in Scotland; and presented also a Bill (founded on that Report) for explaining and amending Stat. 6 Anne, c. 23, so far as relates to such offences.

15*th.*—House of Lords. Irish Committee. Examined Mr. Shaw Mason on the statistics of Ireland; and Colonel Rochefort on the magistracy; and Mr. Barrington, Clerk of the Crown on the Munster circuit, as to the administration of justice, &c. &c., as to undersheriffs, and the effects of civil process by custodias, &c.

20*th.* — Levée. The Duke of Norfolk walking about with his Earl Marshal's baton, but apparently unnoticed and knowing nobody. The King looking well.

21*st.* — Lords' Committee on Ireland. Re-examined Dr. Doyle.

Lord Liverpool told me of the Dissenters' petition; afterwards the Bishop of Chester presented a petition from one of three denominations of Dissenters — the Independents. Lord Holland gave notice of a Bill to repeal the law of forfeiture in treason.

In the House of Commons the Roman Catholic Relief Bill was read a second time by 268 to 241.

22*nd.* — Irish Committee. Examined Colonel Verner and Mr. Holt Waring upon the Orange Societies and their principles.

23*rd.* — Attended the Committee of Privy Council on the case of Serjeant Rough and Governor Murray; and it was left to me and (by my choice) Sturges Bourne, to draw up heads of a proposed report to be circulated for consideration, and finally settled this day se'nnight.

24*th.* — The day for the second reading of the Roman Catholic Relief Bill in the House of Lords is said to be fixed for May 13th.

25*th.* — Archbishop of Dublin came by appointment upon Irish Committee matters. I went with Sir Charles Long to Chantrey's. The price of Mr. Pitt's statue (not less than eleven feet high) in bronze, with a granite pedestal of at least equal height, and a suitable iron railing, is to be 7000*l*; to be paid 2000*l*. before July 9th,

1825; 2000*l.* by the same day 1827; and 3000*l.* by the same day 1829, if then completed, or when completed. The rest of the stock (about 14,000*l.*) to be paid afterwards to the University of Cambridge, in aid of the intended printing press there.

House of Lords. A full discussion on the Corn Laws and their proposed alterations; after which the Duke of York, in presenting a petition from the Dean and Canons of Windsor, made a speech of a quarter of an hour, declaratory of his opinion against conceding political power to the Roman Catholics; at the close of which he desired to be specially understood as speaking his own individual opinions, and no others; and then, after reading the Coronation oath and commenting upon it, he asserted that consistently with that oath he thought no King could give the royal assent to any such Bill; concluding with "so help me God," and striking his breast with his right hand.

Mem.—Two days afterwards the Duke of York, at the levée, told Lord Sidmouth that "the King had declared he would not give the royal assent to such a Bill;" a declaration made not publicly, but not unknown to the Duke of York.

The Chancellor told me he had had a long audience of the King this morning, in which his Majesty went through the whole of his political life as connected with opinions upon the Roman Catholic question, and represented himself to have been ever *uniformly against*, or at least that he had *never* been *for* increasing the powers of the Roman Catholics; and that he was now very anxious upon the subject, and exceedingly disturbed at the progress of the Bill depending in the House of Commons.

N.B.—The King made the same declaration to Lord Sidmouth at an audience on Thursday, 21st inst.

The House of Commons this day, instead of proceeding with the Committee upon the Roman Catholic Relief Bill, put off the Committee till to-morrow.

26*th.*—House of Lords. Irish Committee. Exa-

mined the Primate as to the state of his diocese; also Dr. Kelly, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Tuam, and others.

Sent a circular order to the Roman Catholic Archbishops of Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam, for an account of the religious houses, and regular clergy, their houses and orders, distinguishing men and women; by what funds maintained, and whether increased or decreased within the last ten years.

In the House of Commons this day, Brougham made a furious attack upon the Duke of York for his speech of yesterday.

27*th.*—Archbishop Magee came to me by appointment, and we discussed points fit for examination before the Lords' Committee. He went to Lord Liverpool on the same subject.

LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP MAGEE.

Berkeley Square, April 28th.

My dear Lord,—If it falls in with your Lordship's own plan of conducting the inquiry to-morrow to enter tolerably early on the alleged points of similitude between the two Churches, and also to add to these some queries about the circulation of Pastorius's prophecies, and the burial disturbances, and the fact of the later authorities of the Church of Rome retaining the obnoxious tenets of earlier times without much real qualification (*e. g.* the Pope's Encyclical Letter, Butler's Catechism, Maynooth Class Books, &c.), this would be the course which I should prefer. At the same time your Lordship will have the goodness to hold this as unsaid, if it should not fall in with your Lordship's own views in any respect.

Respecting Pastorius (as to the prophecy having been once introduced, or to its circulation in Ireland), I should be glad to be questioned as to the prophecy itself, so as to be enabled to show its malice and folly, and also to have an opportunity of adverting to Mr. O'Connell's wicked suggestion that the prophecy remained yet to be fulfilled (according to Walmesley's interpretation) at a later period, 1828, keeping up the mischievous expectation as long as he can, under the pretence that 5 is a misprint for 8 which I can show by demonstration must be

considered by any one examining the interpretation itself, as he affirms he did, as impossible. . . . . .

With the truest respect and esteem,

Your Lordship's most faithful, &c., W. Dublin.

29*th.* — Irish Committee. Examined Archbishop Magee for three hours.

House of Lords. Game Laws Amendment Bill carried by 94 to 69.

House of Commons. A resolution for making a provision for the Roman Catholic priests carried by 205 to 162.

30*th.*—Privy Council Committee.* Settled draft of proposed Report.

Tuesday, May 3*rd.*—Irish Committee. Examined Archbishop Magee for four hours and a half, in which he displayed great learning and ability.

4*th.*—House of Lords. Lord Holland's Treason Forfeiture Bill put off till Friday, 13th inst.

9*th.*—Game Bill thrown out in the Lords by a majority of 15, viz. 38 to 23.

Fisher, Bishop of Salisbury, being dead, Bishop Burgess, of St. David's, is to succeed to Salisbury, and Dr. Jenkinson, a first cousin to Lord Liverpool, is to be Bishop of St. David's.

10*th.*—The House of Commons passed the third reading of the Roman Catholic Relief Bill by 248 to 227.

11*th.* — Irish Committee. Examined Archbishop Magee on the tenets which render Roman Catholics unfit for situations of trust and power in a Protestant state, the doctrines of the Canons as to not keeping faith with heretics, and the deposing and absolving power. In the first part he displayed great learning, and in the cross-examination great quickness and talent

* *Vide supra*, April 23. Serjeant Rough had, in 1816, gone out to Demerara as President of the Court of Justice in Demerara and Essequibo. In October 1821 he was suspended by Major-General Murray, Lieutenant-Governor of the colony. The Committee ultimately reported that General Murray was not justified, but that the dispute arose in a great degree from the undefined nature of the respective authorities of the Governor and the President of the Court of Justice.

in answering the political questions put to him by Lord Lansdowne, Lord Ellenborough, and Lord Harrowby.

In the House of Lords the Roman Catholic Relief Bill was brought up by Sir John Newport, supported by Brougham and C. W. Wynn.

12*th*.—Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt called with Carlton House news. He was two hours on Tuesday with the King, whose knee was enormously swelled and chalk white, and his agony in moving himself in his bed extreme; screaming, sickness, &c., and his tone most piteous and desponding. Great rumours of a divided Government. The Duke of Sussex intends a speech on the second reading of the Roman Catholic Relief Bill, in answer to the Duke of York's former speech. The King affectedly earnest against the Bill, and angry with the Duke of Northumberland for refusing his proxy and that of Lord Prudhoe against the Bill. The Duke of Wellington most probably will not vote. Lord Bute will not vote. The numbers are about balanced by accidents, but most probably there will be a turn of two or three more in *favour* of the Bill than there were last time.

FROM ARCHBISHOP MAGEE.

Berkeley Square, May 12th.

My dear Lord,—I have to thank your Lordship for a most useful communication this morning—your Lordship's note—sent me immediately to the British Museum, that I might myself collate and transcribe the paper which I now enclose back to your Lordship. It sent me also to Sion College, to search for Sir George Carew's "Pacata Hibernia;" but I was not successful. I sought there, as I had done before at the Museum, not only for that book, but also for some traces, if they could be had, of the answer of the Colleges of Salamanca and Valladolid; but in vain. They would have been valuable documents to produce, could I have procured them. I met, however, at Sion College with some other matter useful on the general subject of the exercise of the Church's power, on the disturbance of sovereign's rights, which, with the document your Lordship has furnished me with, I may be able to make use of to-morrow.

I transcribed some matter at Sion from the Index Expurgatorius, which may be rendered useful. One thing struck me. Mr. Charles Grant, in the House of Commons on Tuesday night, took credit for the softened spirit found sometimes in the Roman Catholic ranks, in the instances of some passages from Thuanus, and of the acknowledged mild and amiable life and manner of the late Archbishop Everard (of Cashel). Thuanus's liberality placed *him* in the Index; and Dr. Everard was persecuted and harassed, and finally lost his life, through the hatred of his fellow Roman Catholics in Ireland. So much for Mr. Charles Grant's instances.

The Rev. Mortimer O'Sullivan, who has lately been examined before the House of Commons, and has not had an opportunity of bringing out some valuable knowledge which he possesses, particularly relative to the topics in the enclosed paper, would speak to the fact concerning Dr. Everard. He is a clever man, well acquainted with the Roman Catholic practices, in the county of Tipperary particularly; and could give most valuable testimony. He is the author of "Captain Rock detected," in which Mr. Moore (and with him Lord Lansdowne a little) is ably taken up. He is the author also of several good publications under the title of "A Munster Farmer." . . .

Your most faithful W. DUBLIN.

13*th*.—Irish Committee. Further examination of Archbishop Magee, in which Lord Darnley, by asking the Archbishop "whether he had not formerly been of a different opinion upon the subject of Roman Catholic emancipation," led the Archbishop to a long account of the political, or rather of the non-political part, which he ever took on this subject, not having expressed any opinion on it to anyone but his private and confidential friend Plunkett, with whom he had always lived in a sort of brotherhood. He went also at length into the modern change of Roman Catholic proceedings in Ireland, and the recent junction of the O'Connell party with the priests and the aristocracy, &c.; all of which, after the Archbishop had been desired to withdraw, was struck out, as being the result of a question which (however meant) ought not to have been put; and the Archbishop, being called in again, was informed by the Lord-President that the Committee had directed both the question and answer

to be struck out. I conducted the examination of the Archbishop this day, leaving it open at the end of each topic to other lords to ask questions, of which Lord Darnley had put the above; and Lord Ellenborough put many which he professed he wished he had never put, as they did not lead to answers which accorded with his views.

In the House, at the Chancellor's request, Lord Holland put off his Treason Forfeiture Bill till Thursday, 26th.

14*th*.—Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt gave me a better account of the King. To-day the Duke of York had a fall from his horse, but was not at all hurt.

16*th*.—Second reading of the Roman Catholic Relief Bill. After numberless petitions, Lord Donoughmore, in a few words, moved the second reading; and I moved an amendment to put it off for six months.* Other speakers in the debate were:—Lord Anglesea, Lord Camden, Lord Darnley, Lord Longford, the Bishop of Llandaff, the Bishop of Norwich, Lord Carberry, the Bishop of Chester, Lord Limerick, Lord Lansdowne, Lord Liverpool, Lord Harrowby, and the Chancellor.

Divided at five in the morning.

For the Second Reading —	Present	84
	Proxies	46
		130
Against it —	Present	113
	Proxies	65
		178
Majority		48

Total voting, 308 out of 377; Roman Catholic peers, minors, and absentees included.

There has never been so large an actual attendance upon any former occasion on the Roman Catholic claims. Two more were present, but went away with-

* This speech is in the collection of Lord Colchester's speeches on Roman Catholic claims, published in 1828.

out voting; Lord Colville and Lord Barham. The Duke of Northumberland and Lord Prudhoe, who always have voted against the Roman Catholics, when they went to Paris on the Embassy, on the King of France's coronation, did not leave their proxies.

Lord Liverpool did not expect a majority of more than from 24 to 28. I had this from the best authority.

21*st.*—Wrote to Archbishop Magee, to urge a large Government grant for new churches in Ireland, to meet the applications for which they have no funds.

This day a public meeting was held of the English and Irish Roman Catholics upon the subject of their lost Bill. O'Connell made a long and furious speech, abusing Lord Liverpool as an half-honest man, a driveller of old Drumgoole's and Dr. Duigenan's schools, &c., and charged him with changing his tone in consequence of the Duke of York's speech. He promised also another Roman Catholic Association, and that he would always be "an agitator." He said that Lord Anglesea's speech was tantamount to saying, "Rockites, lie on your pikes," &c. &c.

24*th.*—At a Committee of Privy Council, the Attorney-General and Solicitor-General attending, heard the appeal of J. S. Buckingham, against the regulations of the Governor-General in Council at Calcutta, for laying the press under restrictions, contrary to the Act of Parliament, which requires such regulations "to be agreeable to reason, and *not repugnant* to the laws of the realm." Unanimously resolved that this only meant not repugnant to the laws of the realm made *eo intuitu*, and specifically so applied. Advised his Majesty *not* to rescind the regulation.

Called on Lord Camden. Met Lord Harrowby there. Concurred in thinking that the Irish Committee should only report evidence, or at most, "that it would deserve consideration how far the laws might not be improved, so far as regarded the relations of landlord and tenant; the maintenance of the poor, disabled from work by age or infirmity; the suppression of vagrancy; the compelling putative fathers to maintain their illegiti-

mate children; and better regulating the office of under-sheriff," &c.

LETTER FROM BISHOP BLOMFIELD.*

Bishopsgate, May 23rd, 1825.

My Lord,—I believe that the number of Roman Catholics in England is about 500,000. In the middle of the last century there were only 67,000. I have never heard the number in Scotland estimated; but in Glasgow, where, a few years ago, the Roman Catholics amounted probably to not more than 500, there are now 25,000, of course chiefly *imported* from Ireland. I have recently sent some questions to all the clergy of my diocese, from the answers to which I shall be able to form a tolerably correct estimate of their numbers in that district. They have more than eighty chapels in Lancashire alone, and several more are building. It is understood that there are about 30,000 Roman Catholics in Manchester, 20,000 in Liverpool, about 15,000 in Preston (the whole population being only 28,000), a great number in Wigan, Warrington, and in the northern parts of Lancashire; but I have not yet received the answers to my queries.

I can give your Lordship an accurate account of the establishment at Stonyhurst, if you should wish for it; and some interesting facts relating to the proceedings of the Roman Catholics in some parts of my diocese.

In Sir William Petty's time the Papists in Ireland were to the Protestants as sixteen to six. The proportion is now, according to your Lordship's statement, as fifteen to six; consequently the Papists are comparatively decreasing; but this is probably owing to the emigration of the lower orders to the great manufacturing towns and sea ports.

I have the honour to be, &c., C. J. CHESTER.

P.S. A person who called, not many weeks back, on Dr. Poynter, Vicar Apostolic of this district, found him with a map of England, on which were marked out a great many places for the erection of new Roman Catholic chapels.

FROM LORD COLCHESTER TO LORD AMHERST.

London, May 24th, 1825.

My dear Lord,—Although my ordinary period of writing to your Excellency is not yet arrived, a decision which took place

* At this date Bishop of Chester; subsequently Bishop of London.

yesterday, in the Committee of the Privy Council, respecting the *liberty of the press in India*, is of so important a nature, that I am unwilling to delay communicating it to you. Upon a petition of appeal from Mr. Buckingham against the regulations made in the time when Mr. Adam was at the head of the Council in Bengal, the East India Company appeared as respondents, and the Lord President (Lord Harrowby), obtained the attendance of the Lord Chancellor, Lord Gifford (Master of the Rolls), the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, the Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, with Lord Stowell, Lord Bexley, Sir John Nicholl, and Mr. Beckett, Lord Teignmouth, Sir Henry Russell, Mr. C. W. Wynn, and Mr. Sullivan, Mr. Freemantle, and Sir G. Warrender, in all seventeen of us, assisted by the Attorney and Solicitor-General. The hearing occupied between six and seven hours; and at the conclusion we came to an unanimous opinion that the regulations were according to the words of the statute, "conformable to reason, and not repugnant to the laws of the realm." And consequently we reported to his Majesty that they ought not to be rescinded, as prayed by the appellant, whose appeal was dismissed.

This decision will, I hope, be of essential service in strengthening your Government, whether in peace or war. Of your success in the Burmese war we have had very satisfactory accounts down to December, but no later. God send you a prosperous conclusion in that, which I know to be your own earnest desire, a solid and durable peace! . . . . .

In the House of Lords we have had only one very long night, upon the Roman Catholic question, when the Roman Catholic Relief Bill was thrown out by a majority of 48. A dissolution is much talked of as likely to take place in the course of the summer. The King has had two levées, and been twice to the theatre; but has since suffered so severely from the gout as to give up his intended drawing-room. . . . .

Our Government has made a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, with the united provinces of Rio de la Plata. Peru has been conquered by the Columbians, and Bolivar has laid down his dictatorship. The United States of America have sent Rufus King, whom you may remember here, to be their ambassador. . . . . .

Always most truly yours, Colchester.

25th.—House of Lords. Irish Committee. Lord Liverpool suggested what I had proposed to Lord Har-

rowby, that we should make out a list of matters respecting which evidence had been taken, and which might deserve the consideration of the Government or Parliament, as to whether anything could or could not be done usefully respecting them, or any of them.

Made out a list of such matters in the evening.

26*th*.—House of Lords. Lord Holland moved the second reading of his Treason Forfeiture Bill. I moved, as an amendment, to put it off for six months. Lord Roseberry supported the Bill; Lord Melville, Lord Redesdale, and the Chancellor opposed it. Upon a division of 15 to 12 it was thrown out.

27*th*.—Attended a Board of Commissioners on the Caledonian Canal, to settle the Annual Report. The whole length is to be completed to fifteen feet depth in the present year, and in another year to the full depth for the passage of frigates. Lord Melville told me that he himself would make the passage in the first frigate that could pass.

House of Lords. Irish Committee. Examined Mr. Phelan, a very intelligent clergyman of Trinity College, Dublin, and Mr. Mortimer O'Sullivan, both of whom gave important evidence, historical and actual, of the conduct and influence of the Roman Catholic clergy in Ireland.

The Committee agreed to consider of making a *short report;* suggesting for the consideration of Government and Parliament some of the most prominent matters contained in the evidence before the Committee. The draft of such a report was referred to Lord Harrowby and myself to prepare for the consideration of the Committee on Tuesday, June 14th; until which time the Committee would substantially adjourn, calling no new witnesses, but leaving it open to the Lord President to summon it in the meantime for the purpose of receiving corrections of evidence by the Archbishop of Dublin, &c.

Postponed Dissenters' Marriage Bill till Wednesday next.

In a conversation with the Speaker this morning about last night's debate, he mentioned these extraordinary passages:—

1st. That Canning had declared himself to have considered often, and again *recently* (he twice said *recently*), the effect of his own *resigning* his office upon the Roman Catholic question, and that he had decided on keeping it as most advantageous for the Roman Catholic cause.

2ndly. That he had declared the opinion of the people of England to be *more strong* now *against* the Roman Catholic claims than at the commencement of the session; but that it might be hoped in another year, when the ferment had subsided, they might be more disposed to favour them. Adverse, therefore (as it is inferred), to a dissolution this year.

3rdly. That the Chancellor had in his (Mr. Canning's) presence declared to Mr. Plunkett (then present), that he (the Chancellor) in his speech of Tuesday last, at the close of the debate on the Roman Catholic Relief Bill, had *not meant* to say anything *personally disrespectful* of Mr. Plunkett!

N.B. What *other intention* could he have had in the abuse which he bestowed upon the framers of the Bill; describing an Irish lawyer as one of them?

The explanation afterwards given by Archbishop Magee was this: that Mr. Plunkett disavowed having drawn the Bill; and the Chancellor said his observations applied only to *him* who *did* draw it; and, *if* it was Mr. O'Connell or anybody else, *there* was no blame attached to Mr. Plunkett. So "your *if* is your only peacemaker."

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP MAGEE.

Berkeley Square, May 27th.

My dear Lord,— . . . . . I cannot refrain from transcribing a passage in a letter which I have just received from Dublin: —

"No talk of any disturbances in Finglass, Tallaght, &c. The lower classes say they don't care about the Bill, and are glad it

is lost, for it would be no gain to them to have O'Connell in Parliament, but a great loss to give up their own votes; and as to a rising, they don't know any good they ever had by it."

Finglass, Tallaght, &c., mean the small towns about Dublin (four or five miles round), where the common people reside, and where their language can be collected with ease.

Your most faithful W. DUBLIN.

31*st.*—House of Lords. Lord Malmesbury opposed the Canadian Corn Bill.* Lord Bathurst defended it.

Dined with the Busby Trustees† in the Jerusalem Chamber. We discussed the practicability of dressing the characters in Terence's plays according to the exact Greek costume for such personages, or rather its *impracticability*, for want of ancient authorities, by coins, or statues, or by the paintings at Pompeii. The Kembles in London and Talma in Paris had been consulted, and gave it up as hopeless. But nothing easier for tragedy; and such are now exhibiting at Covent Garden in the new play "Orestes in Argos." Discussed also, among other points, the offensive custom of sending round a cap to collect money for the actors, with a suggestion that the Chapter should defray the remuneration to the actors, as well as the other expenses of scaffolding, &c. Discussed also the impropriety of shutting up the Abbey from the public, and showing the *public* monuments for *money*.

* By a clause in the Bonded Corn Bill, Canadian corn was to be imported at a duty of 5*s.* a quarter. Lord Malmesbury's opposition was influenced by a fear that, in reality, corn from the United States would be introduced under pretence of being grown in our own colony.

† The trustees of Dr. Busby's Charity are always gentlemen who have been educated at Westminster, and hold an annual meeting in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster Abbey.

CHAP. LXXI.

1825.

UNITARIAN MARRIAGE BILL LOST.—MAJOR DENHAM'S AFRICAN DISCOVERIES.—RIOTS IN FRANCE.—ROYALIST INSURRECTION IN SPAIN.—PROTRACTED SIEGE OF MISSOLONGI.—HURRICANE AT GUADALOUPE.—REPORT OF IRISH COMMITTEE.—LETTER FROM LORD REDESDALE.—SMALLNESS OF LIVINGS.—CONVERSATION WITH THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.—THE POPE CLAIMS TO APPOINT BISHOPS IN SOUTH AMERICA.—DEATH OF THE KING OF BAVARIA.—MEHEMET ALI SENDS TROOPS TO THE MOREA TO AID THE SULTAN.—THE EMPEROR ALEXANDER OF RUSSIA DIES.

Wednesday, *June* 1*st*.—The Archbishop of Dublin came to give me an account of his examination yesterday before the House of Commons. Mr. Spring Rice was the only person who examined him. The topics were, the state of his diocese, the doctrines of confession, absolution, &c.

The Chancellor, by Mr. Cowper's advice, thought it necessary to have leave given by the House for the Archbishop's attendance before the Commons' Committee, although, not being on the rota, he has no seat in the House of Peers, or duty to discharge there. Query?

2*nd*.—House of Lords. Lord Radnor presented a Bill to alter the Irish Burial Bill of last year. Read a first time. Printing refused unanimously.

3*rd*.—House of Lords. Second reading of Unitarian Marriage Bill.

Division.—For it—Present		32
	Proxies	20
		52
Against it—Present		31
	Proxies	25
		56
Majority against it		4

6*th.* — House of Lords. Lords Malmesbury and Lilford opposed the Canada Wheat Importation Bill. Lord Lauderdale on the same side: Lord Liverpool and Lord Bathurst contra. A compromise followed in a very full House. Lord Liverpool gave up the clause by which the importation was allowed "in all times," and proposed first, to limit it to three years, and afterwards agreed to limit it to one year, and the then next session of Parliament.

This day Mr. Barrow gave me an account of Major Denham's African discoveries. The Timbuctoo river empties itself into the Bight of Benin. Two other large rivers run into a *fresh* water lake eastward, which rises and falls suddenly after the rainy season. Park's death is confirmed as to its cause, viz. by the upsetting of a boat. His papers are said to have been preserved.

8*th.* — Irish Committee. Debate upon the Archbishop of Dublin's corrections offered by him to his former evidence upon the Athanasian Creed, and subscription to the Articles; *the first* being only an amended form of expressing the same matters in substance which he intended to express upon his explanation, on May 3rd. The *second* a substitution of a *totally different* set of answers upon a statement "that the terms (and tendency) of the original questions had been misconceived by him." Upon the acceptance of the amended answers to the questions respecting the Athanasian Creed there was a division in the Committee, upon the insertion in our minutes of this amended form, as "being proposed by the Archbishop and accepted by us," or whether it should be received as a matter of course, in like manner as from other witnesses, *without any special notice.* For expressing this upon the minutes, 9; for expunging the statement, 8. So the statement stands.

Upon the *second*, the Archbishop was further examined as to his answers, supposing the questions to be what he had conceived them to be; and Lord Holland

pressed these questions eagerly; the Archbishop answered them all at great length.

The further discussion about reporting the minutes of this day was adjourned till Tuesday next, upon a notice of Lord Salisbury that he should move to strike out this day's examination from the minutes.

9th. — A Drawing-room. The King this day, in thanking the Archbishops and Bishops for their usual speech of annual congratulation, delivered by the Archbishop, took notice of the delicacy with which all mention was avoided of the great constitutional question lately under discussion; and declared that he considered the Church and the monarchy as essentially united; and that they must stand or fall together. He said also to the Bishop of Lincoln, "this will corroborate what my brother (the Duke of York) has said."

This was told me by Lord Rolle, to whom the Bishop of Lincoln related it.

11th. — The Archbishop of Dublin came to me, having seen Lord Harrowby, and related what had passed between them. It was agreed that the proposed curtailment should be made in a fair copy of last Wednesday's evidence, and the opinion of the Committee taken upon its adoption.

Met Sir Gore Ouseley * at dinner at Lord Orford's. He considered the line of march for a Russian army seeking to reach India to be from the Caucasus, through Persia, to Cabul and Delhi; a march of nine or ten months, preceded by preparatory magazines, which it would require two or three years to collect; and that the invading army, in an exhausted state, would then be met by an Anglo-Indian army fresh and fully prepared to receive them.

12th. — Rode to see St. Katharine's Church (or Hospital, as it is called), behind the Tower; it is to be pulled down, and, together with the whole parish, consisting of 800 houses, to be converted into new docks

* Sir Gore Ouseley had been our Minister in Persia.

for the accommodation of the trade of the River Thames. The church is to be rebuilt in the Regent's Park, nearly on the same plan, with the same pulpit, stalls, tombs, &c., to be transferred there. Amongst the tombs are those of a Duke of Exeter, and his two wives, &c.

15*th.* — At a dinner at the Palace to-day, the King took off from his own neck the George formerly worn by the Duke of Marlborough, and gave it to the Duke of Wellington, as the only person worthy to wear it.

He also acquainted his guests that the George which he reserved for his own wearing was the same which had been worn by Charles I., Charles II., and James II.; and was bequeathed by Henry IX., Cardinal of York, to the present King, as a testimony of gratitude for his Majesty's munificence to him in his distresses.

17*th.* — Irish Committee. After a long debate upon the report of the evidence of the Archbishop of Dublin, as amended by him, or in its original state, with liberty to his Grace to correct his answers: Division; for accepting his amended evidence, 7; for reporting the original questions, with liberty to amend his answers, 13.

Lord Liverpool expressed himself to be satisfied with the first report of the Education Commission. He wished the Committee not to pledge itself to renew its inquiries next year; it might, or it might not, be expedient to do so. And it was open to the Government or to any member of either House to propose it next year; but he wished not to give any pledge beforehand.

21*st.* — House of Lords. Lord Liverpool moved the second reading of the Quarantine Bill, which left the power of making regulations, as before, with the King in Council; but took off the quarantine expenses from the ship, and laid them on the public; and mitigated some of the penalties.

22*nd.* — Irish Committee. Agreed to the corrections proposed by the Archbishop of Dublin to his evidence. Agreed to report all the evidence to this time.

24*th.* — Irish Committee. After two hours' discus-

sion about a report, agreed to consider of *a* report, subject to the ultimate question of presenting it when it should be seen what it amounted to. Lord Limerick violent against any report. The Duke of Wellington averse, also Lords Ellenborough and Rosslyn; but Lords Liverpool, Harrowby, Darnley, Lansdowne, Devonshire, &c., for *a* report, properly guarded.

Agreed to read the draft of a report prepared by Lord Harrowby with my additions. Agreed also, with amendments, to introduction about the Civil Disabilities of Roman Catholics; Education; Landlord and Tenant; and Grand Jury Presentments.

The House of Lords threw out the Equitable Loan Bank Bill on third reading, by 26 to 14. At the Chancellor's motion, Lord Liverpool intentionally absent.

Mem.—In this session many Joint Stock Company Bills were brought in, but most failed, being mere bubbles.

25th.—Left London for Kidbrooke: remained there till October. During this time the principal public events were:—

In France. The acknowledgment of the independence of Hayti in August; and combinations by the cotton manufacturers of Rouen, and its neighbourhood, for a rise of wages: great riots.

In Spain. A short-lived insurrection of Ultra-Royalists under Bessières, who was taken in a few days and shot.

In the Mediterranean. A protracted siege of Missolongi, which was relieved and revictualled by Miaulis in face of a Turkish naval force three times larger than his own, in the month of August. The Greeks, through Captain Hamilton, when anchored at Nauplia di Romania, sent an offer to put themselves under British protection.

The British Government, after its reception, issue a fresh proclamation to enforce the Act against foreign enlistment, and prohibit the export of arms and military stores.

In the East Indies. The Burmese war is continuing. The British invading force to the north of Ummerapoora has advanced through Assam, and taken its capital Rangoon. The army on the Thibet frontier is advancing from the north-eastern side through Cachar. The army on the south-eastern side has penetrated to Arracan and taken it. The army from the south has marched up the Irrawaddy from Rangoon towards Prome, but has been checked at Donnebew.

In the West Indies, a hurricane at Guadaloupe in August.

In South America. The Columbians conquer Peru.

Domestic. The King well at Windsor. The Duke of Cumberland lands from Germany in the beginning of October.

Parliament. A dissolution universally expected in September. For some reason undisclosed it did not take place.

Ministers. Lord Liverpool makes a short tour to Holland and Flanders. The Duke of Wellington visits the fortifications on the Dutch frontier. Frequent Cabinets in the last week of September. Supposed to be on Greek affairs.

Ireland and Roman Catholics. The Roman Catholic Association renews itself, and then adjourns (upon an apparent change of plan) to November. The Roman Catholic priests, by directions from Bishop Doyle, decline all public debate with the Bible Society meeting at Carlow.

Miscellaneous. Combinations and risings of the seamen at Shields: the like of the clothiers at Bradford and Leeds: the like of the ship-carpenters in the Thames. An order of Council for permitting a British ship to leave the Thames and go for repairs to a foreign port.

The London University purchase ground for their building in Gower Street.

Opening of new streets about Charing Cross, and Gazette notice of a Bill for that purpose in the next session.

Harvest good.

LETTER FROM LORD ARDEN.

St. James's Place, July 1st.

My dear Lord,—The Committee closed their labours yesterday, and unanimously agreed to a report, a milk and water one, you will conclude, from the unanimity, but, however, much better than none.

The first point, relating to landlord and tenant, is, I believe, left pretty much as it was drawn by your Lordship and Lord Harrowby. The second, respecting Grand Jury presentments and their transactions not being secret, was something altered. The third, recommending to consideration the keeping the criminal and civil business at Quarter Sessions separate, is left pretty much as it was drawn. Some suggestions on the fourth, respecting assistant barristers not practising in counties where they sit upon the Bench, were, I think, agreed to. The fifth was, that the constitution of the Civil Bill Court should be considered, and its processes executed by a better description of persons. The sixth, respecting Civil Bill ejectments was, I think, quite struck out. In the seventh, Custodiam suits are alluded to. The eighth, about the propriety of the Sub-Sheriff having a regular office within his county, and his appointment being subject to the approbation of the last-going Judge of Assize; and whether he should be legally rendered capable of serving more years than one. The ninth, respecting Lords-Lieutenant of counties, was struck out; though stated by Lord Liverpool to be well worthy of consideration, but opposed by the Duke of Wellington. The tenth states that there had been evidence to show that the administration of justice by corporation magistrates does not deserve commendation. The eleventh, touching the subject of the forty-shilling freeholders, was confined, I believe, to their *fraudulent* qualifications. The twelfth, the infirm and aged poor were adverted to as well worthy of consideration, after great opposition from some quarters.

I state this from recollection, and very loose notes made at the table; but the report is to be printed, when your Lordship will see it correct. The Archbishop of Tuam's answer to the charge against him about the repairs of the Cathedral at Tuam we received yesterday, and it appears to be very satisfactory. This also will be printed. . . . .

Most faithfully yours, ARDEN.

FROM SIR JOHN NICHOLL.

Bruton Street, July 6th.

My dear Lord,—The day appointed for considering the Douay case was *next* Tuesday, and not yesterday. I leave town to-morrow, but, as far as I can venture to form an opinion without conferring with the other members of the Council, who are much more competent to form a sound judgment upon the case, I think that this College having been formed above two centuries ago, within the territory and subject to the laws of France, and being established for purposes prohibited by the laws of England, and contravening their general policy, neither the body nor the individual members of such an establishment can properly be considered as British subjects entitled to compensation according to the true intent and meaning of the Treaties and Conventions in question. . . . . .

Faithfully yours, J. NICHOLL.

FROM DR. HAMILTON.

Vicarsfield, July 7th.

My Lord,—Your Lordship is no doubt acquainted with Mr. O'Connell's intentions respecting the revival of the Association, and collection of the rent; and that he has attended different meetings in different parts of the country, to stir up and inflame the minds of the people. I understand the rent is collecting in the county of Waterford, but cannot find out that they have begun to collect in this parish, though one of the priests some time ago said that it should be collected. I am informed by the lower orders of my Protestant parishioners that the people wish for and expect a rebellion, and make no secret of it; but declare openly that they wish for the destruction of the heretics.

It is probable that they will be quiet till the prorogation of Parliament, or *perhaps till after* the harvest; but I am confident that they only require an intimation from their priests to break out into open rebellion, when it is their pleasure that they should do so; and nothing but a conviction that Government are aware of their intentions and prepared to meet them, can, humanly speaking, restrain this spirit.

I grieve to think that the situation of the peasantry of Ireland is in general such as to make them anxious for some change. They think that they cannot be worse, and that any change may be for the better. This arises from their poverty and want of employment. No one but a person who lives among them and

inquires into their circumstances can have an idea of what they suffer during the summer months from *want* of food, though there is plenty to be had for money; but money *they* have not. Those who can get credit are obliged to buy at the advance of nine shillings for every cwt. of meal; by which they incur a large debt before the harvest comes in; and those who cannot get credit are obliged to leave home and beg, or subsist, as I know some are obliged to do at this moment, on the outside leaves of cabbages, nettle-tops, or wild turnip-tops. Many, after a scanty breakfast, fast till night, and I am sorry to say that in general neither their landlords nor their priests do anything towards assisting them. I speak principally of my own parish, in which there is not at present one resident landlord; many being absentees, and the others being from home for some time, and not likely to come back till after harvest.

The priests will neither give nor collect money at their chapels, though I understand the income of one may be 1000*l.* a year; the other, 600*l.* The poor people acknowledge to me that they take all they can get from them, but will give them nothing.

These are among the real grievances of the Irish peasantry; and I am often astonished at the patience with which they endure them; nor can I be surprised at their wishing for some change; but I am at the same time convinced that, if they met with the kind consideration and assistance of a resident landlord, they would feel an attachment to him which they now cannot feel, and would not be so easily made the tools of a factious demagogue, who holds out to them any prospect, however delusive, of a change for the better.

I was surprised to read in Dr. Doyle's evidence before your Lordships' Committee, what he stated respecting his own income, and that of the priests of his diocese, that nearly half of it went in charity; from which I conceived he gave your Lordships to understand that it was, at least in a measure, given to the poor. But on inquiry I find that it all goes to the support of religious houses, it being a principle in their Church that the Church has a prior claim to the poor, and, if I can believe my Roman Catholic parishioners, want of charity to the poor is universal among the priests; and they never knew a priest give a shilling out of his pocket to any poor person, though he may sometimes make a collection for a particular object in the chapel.

Your Lordship will, I trust, excuse my trespassing upon you so long, but I wished to state to your Lordship, from my own

certain knowledge and local experience, what I see to be the real causes of the unhappy state of our peasantry, which I fear no Act of Parliament can relieve; but the remedy must occur at once to your Lordship.

Your Lordship's most faithful,
HANS HAMILTON.

FROM LORD REDESDALE.

Harley Street, July 9th.

My dear Lord, — . . . . It has been a great misfortune that the rapacity of the courtiers, and the fashion of founding and endowing colleges and bishoprics with the plunder of monasteries, has produced much inequality in the provision for the parochial clergy. And there are still many so small that it is difficult to find persons who will accept of them.

I cannot think that the Governors of Queen Anne's bounty have sufficiently considered this in their mode of employing their funds, and their rules in the application of augmentations, which are not suited to the present times. Churchmen are very obstinate in adhering to their own system, and are jealous of any interference of laymen; and I am persuaded that this jealousy and this obstinacy have prevented measures for augmenting small livings and building new churches where wanted.

The Pope exercised a useful jurisdiction in this respect, and particularly in dividing parishes, and we had no power substituted. Lord Rosslyn suggested a Commission to inquire into and report the state of every parish, and to suggest where parishes ought be divided, new churches built, and what livings might be augmented, and particularly by unions, where that measure could be conveniently adopted. This plan required the interference of laymen, and though the Archbishop was friendly to it, the majority of the bishops were violently against it, and so it was dropped. I could point out cases where much good might have been done by such a Commission, and I believe there are many such cases.

The two Houses of Parliament are rapidly assuming the whole executive as well as legislative power, but the Church is no favourite; trade, manufactures, and money, are everything. The landed proprietors are mere ciphers, they are of no consequence, either with Ministers or with Opposition; and Churchmen do not sufficiently consider how important it is to their body to sustain the landed proprietors. We are sending money to cultivate Canada, New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land, the

Cape of Good Hope, &c. &c., and for the sake of trade and manufactures we have withdrawn one-third of the capital which, before the peace, was employed in agriculture; and we rather discourage than encourage the cultivation of wastes in England, which I am persuaded is capable of producing one-third more food for man than it produces now. . . .

Truly yours, REDESDALE.

FROM ARCHBISHOP MAGEE.

Dublin, Aug. 5th.

My dear Lord, — . . . . It happens indeed that there is nothing to communicate but the one great miracle, that we are quiet. For several years I have not witnessed the appearance of so much tranquillity as this country presents at this time. The prognostics of those who foresaw dire explosions as the immediate consequence of the rejection of the Roman Catholic Bill have not been exactly verified. At present we have nothing to do but abuse each other, and in that exercise of our functions I am always sure to get my share. I will take care to send your Lordship any of our publications that contain matter particularly worth reporting.

Our great agitators are at this time on circuit. This, and the serious divisions existing amongst the leaders, afford us a respite from turmoil. When the demagogues, civil and ecclesiastical, have shaken hands, and a plan of operations has been fixed on, we may then have something more to talk of. One extraordinary proof of the degree of quietism to which the minds of the commonalty have lately been brought is, that the Archbishop of Dublin is allowed to walk abroad unmolested by rude expressions or menacing looks. . . . .

Yours most faithfully, W. DUBLIN.

At the end of September I met the Duke of Wellington at Sir John Shelley's. Since the year 1815 I had met him at dinner only twice; the last time, this year at the Duke of York's, after the decision of the Roman Catholic question in the House of Lords.

He talked, as usual, very unaffectedly and freely about passages in his military life, when called upon by the ladies, or any other persons at table. In the course of the conversation at dinner, and in the evening when the company withdrew into the library, he said, that

the army in 1794, when he served with his regiment in Flanders, was as perfect in discipline as at this hour, the Guards excepted, who, in marching along the Waal, contrived to spread their numbers (2000 men) along a line of twenty miles; but the Guards were now a model for all.

That in the army of 1794, with him were serving Lord Hill, Lord Beresford, Lord Combermere, Sir Edward Paget, and many of the most distinguished officers who had since served with him in the Peninsular war.

In answer to a question of mine how the movements of a British army could be combined and directed in such a battle as that of Blenheim, without some such unity of system as had prevailed since that introduced by Sir David Dundas, he replied that it appeared clearly to him that the Duke of Marlborough had himself framed the movements of the army upon the same principles, if not in the same details; and that the manœuvres of the Prussian army had been derived from that source, and that much of the reality of modern operations was to be seen in the life of King James II., as written by himself during his service with the French armies.

He admitted, in answer to another of my questions, that Buonaparte was the first who had introduced the formation of his corps d'armées, composed each of every requisite for the composition of a complete army, with its infantry, cavalry, artillery, chasseurs, tirailleurs, pontoons, and commissariat distinct, so as to act separately or conjointly with the army of the commander-in-chief. That there were advantages and disadvantages in this scheme; but he thought that the advantages clearly overbalanced the disadvantages.

Talking of the burning of Moscow, he was decidedly of opinion that it was not a preconcerted or designed measure, as usually ascribed to Rostopschin, but the mere consequence of negligent conduct in the French army upon entering that city; the soldiers scattering

their fire about them carelessly, as they always do, which in a city of wooden houses necessarily produced a conflagration, and of a gradual sort, as happened on this occasion—the first night forty or fifty houses; the next night three hundred or four hundred, and so progressively: but that, if it had been intentional on the part of the Russians, they would not have left (as they did) their military magazines, gun-carriages, and, above all, their gunpowder to the victorious army before they retreated. And indeed this circumstance seems conclusive.

Of Soult, he said that he considered him as a perfect master of the strategetical part of his profession; that for marches, preparations, and all combinations upon paper, he was without a superior; but that when he had brought his forces up to the point, and seemed ready to crush his antagonist, he always failed to strike home, and make his blow effectual.

Of Marmont he spoke well, but more highly of Massena. He conceived that Soult did *not* know of Buonaparte's abdication when he fought the battle of Toulouse.

When the ladies pressed him as to what direction he would have taken if compelled to retreat from Waterloo, he smiled, but made no reply.

He said that, upon viewing Blucher's position before the battle of Ligny, he had told him that he would be beaten.

Being asked about Congreve rockets, and their use in India, he said not much was to be expected from them, as the native powers were already in the habit of using them.

Upon my expressing to Arbuthnot (who was also at Maresfield) my hope that the Duke had taken care, by his own hand, or by some other under his direction, to preserve correct memorials of his campaigns in the Peninsula, &c., Arbuthnot said, that the Duke had often been pressed, but was unwilling to publish anything which might lead to controversy, and that all was too recent; that people even now were not content with

the battle of Waterloo. It had been proposed to him that Sir George Murray, his Quarter-Master-General in Spain, should arrange and draw out the result of his papers; but the Duke had declined it. A large proportion of these papers, which the Duke has always been amassing, was given to the care of Lord Fitzroy Somerset when he left Portugal, and had been put on board a transport, which had been lost at sea.

N.B. On the 18th of October, when at Combe Bank, Mr. Herries, a Secretary of the Treasury, assured me that the Duke of Wellington, when a young man, had pressed to be appointed a Commissioner of Excise, and was exceedingly mortified that his application had not succeeded.

Friday, October 14th.—After some visits, returned to Kidbrooke, and remained there till the end of the year.

Events in the last Three Months of the Year.

Of Public Affairs. Foreign:—

France. The State prosecutions against "Le Constitutionnel," and "Le Courier," for seditious "tendence," failed; and the Supreme Court acquitted the publishers of any systematic attack upon the religion of the State.

In Spain. The Pope informs the Government that the interests of religion require him to appoint to bishoprics in the South American States, hitherto in the nomination of Spain.

In Germany. The King of Bavaria died; and the Crown Prince, whom we had known at Rome, succeeded, and reduced the expenses of his Government.

In the Netherlands. The King reformed the Colleges of Education, and appointed non-ecclesiastics to be professors for teaching more useful learning. The Pope and the Roman Catholic bishops objected, but submitted.

In the Mediterranean. The Pacha of Egypt sent 12,000 infantry, with cavalry, artillery, &c., to the Morea, where they landed at Navarin.

In Russia. The Emperor Alexander died at Taganrog, near Azoph: Constantine was proclaimed his successor at St. Petersburg; but resigned in favour of Nicholas, under some supposed prior arrangement or disposition of the Crown by Alexander. A military tumult by Constantine's regiment at St. Petersburg was quelled with some loss of life.

East Indies. The Burmese war still continues; the British have carried all before them, and established themselves at Prome for the winter. Endeavours are made at home to have the Duke of Buckingham sent to supersede Lord Amherst; but some of the directors say "they never understood that Louis le Gros was synonymous with Louis le Grand."

South America. Mexico cleared of the Spaniards by the surrender of the Castle of S. Juan de Alloa. In the Brazils, the King of Portugal yields up its independence; and Sir Charles Stuart signs four treaties to his own satisfaction.

Domestic Affairs:—

The King at Windsor, repairing the Castle; and Buckingham House is rebuilding in London. The King is in good health; always out in the air.

Ministry. Engaged in remedying the pecuniary difficulties of the Exchequer, Bank, &c., arising from the failures of banking houses in London and Yorkshire; but most of the London houses resumed payments after a time.

Parliament. Election of a representative peer for Ireland; out of more than 200 peers, only 107 qualified; and of these forty-six voted for Lord Farnham; the Lord-Lieutenant and thirty-nine more for Lord Mountcashel.

In the county of York, the Protestant interest declared Mr. Fountayne Wilson and Mr. William Duncombe candidates for the two additional seats given by the last Act; and the Roman Catholics gave up their candidate, Mr. Bethell. At Cambridge, the Attorney-General* and

* Sir J. Copley.

Mr. Goulburn canvassed in opposition to the sitting members, the Secretary at War *, and W. Bankes.

Miscellaneous. Lord Wellesley marries Mrs. Patterson, an American Roman Catholic widow.

The Mansion House meetings in London restore public confidence in the bankers.

The Bank of England issues notes into the country of 1*l.* and 2*l.*

* Lord Palmerston.

CHAP. LXXII.

1826.

RENUNCIATION OF THE ARCH-DUKE CONSTANTINE.—LETTERS FROM LORD AND LADY AMHERST.—SUCCESS OF SIR ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL IN BURMAH.—STATE OF SOCIETY IN CALCUTTA.—WEAKNESS OF THE DIRECTORS.—MEASURES OF FINANCE IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE RECENT MERCANTILE PANIC.—ABOLITION OF SMALL NOTES.—BANK CHARTER BILL.—CORRESPONDENCE WITH MR. PEEL ON HIS CONSOLIDATION OF CRIMINAL STATUTES, ETC.—RIBBON SYSTEM IN IRELAND.—LETTER FROM LADY AMHERST.—NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE COURT OF BURMAH.—SCOTCH BANKING SYSTEM.—IMPROVED HEALTH OF THE KING.—MR. MARTIN OF GALWAY AND THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

SUNDAY, January 1st.—Remained at Kidbrooke till the 26th.

Of foreign news the only material event is the confirmation by the Arch-Duke Constantine of his previous renunciation of the throne of Russia. There proves to have been an extensive republican conspiracy during the life of Alexander.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM LORD SIDMOUTH.

Richmond Park, Jan. 10th, 1826.

My dear Lord,— . . . . . Your report from Bengal gave me particular pleasure. Lord Amherst has been infamously and cruelly treated; and I should exult to see the calumnies and malignity with which he has been assailed put down and exposed by victory. In that case the result will be complete, if it should be effected without any large additional burthen on the finances of the country.

. . . . . Dr. Doyle and Mr. O'Connell have a lasting claim upon the gratitude of all good Protestants; they have completely dulcified my feelings towards them; emancipation from poverty, and idleness, and ignorance, and consequently from bigotry, is, I am satisfied, advancing rapidly in Ireland.

. . . . . .

Ever sincerely yours, SIDMOUTH.

FROM MR. BANKES.

Kingston Hall, Jan. 17th.

Dear Colchester,— . . . . . What you mention of the Duke of Wellington's plan for conducting the Burmese war*, is the most satisfactory circumstance that I have heard since its commencement.

We have had our share in this county, though not to any alarming extent, of the "concussa fides," and stoppages of banks, but most of these were of short duration, and producing no permanent inconvenience.

What passes all credit, and almost the bounds of credibility, is the abdication of Constantine; his grandmother, who imposed the name upon him and pointed out the road, would have treated him as a Spartan mother used to receive a son after deserting his post in battle. . . . . .

Sincerely yours, H. BANKES.

London, 28*th*.—The King is too weak upon his legs to go up and down the staircase, and undergo the fatigue of the House of Lords.

30*th*.—The canvass for the University of Oxford is proceeding on the resignation of Heber. Sir Charles Wetherell, the Solicitor-General, is the only candidate; Sir John Nicholl being bound in honour not to vacate his present seat for Bodmin till a dissolution, and so being prevented from offering himself.

31*st*.—Mr. Cowper resigned his office of Assistant-Clerk of the Parliaments; and Mr. Courtenay †, M.P. for Exeter, and a Master in Chancery, was appointed.

Received letters from Lord Amherst and Lady Amherst [the latter alluded to in Lord Sidmouth's letter of Jan. 10th].

FROM LORD AMHERST.

On the river between Calcutta and Moorshedabad, July 2nd, 1825.

My dear Lord,—Your letter of October 5th [1824], which reached me a few weeks ago, is so full of interesting news, that

* "The Duke had drawn out a plan for Sir A. Campbell, which that General had exactly followed out in his attack on Rangoon."—*Life of Wellington*, vol. ii. p. 491.

† The late Earl of Devon.

I find it difficult to avoid falling into a practice which I have often reprobated; that of taking one's correspondent's letter, and observing upon it paragraph by paragraph. The observations are all at my tongue's end, or rather at my pen's point, but would not be particularly amusing to you, after the events to which they relate are above a twelvemonth old. You will like better that I should tell you how we are going on here; and first, to account to you for my letter being dated, not from Calcutta or Barrackpore, but from on board the "Soonamooky," the beautiful yacht which the Governor-General has at his disposal, in case he chooses to change his element; and which, although she has not purple silk sails, is painted green and gold outside, and white and gold within; and is by far the most commodious floating palace or (I should rather say) cottage or lodge, I have ever inhabited. . . . . .

We yesterday sailed over what was once the *plain* of Plassy. Nothing now remains of the field of battle. The rivers of this country meet with so little resistance in their course, that a rainy season somewhat more violent than usual is quite sufficient to give them a new direction. We have often watched the formation of a sand-bank opposite Barrackpore, which some persons think may in time cause the river to flow on the eastern instead of on the western side of Calcutta. . . . . .

You mention in your letter that accounts had reached you of our progress in Assam, as far as Gowahatty. We have now reached the eastern extremity of the province, and are possessed of its capital, Rungpore, having expelled the Burmese, all but a few stragglers, from the whole of that country, of which we are now very quietly collecting the revenue, and administering the Government.

Some of the most enterprising of our officers have availed themselves of the short season which remained after the campaign was over, to trace the course of the Burrampooter, and, as I am not particularly fond of overturning established systems, I feel no great pleasure in telling you that we have reason to think that we must cut off six or seven hundred miles of its course; and that it no longer rises on the Thibet side of the Himalaya Mountains. One cause or other prevented our explorers from reaching nearer than within fifty miles of its alleged source; but all the natives concurred in telling them that at that distance was a deep pool, from which the river issued and they could see no trace of an opening in the surrounding hills, through which it was reasonable to suppose a river of the magnitude of the Burrampooter could flow. The point will

probably be ascertained next season. In the meantime I regret that there is a chance of incorrectness in the maps of the Ptolemy of modern times, Major Reynell. Our officers may explore the Burrampooter as much as they like, but I am anxious to keep them away from the frontiers of China, to which this war is bringing us into somewhat close contact.

Our advance to Munnipore has failed. The natural impediments were so great to the advance of a force equipped and attended as ours must necessarily be, that no human exertions could overcome them; we have, therefore, satisfied ourselves with driving the enemy out of Cachar, a small territory under our protection; and for the present we move no further to the eastward in that direction. This, happily, makes no sort of difference whatever in the prosecution of our main objects. It is curious, however, to think that a twelvemonth ago, so defective was our information, we supposed that the most practicable route to the enemy's capital was through Munnipore.

In Arracan our success has been signal and decisive; the capture of that place was peculiarly gratifying to me, as it was from thence that the insults and aggressions of the enemy more immediately proceeded. The Burmese have claimed Dacca and Moorshedabad as portions of the ancient kingdom of Arracan. The claim will end in our keeping Dacca and Moorshedabad, and adding thereto Arracan; for I do not see how we can ever relinquish it consistently with the security of our own frontier.

Sir Archibald Campbell's career of conquest has been uninterrupted since December last. At Donabew, on the Irrawaddy, he extinguished the last hopes of the Burmese, by the destruction of their sword and buckler, the General Bundoola, to whom I had been invited to send a petition whenever I felt disposed to deprecate the wrath of his golden-footed majesty. Since the death of Bundoola, the military spirit of the country appears to be broken. Sir Archibald is now established at Prome, the frontier town of Ava proper, ready to move as soon as the rains are over. From Prome to the south everything is in our possession; the population is friendly to us, and supplies all our wants; but nothing has yet appeared which indicates a disposition on the part of the Peguese to recover their independence.

Thus, I think, has as much been accomplished as the most sanguine disposition could have anticipated; indeed, when I come to look at the immense difficulties which have attended the collecting the means of warfare upon our eastern frontiers, I am surprised at our having attained the position we now occupy.

But how is all this to end? That we shall be masters of the capital early in the next campaign I entertain not a doubt. But will the Court come to terms? or will the King abandon Ummerapoora, and take refuge in the mountains to the eastward? I verily believe that, difficult as it has been to carry on the war, it will be more difficult to effect a peace. I suspect the enemy has no idea of a voluntary abandonment of conquest, and will be disposed to attribute any overtures we may make to other causes than a mere wish to put an end to the war. However, this consideration does not deter us from declaring our readiness to come to terms, and there are those who think the war may yet be terminated without another campaign.

I have seen in the English papers reports of disputes between the Commander-in-chief and myself. Nothing can be more *utterly untrue*. We have acted together with uninterrupted cordiality. I deeply lament his return to Europe, but his resolution to return was taken immediately after the departure of his wife and children, and is wholly independent of events in this country.

And now, my dear Lord, adieu. I have had pleasure in detailing to you our successes; but, believe me, that nothing can compensate to me the deep mortification and disappointment I have experienced in being compelled to wage this unprofitable and expensive war. We have already vindicated our honour, and, I hope, ere long, to secure our territory from aggression.

. . . . . .

Ever truly and faithfully yours, AMHERST.

EXTRACTS FROM LADY AMHERST'S LETTER.

Government House, Aug. 10th, 1825.

My dear Lady Colchester,— . . . . You may imagine how much we have been annoyed (or rather *I* have been) at these base proceedings of Mr. Hume and his faction, both in the Court of Proprietors and in the House of Commons. Such positive falsehoods, founded, as he says, on private letters from here. Surely the Directors should found their opinions upon the despatches of the Government here; every detail of even the smallest occurrence is sent to them, and one must suppose that they never read them, or they would *see* and *know* what to believe, and not depend upon the private gossiping letters from *ladies* and discontented persons. I never was in any town where so much gossip and falsehood was in circulation as in Calcutta. *Here* the lie of the hour matters little; everybody knows it to

be one, and it dies away with the hour; but those written to England take root and spread far and wide, and do infinite mischief before the regular despatches can arrive. Mr. Wynn said perfectly truly, in defending Lord A., that the whole of the attack had proceeded from Lord A. handing Mrs. Hayes, the wife of the Commodore here, in to dinner, instead of a Mrs. Udney, the wife of a senior merchant, at our *first* dinner, three days after landing in India. Lord A. is so scrupulous at all times about precedency, that he took much pains to ascertain what the right thing was, and he merely followed the example of his predecessor Lord Hastings. This trifling circumstance threw the whole town into confusion and party; one half of the society being for Mrs. Hayes, and all the merchants' wives for Mrs. Udney. It is almost incredible, but it is a fact that this and the sending away Arnott, according to Act of Parliament, for being here *without a licence* (although every indulgence was shown to the individual, which *here* he acknowledged), is the basis of all this irritation. Not that that is the case *here now*. Except the Udneys themselves the thing has been *gone by* some time here. And, while everything and every measure is prospering here, and the war has been successful beyond all expectation, and is likely, it is hoped, to be soon terminated, when once the season for operations commences, at home they are worrying themselves about private letters and falsehoods for which there never has been the slightest foundation, and trying to blow up a flame of discontent. The latter is applicable only to Mr. Hume and his set, but the private letters, full of gossip and nonsense, I am sorry to find, are received by the Directors, when the Government despatches would explain everything, and every reason for every measure. I hope these our masters are angry with Mr. Hume, for he accuses them of incapacity and imbecility as stoutly as he does their Governor-General.

Lord Amherst has one essential consolation, that of self-approbation in one respect. At the very beginning of the war, when it was seen to be inevitable, he wrote to our Government at home with charts and every information that could be procured respecting the best plan for the campaign, and on very many points relating thereto. It seems that this letter was laid before the Duke of Wellington, who drew out a complete plan and answered every query and every point. His answer only arrived a few days ago, and, upon his inspecting it, judge of his sensations when he found it to be precisely and exactly the plan which he and the Commander-in-chief had laid down in their instructions to the military commanders last year, and not only

that, but what was intended to be begun upon this *next autumn* was entirely and triumphantly *executed last* year, and, in fact, we are nearly in possession of the country; at least of most of their strong towns and positions. Their capital will be the next attempt, which, it is much hoped, will terminate the contest. The country is so rich it will probably in time pay the expenses of the war. Assam, it is said, does already; every means have been trying for some time to induce the Burmese to negotiate in their own way, or in ours, or, in short, in any mode that was likely to make them listen to reason, but all in vain. It is now found that to prosecute our success, for that it must be, as they know nothing of European tactics, is the only means to attain the desirable blessing of peace. . . . . .

Affectionately yours, S. A.

Wednesday, February 1st. — Lord Sheffield, after seeing Lord Verulam, came to settle his own speech on seconding the Address finally with me. Lord Verulam will say nothing upon the commercial policy part of the King's speech, because he does not approve of any change in the Corn Laws; certainly not of a free trade in that article.

2nd.—Board of Longitude. Voted 1000*l.* to Captain Sabine as a reward for his experiments on the pendulum for two years and a half at different parts of the earth, S. and N. It was stated and agreed that the maps of Italy three years old were perfectly unlike the maps made since the late survey. Captain King is going expressly to survey the coast of South America south of the River Plata, and Captain Stokes, in another ship, is to accompany him. They will be out two or three years. Lieutenant Foster is to go with Captain King as supernumerary lieutenant, to be set ashore at different places to continue Captain Sabine's pendulum experiments 12° south below the Line, where Captain Sabine's end.

Parliament opened by commission. A thin attendance in the House of Lords. Lord Liverpool came across to me and highly commended Lord Sheffield's speech, saying, "Everybody praised his manner; and he had done his part like a man of sense."

9th.—House of Lords. Lord Liverpool, in answer to

Lord Lansdowne, stated the measures intended to be taken by Government upon the matters suggested in the report of the Irish Committee of last session. Lord Lansdowne stated at great length his view of the causes, present effects, and future consequences of the late pecuniary embarrassments, introductory to moving for various accounts in support of his opinions.

11*th.*—British Museum. Agreed to allow access to Sir Andrew Mitchell's papers, excepting three or four of state concerns and personal reflections, unfit (at least as yet) to be made public. Entertained a proposition for purchasing the collection of vases and bronzes carried off by Murat's Queen from Naples to Vienna.

16*th.*—Sir Charles Wetherell gives up the contest for Oxford.

17*th.*—House of Lords. Lord Liverpool opened his measures respecting the pecuniary distresses and failures of bankers. 1st. An agreement to repay the Bank 2,000,000*l.* upon their buying up Exchequer Bills to that amount, and so to relieve the market. 2ndly. To put an end to the further issue of 1*l.* and 2*l.* notes by country bankers immediately, and by the Bank of England after the 10th of October next, supplying their place by a metallic currency. 3rdly. With consent of the Bank, to restrict their charter monopoly to sixty-five miles round London, and allow chartered or joint-stock companies of any number (beyond six partners, to which they are now limited) in all other parts of England.

Lord Lauderdale objected to the *immediate* stoppage of small notes. Lord Lansdowne argued for it; but preferred an immediate relief by issuing Exchequer Bills upon good security to the persons actually wanting them, rather than trusting to a general buying up of those in the market.

20*th.*—House of Lords. Committee on Bank Charter Bill.

21*st.*—News of the Burmese having entered into negotiations with the British army.

22*nd.*—Attended Caledonian Canal Board. Ships trading to and from London, Liverpool, Newcastle, Caernarvon, Glasgow, Inverness, Aberdeen, Leith, Belfast, Derry, Cork, and Waterford have passed through the canal within the single month of January last.

25*th.*—Attended the Committee of the Privy Council upon an appeal from orders of the Lord Chancellor of Ireland in the matter of the lunacy of the Earl of Lanesborough. The jurisdiction of the Privy Council in such cases was admitted. Modern decisions in Ireland were cited to show allowances to next heirs who were committees either of person or estate, for enabling them to maintain their *own* rank in society. We agreed that such allowances were contrary to the law and practice in like cases in England; and Lord Gifford undertook to obtain the opinions of Lord Eldon and Lord Redesdale upon the present appeal before we proceeded to reverse Lord Manners's orders.

27*th.*—House of Lords. Debate on Report of Bank Charter Bill, Scotch 1*l.* and 2*l.* notes, issue of Exchequer Bills, &c.

N.B. Walter Scott, under the signature of "Malachi Malagrowther," has published a long, able, and humorous letter in the public papers against the abolition of small notes in Scotland; which has been answered by Croker, of the Admiralty, under the name of "Bradwardine Waverley."

FROM DR. HAMILTON.

Vicarsfield, Feb. 26th, 1826.

My Lord,—In looking over some papers I found the enclosed, endorsed by my father when Bishop of Ossory. . . . It contains a fair representation of the state of education among the Roman Catholics, not only at the beginning of the century, but till the institution of schools by the various societies which have since been instituted, and which have excited the jealousy of the Roman Catholic clergy, who were never known to visit or interest themselves about the county schools, till the inquiry was set on foot by the Commissioners of Education; and they are now very active in endeavouring to prevent the adoption of any system of education which has the Scripture for its basis, or

which must afford a light which would expose the corruptions and abominations of their religion. . . . . I am happy to say that this part of the country continues tranquil, though parts of the north and centre of the kingdom are much disturbed.

Your Lordship's faithful servant,
HANS HAMILTON.

28*th.* — Bank Charter Bill read a second time and passed, without debate.

House of Commons. Slavery in the West Indies. The resolutions of 1823 ordered to be communicated to the Lords, desiring their concurrence. And a declaration was made by Mr. Secretary Canning that Bills would be proposed to the Colonial Legislature for giving effect to the measures recommended by Government; and if rejected by them, resort must be had to Parliament for enforcing them.

Thursday, March 2nd. — House of Lords. Spoke to Lord Redesdale upon the Chancery Commission Report, which he has refused to sign. Mr. Justice Littledale is the other Commissioner who has not signed; but he never attended. Dr. Lushington busied himself much on the Commission; entirely ignorant of the subject, but very fair and candid. Mr. Robert Smith, formerly Advocate-General in India, was the most troublesome; but all these signed, though with a saving paragraph, that all did not entirely concur in every part of the Report. Mr. Courtenay wrote the draft of the report, which underwent many alterations.

7*th.* — House of Lords. Debated the Anti-Slavery resolutions of the House of Commons, and concurred.

8*th.*—At two o'clock, by appointment, met the Archbishop of York and Mr. Courtenay at the Deanery in Deans' Yard, Westminster, when Dr. Ireland, the Dean, read to us an elaborate, perspicuous, and powerful statement of the right, on the part of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, to have a certain number of scholars elected off from the foundation to Christ Church, Oxford, and Trinity College, at Cambridge,

deduced from the letters-patent of Queen Elizabeth and James I., through all the subsequent transactions between Westminster and Cambridge to the present time. The letters-patent of Queen Elizabeth, say "Tres ad minumum, plures optamus;" and that the Fellows of Trinity should be chosen "potissimum" from Westminster scholars. From 1611, when a sort of *composition* took place between Westminster and Trinity, four scholars, and frequently a greater number, had been elected; but last year the Master of Trinity, in taking four, gave notice that in future he should only take three. The election of Fellows from the Westminster Scholars has gradually decreased to one in ten or one in fifteen years. After the notice of last year the Dean of Westminster thought it his duty to examine the question, and he has transmitted copies of his statement and reasons in support of the larger claim to the Master of Trinity and the Dean of Christ Church, for their consideration. In case of final difference the appeal seems to be to the King as visitor of all these colleges.

9th.—House of Lords. Lord Darnley, in presenting a Roman Catholic petition from Ireland, announced his intention of not bringing on the general question this year. A desultory debate took place on Lord Kingston's motion respecting the state of the Protestant Churches in Munster, &c. The Bishop of Ferns (Dr. Elrington) explained many cases of unions apparently, but not really, blamable; and lamented the deficiency of Parliamentary grants in aid of the first fruits for building churches, which were wanted and asked for in so many parishes.

10th.—Mr. Secretary Peel in the House of Commons brought in his Bills for consolidating the Statute Law upon larceny, and for the better administration of criminal justice as to costs, recognisances, &c.

LETTER FROM MR. PEEL.

[Private.] Whitehall, March 13th, 1826.

My dear Lord,—I am confident that I need not apologise to you for sending you the accompanying draft of the Bill which I

mean to introduce into the House of Commons for the consolidation of the Statute Law relating to the crime of theft.

The Bill has been privately printed previously to its introduction with a view to facilitate the consideration of its provisions.

. . . . . .

Faithfully yours, Robert Peel.

P.S. I can hardly hope that you will have leisure to look at the details of the Bill: but, if it were possible for you to review any of the provisions of it, I should feel highly gratified by the communication of any suggestions that may occur to you.

In introducing the Bill I appealed in support of the principle of my undertaking to your authority, as framer of that most able report which was made in 1796 on the Statute Law of the country.

REPLY TO THE ABOVE.

[Private.] Spring Gardens, March 15th.

My dear Sir,—I am very much obliged to you for the communication of a printed copy of your proposed Bill for the Consolidation of the Statutes relating to the Crime of Theft: and I am also gratified by the approbation which you are pleased to bestow upon a report drawn by me many years ago upon the general state of the Statute Laws. It pretended to no merit but that of bringing once more into view the principle which you have happily undertaken to carry into effect, and such an undertaking could not possibly have been placed in better hands.

Upon a careful perusal of the proposed Bill, its general arrangement and provisions appear to be as clear and distinct as the great importance of the subject requires. Perhaps the title itself would be more characteristic of the form and substance of the Bill, if, according to the language of the preamble, it purported to be "For consolidating and amending the Statutes," &c. rather than "For the better punishment," &c. inasmuch as the Bill proposes in some material points to vary the description of the offence itself as well as the punishment. Perhaps also upon a Bill, which will be naturally looked to as a model for the proper language of legislation, it may be objected that in some parts there is a want of uniformity both in the structure of the clauses and in the use of terms where like matters are to be described or like consequences are meant to be predicated. But the phrases are unnecessarily changed.

Thus in some cases, (vi. vii. viii. ix. x. xi. xii.) it is the *offender* and in another (v.) it is the *offence* which is to be punished. In some the offence is described by its legal denomination of felony, viii. ix. x. xii. xv., of larceny or grand larceny, xvi. xix., or misdemeanor, xxxiii. In others the offence has no legal denomination assigned to it, but it is to be punished "as larceny," vi. vii. xxxix., &c. In another instance, the offender is "to be deemed guilty of stealing," but if he appears to have been guilty of larceny, felony, or suspicion thereof, he is to be dealt with accordingly, xi. And of many offences made punishable by transportation, fine, or imprisonment, some are expressly declared to be misdemeanor, xxxiii. xi. xii., &c., and others are not so denominated, though really such, viz., xxxvii. lix.

There are also some few traces of that surplus of words which serve only to encumber the clause and embarrass the sense,—particularly in what relates to the stealing of deer, rabbits, &c., which might be expressed in fewer words without abating of their precision.

These are the only remarks with which I presume to trouble you; and, if they deserve any attention, the supposed defects may be very easily remedied, but the improvement of our legislative language is not an immaterial consideration.

I have now only to add that I most sincerely hope you will steadily persevere in the course which you have so auspiciously begun, and progressively extend your labours to many other important branches of our statute law.

I have the honour to be, &c.

COLCHESTER.

Scotch Appeals. There are now *none* ready for hearing; all of former years are disposed of, and those of the present year are not yet ready.

House of Lords. Banker's Small Notes Bill read a second time.

16*th.*—In the House of Commons. Hume moved for an account of the moneys received by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster for showing the tombs.

17*th.*—The King. Bulletin. "That for the last three weeks his Majesty had been under the influence of *gout;* that on Monday last he had also *fever*, with symptoms of inflammation, and was bled on Monday and on Tuesday; had less fever on Wednesday, and still less on Thursday."

Warrants have been with the King for various public services, but none executed for above a month.

The Chancellor told Sir T. Tyrwhitt, that since Lady Conyngham was at Windsor, he had never been suffered to enter those gates, except once that he was sent for when Lady C. was absent.

In the afternoon another bulletin came. "That the King was better, the inflammation had subsided, and his Majesty was tranquil;" but it appeared also, that Lord Liverpool had sent for Sir Astley Cooper to go to Windsor. N.B. Sir Astley Cooper declined going, and said it was not a surgical case.

House of Lords. Lord Liverpool moved a Committee on the Banks of Ireland and Scotland; nineteen Lords, ten English, five Scotch, four Irish.

19*th.* — Bulletin. "His Majesty had little sleep last night. His Majesty is much the same as yesterday."

20*th.* — Bulletin. "The King is convalescent."

21*st.* — Answer at Carlton House: "No Bulletin, his Majesty is so much better."

22*nd.* — Left London for the Easter holidays.

LETTER FROM DR. HAMILTON.

Vicarsfield, March 27th, 1826.

My Lord, — The only remarkable circumstance which has taken place since I had last the honour of addressing you, is, the publication of the Pope's Bull, since which event the Roman Catholic Chapels are crowded, morning, noon, and night, and candles lit at night to receive the crowds that cannot come by day. It has occasioned some alarm among the Protestants about us, as they say they have not witnessed such proceedings since before the rebellion of 1798. However, nothing has occurred like a breach of the peace. The poor deluded people say they go to do penance for their sins, and to obtain a plenary indulgence for fifty years to come, which they do by going on their bare knees round the chapel, which is spread with sharp gravel for the purpose. They are given to understand that some important crisis is at hand, some say the end of the world; but certain it is, their minds are worked up to enmity against the Protestants and the State.

Your Lordship has, no doubt, seen in the papers the accounts

of the assembling of the Ribbonmen in various parts of the North, where they have appeared in arms; and yet there seems no notice taken of them by the Government, except to pardon four men who were convicted and sentenced to be executed. Had the Orangemen made but one demonstration similar to the many that have been made by the Ribbonmen, I am confident Commissions of inquiry would have been sent down forthwith. There is one remarkable fact which perhaps may have escaped the observation of your Lordship and others, and to point out which was my chief object in trespassing on you at present; you may perceive that the *Ribbon* system is confined to the north of Ireland, while the *Rock* system pervades the south; whether I am right in my conjecture in accounting for it, time will show, but it strikes me strongly, that the difference of system adopted in each quarter may be accounted for in this way. The extermination of the Protestants and overthrow of the present constitution is their common object, as appears from the nature of their oath. They are well aware that there is a strong body of loyal Protestant yeomen in the North to oppose them, and, therefore, they are training the lower orders of the Roman Catholics in the use of arms, to be prepared to meet them; but in the South this is not necessary, the Protestants are so few, and so thinly scattered through the country, that were the Roman Catholics to rise *en masse* any Sunday, they could by the means of a ferocious Popish mob, whose minds they are now stirring up, and steeling by a Papal indulgence, cut off the whole of the Protestant population. I have never heard it remarked or spoken of, but it presses strongly upon my mind, and I think it not unworthy the attention of those interested in the welfare of Ireland. Persons not residing in Ireland or mixing with the lower orders, can have no idea of the depressed state of the Protestant population, or of the present menacing attitude assumed by the Roman Catholics, and principally by their priests. . . . . .

Your very faithful servant, Hans Hamilton.

FROM LADY AMHERST TO LADY COLCHESTER.

Barrackpore, Nov. 11th, 1825.

My dear Lady Colchester,— . . . . . We are in an anxious state of mind (to say no more). Our eldest son, Jeffery, has obtained our consent to join his regiment at the siege of Bhurtpore, which has hitherto defied all British attempts to capture it. Lord Lake was repulsed three times, and finally

beaten off with a tremendous loss of 3000 men and 300 officers . . . . . One great source of consolation is, that ever since this turbulent spirit manifested itself in the Upper Provinces, Lord Amherst and Sir Edward Paget had been assembling troops, *ever since May last*, and there is now, to use the expression of a general officer, "one of the finest and best appointed armies India ever saw," 25,000 infantry, 8000 cavalry, and 180 pieces of heavy artillery. Every one says that this enormous force will very shortly reduce this town and fort. It is the strongest fortress in India, and eight miles in circumference. Lord Lake failed because his force was inadequate. The principal native chiefs and baboos, constantly say triumphantly, "Ah, the English have conquered almost all India, but they never could capture Bhurtpore;" so that it will be a glorious triumph, and wipe away this provoking reproach from the British arms. Bhurtpore has been the receptacle for all the discontent and mischief hatching in India; the advantages of destroying at least the fort, it is said, will be incalculable. Lord Combermere, our new Commander-in-Chief, sets out in a day or two to take the command, and will find every preparation made. I could almost have wished that Sir Edward Paget could have reaped these laurels, having been working so hard and so anxiously with Lord Amherst; but his time was out, his successor arrived, and there was no helping it. We like our new Commander-in-Chief extremely. I did not know him before; and Lord Amherst very little; but he is really a most pleasant addition to our society. The turbulent provinces have shown plenty of Indian cunning. The Burmese war, they supposed, must prevent our having an army elsewhere, and in the Madras presidency insurrectionary tumults have broken out. Sir Thomas Monro has 7000 men, and has nearly restored quiet and obedience to our laws.

As yet we know not the result of the last meeting between Sir Archibald Campbell and the Burmese first Minister, the Keewonghee, and his colleagues, who really seemed anxious for peace, but said the King must be again consulted, and so the armistice was prolonged; but in case of treachery, which is but too likely, Sir Archibald is making every preparation to move his army on to the capital. Large reinforcements of men, provisions, and draught cattle, &c., have arrived at Rangoon; and Sir Archibald told the first Minister that if he obliged him to make a single march beyond Prome, nothing should stop him till he arrived at Ummerapoora, when probably the King must be hurled from his throne; whereas, now, if he consented to

our terms, he will still be a powerful Sovereign. The two armistices have been exceedingly useful to us, as our army could not move till the middle or end of November, from the torrents of rain and the inundations of the river, which in one night filled, and at last washed away the stable of the horses of the body guard, some of whom could not be got out, and perished; the whole face of the country was one sheet of water and swamp. . . .

The Burmese chiefs told our officers that our attacking Rangoon the first thing we did had entirely counteracted all their plans for the campaign, and given us the entry into the heart of their country, which we could never have had, had we not captured Rangoon.

They meant to have attacked and overrun Chittagong, on our Eastern frontier, which was defenceless, and to have marched into Calcutta; and though the latter would not have been easily accomplished, it would have devastated and ruined all the Eastern provinces. You may remember how Mr. Hume and all his gang thundered out abuse at our attacking Rangoon, when no other plan could have had a chance of repelling and conquering these subtle people. . . . . .

Your most affectionate, S. A.

FROM THE SAME.

Calcutta, Dec. 12th, 1825.

My dear Lady Colchester,— . . . . . My last to you was of the 10th November, I think. The rupture of the negotiations for peace by the Burmese was not known here then; it has been a bitter disappointment to Lord Amherst and to everybody. One of the chiefs said that "they had not dared mention the terms to the King;" and in such utter ignorance do they keep him that, till lately, they had not told him of the capture of Rangoon, or any of the other places taken by us. His frantic rage is described as being so great that he ordered the heads of the relatives of the unsuccessful generals to be struck off, and cut the mouth of the poor Minister, who in the execution of his duty, told him of our successes, from ear to ear. Still they must lower their pride, and accede to peace, or to annihilation. There has been a slight check to a detachment of native troops who went to dislodge a body of Burmese; but the worst part is that Colonel Macdonald, who commanded, was killed by the first shot; no Europeans were engaged. They write, however, in the highest spirits from Prome; and expect to come to some decisive engagement soon. I much fear that at

home our masters will be dissatisfied at the rupture of the negotiations, and the continuance of the war; but it is what no human foresight or energy could prevent; such an implacable foe is only to be *beaten* into peace, and that *must* happen soon.

It is very easy to sit at home by a fireside and blame and criticise the proceedings here, making no allowance for the difficulties, climate, and people we have to deal with; and many of these critics, knowing little of India, and nothing at all of the Burmese empire, judge as harshly as possible of every measure, and misrepresent most of them. . . . There is the worst spirit of radicalism in this town of any I have seen or read of. The strange stories sent over would make one laugh, if they were not returned here by the higher powers, with demands for explanation; and before that explanation can go back, the public mind has been prejudiced, and from the distance and the time it takes, the explanation has but little effect. Everybody here—I mean those who know most of what is passing, thinks that a few months, perhaps weeks more, must settle every difficulty. . . . . .

Affectionately yours, S. Amherst.

Tuesday, April 4th.—Returned to London.

10*th.*—House of Lords. Committee on Banker's Promissory Notes. Mr. Spring Rice*, M.P. (son-in-law to Lord Limerick), a Director of the Provincial Bank in Ireland, was examined from twelve to three o'clock, and gave a distinct and full view of the rules and conduct of this new establishment, with issues of 178,000*l.*, and assets at command for 127,000*l.*, viz., gold, 93,000*l.*, silver, 17,000*l.*, notes of other banks, 17,000*l.*, and the rest in unadvanced shares of the contributors.

Lord Lansdowne brought in a bill this day compelling all bankers to pay in cash at the places where their notes are issued.

11*th.*—House of Lords. Lord Darnley's motion upon the inconvenience, and insufficiency, and expensiveness of the coast blockade, answered shortly and effectually by Lord Melville and Lord Liverpool.

14*th.*—House of Lords. Committee on Currency.

17*th.*—House of Lords. Roman Catholic Petitions

* Created in 1835 Lord Monteagle of Brandon.

presented by Lord Lansdowne and Lord Grey, but no motion except for their being read, and lying on the table. Not a word said by any other Peer.

27*th*.—House of Lords. Scottish Peerage Restitution Bills (4), including that of Lord Wemyss, read a second time with general approbation.

Mr. Monteith, M.P. for Selkirk, being examined this day before the Currency Committee, stated that he begun the world by help of a cash credit with a Scotch bank. He now employs 6,000 persons.

Monday, May 1*st*.—House of Lords. Committee on Currency. Mr. Maberly examined. He gave a curious account of a competition advertised for, seven or eight years ago, for remitting the public revenue from Scotland on the easiest terms. The custom had been by bills at forty days' date. He offered at twenty days and good security; but the Treasury took, or rather continued, the five great banking establishments at twenty days after sight.

Afterwards an eager debate arose upon a petition which was introduced on the subject of the present disturbances in Lancashire, and Lord Liverpool declared his intention on the part of the Government to admit bonded corn, and to grant a temporary power to the King in Council to allow foreign importation at a reduced duty.

2*nd*.—Mr. Frankland Lewis, one of the Commissioners for inquiring into the state of education in Ireland, told me that their second report was now in readiness to present, but that their trial of a *joint literary education* combined with *separate religious* instruction was not yet in progress, on account of the difficulty of getting such scriptural works for their joint reading in literature as Roman Catholics and Protestants would equally approve, and that what the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin would agree to was not agreed to by the other persons whose co-operation was essentially necessary. He also told me that the Commissioners were to inquire into Maynooth during the approaching summer.

In the House of Lords the judges delivered their opinion on the questions put to them respecting general and special bonds of resignation in the case of Fletcher* and Lord Sondes. Judgment postponed. N.B. And not given in the session of this year.

A notice was given by Lord Malmesbury of moving on Monday next resolutions against the proposed measure of enabling the King in Council to allow the importation of corn, contrary to the present law, as a relief to the distresses of the manufacturing districts.

In the House of Commons there was an adjourned debate on the proposed admission of foreign corn.

In the city of London, a subscription is opened at the Mansion House for the relief of the distressed manufacturers.

The King is in good health and spirits. He dined the other day with a party of eight at Carlton House, drank his limited quantity of three glasses of sherry at dinner, and a pint of claret after dinner; sat with his company afterwards till one in the morning, showing and explaining all his plans of Buckingham House and the Strand improvements, &c.

5*th*.—House of Lords. Bill for Joint Stock Banking Companies, and pro tanto repeal of Bank Charter. The Bishop of Ferns attacked the report of the Committee on Education.

10*th*.—Rode with Dick Martin of Galway, who told me of his correspondence with the Duke of Wellington when Chief-Secretary in Ireland. His account was this:—That, having applied on behalf of a constituent for some small office, he received a *rude refusal* from Sir Arthur Wellesley, whereupon he replied that he had no right to complain of the *refusal*, but he had a right to complain of the *mode*, and, as the new Chief-Secretary ap-

* Mr. Fletcher was a clergyman who, having given Lord Sondes a bond to resign a living to which Lord Sondes had presented him, fancied he had some claim on Lord Sondes which justified him in refusing to perform his undertaking; but Lord Sondes, in an action, obtained heavy damages from him.

peared to be not yet acquainted with the proper form in such cases, he enclosed a suitable precedent which he might use on future occasions, *e. g.*, "that the Chief-Secretary had laid Mr. A. B.'s request before the Lord-Lieutenant, which his Excellency, however desirous to oblige Mr. A. B., regretted very much that it was not in his power to comply with," &c., and that such had always been the courteous mode of answering the letters of gentlemen.

CHAP. LXXIII.

1826.

DEBATE ON CORN LAWS IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS. — LETTERS FROM LORD AND LADY AMHERST. — PEACE WITH THE BURMESE. — CAPTURE OF BHURTPORE. — CURRENCY COMMITTEE. — PICTURES GIVEN TO THE BRITISH MUSEUM. — NEW PEERAGES. — CAPTAIN PARRY'S PROPOSED EXPEDITION TO THE NORTH POLE. — DECAY OF THE DUKE OF YORK'S HEALTH. — CANNING'S VISIT TO PARIS. — SOUTHEY. — SIR W. RAWDON. — LETTER FROM LADY AMHERST. — LETTER FROM REV. T. HARTWELL HORNE. — CONDITION OF THE PROTESTANTS IN HUNGARY, ETC. — FROM ARCHBISHOP MAGEE. — STATE OF IRELAND, ETC. — FROM LORD SIDMOUTH, THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE, ETC. — DEBATE ON THE SPANISH ATTACK ON PORTUGAL.

THURSDAY, May 11th. — House of Lords. Debate on Lord Malmesbury's motion that it is inexpedient to alter or suspend the Corn Laws without previous inquiry into the necessity and probable effect of such a measure. This was the substance of it: — It was loosely and weakly opposed by Lord Bathurst, who moved (as a sort of previous question) to adjourn. The speakers for the motion were, Lord Limerick, Lord Roseberry, Lord Caernarvon, Lord Mansfield, &c. Those against it were, Lord Aberdeen, Lord Dudley, Lord Harewood, Lord Darnley, Lord King, Lord Liverpool urged his opposition mainly on the ground that the proposed measure of giving the Crown a power to import a limited quantity for a limited time, prejudged no point on the Corn Law duties, neither their prohibitory principle, nor their precise scale of duties, but only provided, in a time of distress and disturbance, for a remedy or alleviation in case of an unexpected bad harvest, which might raise corn to an extravagant price, which could not otherwise be prevented except by calling Parliament together, &c.

Lord Lansdowne answered this by contending that, if it was meant for a temporary remedy for an extraordinary and unexpected evil, the proper course was for the Government to take the extraordinary remedy into their own hands, on their own responsibility, and, if it stood, as it appeared to stand, on general grounds of politic foresight, applicable alike to future years as to the present, it amounted to a precedent, and a rule, and a principle, equally applicable for ever, and whether wise or unwise, should not be adopted without previous inquiry. All agreed that the prices of the four last months, viz., 58*s.* 6*d.* per quarter of wheat, afforded of itself no ground for apprehension.

Present in the House, 152 peers this day. For adjourning, 96; against it, 49. I voted in the minority, thinking that no dispensing or suspending power was called for, or should be sanctioned by law.

13*th.* — News this day of the termination of the Burmese war by a surrender of four provinces to the British arms; viz. Arracan, Munnipore, Cachar, and Assam, with a crore of rupees, 1,000,000*l.*, and all the islands and coast south of Rangoon.

FROM LADY AMHERST TO LADY COLCHESTER.

Calcutta, Jan. 31st, 1826.

My dear Lady Colchester,—I am about to address you in the highest state of exultation and joy, which I am quite sure Lord Colchester and yourself will share when I tell you that the preliminaries of peace with the Burmese were actually signed on the 3rd inst., and were sent up to Ummerapoora for the ratification and the signature of the King; this we expect by the steam vessel the "Enterprise" in a few more days. After the battles of the 1st, 2nd, and 5th December, in which you will have seen the enemy was completely and entirely defeated, he retired to Meaday. There Sir Archibald resolved to follow him, and actually set out the next day, the 6th. On arriving at Meaday, 120 miles nearer their capital, the whole of that terrific stockade was abandoned by the few that survived the cholera. Many thousands of their warriors were lying dead in heaps along the woods. He then pursued their main army to Melloon, their grand point of rendezvous, and said to be immensely strong,

both by art and nature. Within three miles of the latter place Sir Archibald was met by the first Minister from the King, and the same Commissioners as before, to sue for peace on our own terms. Of course our army halted. Negotiations were entered into, and the preliminaries of peace signed on the 3rd. Never was an enemy so humbled; they confessed that they could no longer resist us; that their soldiers would not fight against us, who had used them so kindly; and they repeatedly said, "You have conquered the *hearts* of our people; as well as our country." They said, moreover, that their treasury was positively empty, and that starvation was in their capital, and the country in a state of famine, from our having possession of the whole of the Irrawaddy river from Rangoon to Melloon. They also repeatedly said, "You have taught us humanity;" and they certainly have not for some months put to death or maltreated any unfortunate English stragglers who fell into their hands.

I must now mention another subject of equal importance and triumph; the fall of that hitherto impregnable fortress, Bhurtpore, which repulsed Lord Lake three times, with a dreadful loss of officers and men, and never had been taken. Lord Combermere, after nearly six weeks' siege, and very hard work, has at last succeeded. The rich Baboos and Rajahs all were saying, to the very last day before the capture, that Bhurtpore never had been taken, and never would be, and large bets were made by them upon it. . . . . General Nichols was among the first to mount the breach, which was bravely and obstinately defended. . . . . .

Affectionately yours, S. AMHERST.

FROM LORD AMHERST.

Barrackpore, Feb. 7th, 1826.

My dear Lord,—Your kind letter of May 24th, with the important intelligence of the decision of the Privy Council on Mr. Buckingham's appeal did not reach me as soon as it ought to have done. . . . . The dismissal of this appeal, and the consequent establishment of Mr. Adams's regulations, certainly leave as much power as can possibly be required in the hands of this government for the control of the press. There are many who would prefer a censorship. Almost all indeed I believe incline to the latter measure except the officer whose duty it would be to exercise it, and who would find it an invidious task. I am very well satisfied with the law as it stands. I have had no occasion for any measure of severity since the case of Mr. Arnot. The advocates of a free press think, of course, that

we are entrusted with too much power. In the midst of all the abuse which I have had to bear for my conduct towards the press, it is a satisfaction to me to be able to say that, at least, I am not thought a tyrant in Calcutta. The press itself takes frequent opportunity of expressing its sense of the liberal manner in which the great powers entrusted to Government are exercised.

If I look to the press to defend me against the charge of holding it in slavish subjection, so also do I appeal to the Burmese for my vindication when I am accused of having engaged unnecessarily in this war, and of having misconducted its operations. We have the incontrovertible testimony of the members of the Lotoo, or great Council of Ava, that their monarch had resolved to *add Bengal to his* dominions, and that the expedition to Rangoon compelled him to recall his force from our frontier for the protection of the southern provinces of his empire. . . . . .

About forty hours ago I had the bitter disappointment of learning that the preliminaries of peace with the Burmese, signed on the 3rd of January, had not been ratified. I know not how to account for this unexpected event. To judge from the language of the Burmese Commissioners, the strength of the empire was broken, and its treasury exhausted. I really believe that the negotiations were sincere. I ground my belief on the universal persuasion which prevailed in Ava that peace was at hand. Whether the ministers were afraid to ask the King to consent to a cession of territory, and a money payment, or whether the King rejected the terms, is more than we yet know.

The day after that fixed for the delivery of the ratified treaty, Sir Archibald Campbell, finding that the enemy had no intention to fulfil their promises, attacked them in their fortified position at Melloon, and carried it with a trifling loss, making himself master of a great part of their *matériel*. He was to begin his advance towards the capital on the 24th.

Bhurtpore was taken in the most brilliant manner on the 18th. You will probably have heard of the celebrity which this place has acquired since its repulse of Lord Lake in 1806. It was in fact deemed impregnable even by the British arms, and was considered by the natives not only as the limit of our conquests, but as the future and probable germ of our overthrow. By those who thought that our whole strength was employed in Ava our failure was deemed certain; and would have been the signal, I doubt not, for the bursting forth of much evil spirit

which has long been collecting and smothering in the Upper Provinces. The quarrel was provoked some months ago; but, whatever we were compelled to do in Ava, I thought that here we were masters of our own time, and need not engage in hostilities until we were fully prepared to meet them. As soon as our army and battering train could be assembled to ensure our success we put ourselves in motion. Lord Combermere arrived just in time to take the field. His activity at the commencement, and caution during the progress of the siege, anticipated and frustrated the means of defence, and enabled him successfully to storm on the morning of the 18th of January, with a loss of lives far within the lowest calculation. The usurper was taken; the legitimate Rajah, a minor, was found alive, and the power of the Jauts, a warlike race, is annihilated. I trust the tranquillity of Hindostan is not likely to be soon disturbed. . . . . .

It was too much perhaps to expect that I could have made the same ship the bearer of such important intelligence from the eastern and western extremities of our empire; but if the news of the preliminaries of peace was somewhat unexpected, still more so was the intelligence of the renewal of this war; and it requires more than ordinary equanimity to bear these sudden changes. . . . . .

Most sincerely yours, AMHERST.

15*th.* — Authentic news received this day of the capture of Missolongi, on April 22nd.

16*th.* — The Bishop of London came to me upon the *trust* business of our painting and sculpture, which it is proposed to remove from the British Museum to the new buildings on the site of the Mews at Charing Cross. I showed him my brief statement of the grounds of objection on our parts as trustees. 1st. That as the law now stands, it would be a breach of our trust to give them up. 2nd. That any alteration of the law in that respect would be inconsistent with justice to the intentions of former benefactors, and would discourage future benefactions. 3rd. That no authority less than that of an Act of Parliament could justify the trustees in directing or allowing any removal of the collections entrusted to their care.

17*th.* — House of Lords, Committee on Currency.

Lord Liverpool read a memorandum of his opinion. 1st. That it was desirable to have the same currency, viz., a metallic currency, throughout the United Kingdom; but there may be obstacles, and it is not *indispensably* necessary. 2nd. That in Ireland the 1*l.* notes should be prohibited at an early period, and all under 3*l.* or 2*l.*, and silver to be legal tender to that amount. 3rd. As to Scotland. The Scotch system of 1*l.* notes and cash credits being established, and apparently solid, should not be touched; but its circulation must be limited to the territory of Scotland.

Other Lords delivered their opinions. The general concurrence was for leaving Scotland as it is for the present, and see whether the Provincial Bank* upon the Scottish plan, which is now commencing its operations upon the principle of opening cash credits, should be allowed to proceed with its 1*l.* notes, which are deemed (according to the evidence) to be essential to that system, or whether to extinguish the 1*l.* notes altogether, as well as all notes for fractional sums under 2*l.*; and finally, whether to report such opinion, or only to report the evidence. Adjourned to Friday next; and the Lord President to prepare a draft of a short report upon which the Committee might come to some determination.

In the House of Commons, a Chancery Amendment Bill was brought in by the Attorney-General (Sir J. Copley).

19*th.*—House of Lords. Currency Committee. The Lord President produced the draft of a report which was read twice, and the further discussion of it adjourned to Wednesday.

22*nd.*—Received a note from the Duke of Newcastle, "Very private," asking my confidential opinion of Sir Robert H. Inglis as a fit man to be returned for a seat in Parliament belonging to the Duke, and now vacant, according to the Duke's views in politics, &c.; and as a

* The Provincial Bank was in Ireland, *v. supra*, p. 425.

respectable friend, &c. To all which I answered immediately in favour of the proposition.

23*rd*.—Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt told me to-day that he had been with the King for two hours, and had never seen him better in bodily health, or in spirits, and free from all ailments except a weakness in his ankles and feet.

24*th*. — House of Lords. Committee on Currency; we finally agreed to the report which leaves the paper circulation of Scotland untouched, as having long experience of its solidity; and abstaining for the present moment from proposing any measure for suppressing the 1*l*. notes in Ireland, until further information and experience is had of the system of Scotch credits as recently introduced into Ireland.

Sir Charles Long came to inquire about the measures resolved on at the British Museum. He regretted that I had waived my proposed resolution about the *pictures*, as the general resolution against removing the whole or part of any collections from these premises may, by insisting too largely, endanger the loss of the marbles as well as the pictures. He stated from his own knowledge that the pictures of Sir George Beaumont had not cost him 4000*l*. The wish of Sir George Beaumont to become a joint trustee of the Museum was also discussed; but we thought it unadvisable to propose to Parliament.

My proposed resolution was this: that the collection of pictures, for which the public is indebted to the munificence of Sir George Beaumont, is so far differently circumstanced from the other collections belonging to this trust, that it has not yet been deposited in the British Museum, and may, *with the consent of the donor*, be more readily united to the pictures recently purchased for a National Gallery of paintings, if it shall be thought fit to have the whole placed under the care of the trustees of the British Museum, in any separate building in any other part of the Metropolis.

25*th*. — House of Lords. The Lord Chancellor delivered judgment upon an appeal from the Court of Equity of the Brecknock Circuit, the first instance, he

said, of any appeal from that jurisdiction in his remembrance.

26*th.*—Attended the House of Lords in order to make up the number requisite for hearing Lord Gifford's judgments on Scotch appeals, of which he gave four in a clear and masterly style.

Passed the two Corn Bills; a long and tedious speech from Lord Calthorpe, abusing them both, though he had voted for them; and disparaging the majorities by which they were passed, as unsatisfactory to those who had supported them.

31*st.* — House of Lords. Parliament prorogued by Commission. The speech announced an immediate dissolution; mentioned peace in Europe, and the termination of the Burmese war. No mention of Bhurtpore.

New Peerages announced: Sir Charles Long, Mr. Stuart Wortley, Sir J. Leycester (this an old promise of the King sixteen years ago), Mr. Duncombe, Mr. Charles Rose Ellis, Lady Halford. (N.B. This did not take place). And Irish Peers to be made English Peers: Lord Clanricarde, Lord Northland, and Lord Fife. Ditto Scotch: Lord Balcarras (an old promise to his father). The mother, too, of Vesey Fitzgerald is to be made an Irish Peeress.

Thursday, June 1*st.*— Attended Board of Longitude. Lord Melville produced a proposal drawn out in full detail by Captain Parry, for an expedition to proceed straight from Spitzbergen to the North Pole; declaring his disinclination to accede to it unless the Board should recommend it on the ground of its probable utility for scientific purposes.

The project was to proceed in the "Hecla" next spring to Cloven Cliff, Spitzbergen; leave the "Hecla" there to survey the unexplored eastern coast of Spitzbergen and the northernmost of the Seven Islands, being fifty miles nearer to the North Pole. Captain Parry to proceed with two boats, manned each by one officer (himself one) and ten men, straight in a line towards the North Pole, distant 600 miles, starting from Cloven Cliff June 1st. The boats (like the Madras

surf boats) to be built of larch or hickory, with strong copper fastenings, and lashed with thongs and covered with leather sliders at bottom, that they may act as boats or sledges to be drawn by Esquimaux dogs (wheels also to be provided for occasionally helping the boats forward). Provisions for seventy-two days; and these with birds, seals, &c. (or some of the dogs if necessary), to last them in all ninety-two days, being the computed time of their absence from the "Hecla." An oilcloth, to serve for sail or covering. The dogs to be from twelve to twenty; and a daily decrease of 50 lbs. reckoned for in their weight of provision by daily consumption. The "Hecla" to furnish thirty men extra for the first thirty miles of the journey, who are then to return to their ships.

The "Hecla," besides surveying, to make pendulum observations, and collect specimens of natural history.

Captain Parry states that in all this expedition there is no extraordinary risk to be apprehended. The sun is constantly, during that season, above the horizon; and wherever there is open water in those seas it is always smooth. He reckons that before the end of August the boat expedition would be completed, and all might be in England by October. Captain Sabine was ready to have undertaken the expedition.

At the Board, after Lord Melville left it, this proposal was, by his desire, taken into consideration. Present, fifteen persons, including Mr. Croker and Mr. Barrow, secretaries to the Admiralty, Sir Humphry Davy, Mr. Herschel, the Astronomer Royal, and the Oxford and Cambridge professors, &c.

In conclusion, the Board came to a resolution, "That it was their desire to have the expedition undertaken, for its possible results of importance to many purposes of science; although upon a subject attended with so many novel circumstances they could not pronounce with any degree of certainty upon its final utility." This was the substance, and nearly the form. Its bearings upon geography, electricity, meteorology, mag-

netism, &c., were mentioned and urged in the course of the discussion.

Major-General Sir Willoughby Gordon called. He mentioned the precarious state of the Duke of York's health, although no organic malady was apprehended. His mind was in a great state of uneasiness. The expenses incurred by his new house* greatly annoy him, and he is much offended and mortified at Lord Liverpool's proposal to the King to take it off the Duke's hands. It was originally planned as a moderate house by Smirke, and actually begun on that scale, when the Duchess of Rutland interfered, changed the whole to its present vast size, and put it into the hands of Wyatt. Its computed cost when completed is not less than 120,000*l.*

4th. — Called on Mr. Duncombe. The King told Mr. Duncombe the other day that his own sentiments were always the same as his upon the Protestant and Roman Catholic question.

Lord Chief Justice Abbott told me that he had upon *one day* in the last sittings tried 101 causes. They were actions on bills and promissory notes, defended for the sake and hope of delay, which, since the new regulations, cannot be obtained, as formerly, by writs of error, in which security is now required for payment of debts and costs of error. Having found this large number in the paper he brought them all forward at once, and swore 101 juries successively in one day; and upon regular proof, the plaintiffs in all recovered verdicts.

14th.—The Earl of Bristol is to be made a marquess.

21st.—The Duke of York is much better.

23rd.—Lord Farnborough (Sir Charles Long) told me that the day before yesterday it had been decided at a conference between Lord Liverpool, Mr. Robinson, Lord Aberdeen, and himself, that the ancient marbles should *not* be removed from Montague House; and mainly upon the principle of not subverting the condi-

* The house in Stable Yard, bought after the Duke's death by the Marquis of Stafford.

tions upon which a large portion had been given, such as that by Mr. Payne Knight.

FROM LORD COLCHESTER TO LORD AMHERST.

London, June 23rd, 1826.

My dear Lord,— . . . . . Be it known that about three weeks ago the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, having closed its session, was dissolved; and that a new Parliament being immediately called, the elections for it are now nearly completed, except those of Scotland and Ireland. The election cry has been upon the Corn Laws, the Abolition of Slavery, and the Roman Catholic claims; and almost every candidate has been required to explain his opinions and future conduct upon these questions. There has been very little rioting anywhere, and although Cobbett, as a candidate at Preston, and Hunt, in Somersetshire, have done their best, or their worst, to excite disturbances, they have hitherto failed as much in that way as they are likely to fail in obtaining their return to Parliament. Westminster and Middlesex have been uncontested, and the old Members reseated. The chief contests have been at Chester, Coventry, Bristol, Lichfield, Nottingham, Carlisle; besides a hot battle for Northumberland, which is still raging, and the like in Huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire, Yorkshire, Surrey, and Cornwall. The fiercest fighting will probably be for the county of Waterford in Ireland.

Among the peerages which have been recently gazetted, many would have rejoiced to see your name advanced to higher honours, as your wars and conquests have been commenced and conducted under circumstances and in a manner which warranted the expectation of all your friends out of the Government, who have seen with the greatest regret, those persons silent and inactive, who ought to have been most forward to vindicate and support your measures and your authority. The public, however, do justice to the manliness and honour of the Duke of Wellington as your steady friend in the Cabinet; and his approbation may well be set against all other opinions. We, however, of a closer circle, rejoice that "Jeff,"* if we may speak so familiarly of our young friend, has earned his spurs in the memorable siege of Bhurtpore. The news of the renewal

* Lord Amherst's eldest son Jeffery was serving as one of his father's aides-de-camp, but joined the army besieging Bhurtpore, as aide-de-camp to General (afterwards Sir Jaspar) Nicolls, who commanded the left column of attack in the storm of that fortress.

of hostilities in the Burmah country has recently reached us by the despatches of a naval officer, but that event excites no other expectation but that of a further march for Sir A. Campbell, to make his public entry into Ummerapoora.

The general complexion of public affairs in Europe is pacific. It is true that the King of the Netherlands has some pen and ink disputes with Prussia and the German States, touching upon the Rhine, about the free navigation of that river towards the sea; but nobody has either money or inclination to go beyond the inexpensive war of words. The coronation of the Emperor of Russia has been delayed by the death of the Emperor Alexander's widow, so that the Duke of Devonshire and his suite will, owing to that accident, arrive there in time. . . . . .

Captain Kotzebue, the Russian circumnavigator, has lately returned from the northern seas of the Pacific, but we do not hear much of his discoveries. Our Captain Franklin writes word that his land expedition to the Arctic seas has so far prospered, that he has reached his destined winter-quarters by the side of the Bear Lake; all well, in high spirits, and prepared to start in the present summer for Behring's Straits.

In the South of Europe the Turks have at last evacuated Moldavia and Wallachia, and their ally, the Pacha of Egypt, by taking Missolonghi, has nearly destroyed the hopes and means of the Greeks, whose ships are all turning pirates, and plundering the vessels of all nations; so that our Admiralty has been obliged to increase our naval force in the Mediterranean, for the protection of our trade. Spain is sinking deeper and deeper into bigotry and poverty. South America is to become the residence of the Emperor of Brazil, who gives his daughter to her uncle Don Miguel, and transfers Portugal to them. The ancient possessions of Spain and Portugal in South America are now totally lost to both these crowns; and Paraguay, which had become an independent State under the strange domination of De Francia, is said to have been overrun by the Columbian army. The only beneficial thing for us in these concerns is the actual survey of the Coast of America south of the River Plata, and round Cape Horn, which is now making for the first time by a British ship of war sent out expressly for that purpose. In the West Indies there has been much apprehension that the Mexicans would invade Cuba. It is well if our own West India islands are not lost to us by the agitation which the cry for emancipation has raised among the Negro colonists; all property in these islands has greatly fallen in value, and colonial produce also is at lower prices than last year.

So much for more distant matters. At home the King, who was alarmingly ill in the spring, is quite recovered, and better upon his feet than for many months past. The Duke of York, though better than he has been, is still unwell. Meanwhile Buckingham Palace is rising in great splendour and magnitude; and another palace is building for the Duke of York, on the site of his former house. . . . . .

Amongst the memorabilia of this year has been the bursting of most of the monstrous speculations and bubbles of the last year. These failures include all the joint-stock companies of the metropolis; London Steam Washing Company, Clothes Brushing Company, Westminster Dairy Company; most of the Irish Mining Companies; the like of those in South America. I have not recently heard of the Silkworm Company, who began to plant mulberry trees near the Lake of Killarney.

. . . . . .

Most truly and faithfully yours, C.

27*th*.—Met William Bankes.* In an interview which he had the day before yesterday with Lord Liverpool (at Bankes's own request), he reminded Lord Liverpool of having from the beginning told him (Lord L.) the order in which the poll for the University of Cambridge would stand, as it finally turned out. Lord L. said that if it was to do over again he did not see how he, as a minister, could do otherwise. Bankes remonstrated with him upon his own professed desire that the Roman Catholic claims might be successfully resisted, against having set up a man of straw in hostility to him; and that he (Bankes) could not consider it in any other light; and he called it what he felt it to be. Moreover that whenever Sir John Copley ceased, as he soon must, to sit for Cambridge, he (Bankes) was sure to come in; and that Goulburn, after the discreditable course he had pursued, had lost himself in the University, and had no chance whatever. And so the interview ended, to the great satisfaction of both parties; of one, that his mortification was over, and of the other, that he had vented his reproaches and the truth. William Bankes, after the second day's poll, had offered to Goulburn

* Eldest son of Mr. Henry Bankes.

that both should release their friends, and let them vote for him or Goulburn as they pleased; but Goulburn and his committee, with the Master of Trinity in the chair, refused.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM MR. BANKES.

Kingston Hall, June 25th.

Dear Colchester,—It is a piece of welcome news to me that the marbles are not to be wrested from the British Museum; the pictures, never having been domiciliated there, stand undoubtedly upon a different footing. Had you not brought the question to a decision at the very opportune time you chose, they would probably have migrated without any one being accountable for, or knowing much about, their removal. You must recollect that in the alterations, and new fronting towards Old Palace Yard, it was impossible to find out under what direction, or according to what plan, they were ordered or conducted.

What has happened with regard to the Duke of York's house to make him sick or uneasy? Did he think when he began it, that money would grow in his pocket spontaneously to pay for it?

Goulburn must certainly have continued in the field at Cambridge for the purpose of seating Lord Palmerston, and for no other. The event was no disappointment to many of William's best friends. . . . . .

The difference in the new Parliament as to the Roman Catholic question will be, I apprehend, very considerable, and our first division must be, if I am not much mistaken, unfavourable. . . . . .

Yours most sincerely, H. BANKES.

Friday, July 7th—Left London for Kidbrooke.

In September, Lord Gifford died at Dover, after a short illness, aged forty-seven.

In October, Canning* went to Paris, and dined with the King of France.

* See some account of this, *Stapleton's Canning*, p. 516, &c.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER OF MR. RICKMAN.

(Being a journal of travels in France, &c.)

July, 1826.

My Lord,— . . . . . I left London Friday, June 2nd, in company with Mr. Southey* and Mr. H. Taylor, and before we reached Deptford, we received a fourth passenger into the coach, who, alluding to placards by the roadside, immediately took occasion to reprobate public lotteries, announced as nearly at an end. But this enemy to gambling soon announced himself as a speculator in South American mines, and almost as the original founder of one of these projects, either Anglo-Mexican, or United-Mexican, the last of which especially is sure to produce cent. per cent. interest. His intimacy with General Vittoria, at present President of the Mexican republic, produced some curious anecdotes. General Vittoria, while Iturbide was master, found it necessary to abscond, and subsisted on roots and worms in the desert for several months; so nearly starved was the General, that a vulture thought him fair prey, and stooped down upon him as he lay exhausted. This roused the dying man, who strangled the bird and sucked his blood, and soon after this sort of refreshment was found by his friends, then triumphant.

The gentleman who told us this was Sir W. Rawdon, who announced himself as author, under the name of Adams, of a book touching South American mines. Previously, he was an army surgeon, meritorious, I believe, in his treatment of ophthalmia, concerning which there was a House of Commons Committee about four years since, in which Lord Palmerston supported Mr. Adams, as very ill-used by the Medical Board; the Commander-in-Chief's friends taking the opposite side; and so much warmth was excited upon this medical question, that the Committee could agree in nothing but in not printing the evidence which they had elicited, of such a kind that both parties upon reflection thought creditable to neither. . . . . .

As we passed Chatham and the Brompton Barracks a casual mention of Colonel Pasley produced from Sir W. Rawdon particulars of the late experiment of a steam-engine battery, invented by Perkins, who, having contrived, by means of an apparatus of tubes, to prevent the danger consequent on high pressure to the intense amount of seventy atmospheres, fires off, or, I should rather say, expels a charge of fifty or sixty musket-balls consecutively in a minute with fourfold force, and unerring aim, there

* Robert Southey, the poet.

being no recoil. The impression made on a brick wall overcame, said Sir W. Rawdon, the incredulity of the Duke of Wellington; and defensive warfare in future is likely to exterminate all assailants. Sir William, it appeared, had purchased the invention of Perkins, and was on his road to Paris to make overtures of some kind to the French Government, lest they should be behindhand in the knowledge of this new art of destruction.

. . . . . .

The news of Southey's being returned as M.P. reached him much to his surprise, at Brussels; but he has a pension of 200*l.* a year during pleasure, so that, without troublesome arrangements, he could not serve. There needed not indeed this objection, as prudential reasons would forbid his appearing in London in that character. . . . . .

I have not yet met with any estimate worth quoting of the effect of the new elections. The priests in Ireland seem to begin to display their power in opposition to the landowners. I confess I have always wondered why this did not happen earlier. The County Dublin election, three or four years ago, was, I think, the first instance. . . . . .

Your most faithful servant, J. RICKMAN.

FROM LADY AMHERST TO LADY COLCHESTER.

Calcutta, March 22nd, 1826.

My dear Lady Colchester,—I had the pleasure to receive a short time since, your letter of Oct. 14th. You were not then aware (because the authors took such pains to keep their nefarious plans secret), that great efforts were making, partly at the Board of Control and partly at the India House, to recall Lord Amherst, and an announcement of their intentions reached us on the 8th inst. It has been brought about by a long and pertinacious system of falsehood by those who are desirous of the situation of Governor-General; whether such a system, opposed to truth and openness, will ultimately succeed, remains to be seen. We depend entirely on the *justice* of the Directors, and on *parts* of the Government at home. The reasons given for the intended recall are these:—A delay in sending home the inquiry of the Committee into the causes of the mutiny at Barrackpore. 2ndly, making no comments upon it. 3rdly, not instantly pardoning the mutineers. And lastly, undertaking the Burmese war without a sufficient probability of success. To the *first* the reply is, that the Committee sat six weeks, and the report was so voluminous from the number of witnesses, that it entirely

occupied Lord Amherst six days and nearly nights to read it; Mr. Tindall, the member of Council (an old man) twelve days; and other members of Government ten or twelve days each. A *number* of copies were to be made for the offices connected with the inquiry, and the whole was completed in two months. Another month was spent in awaiting the arrival of Mr. Adam, who was daily expected, who had been Military Secretary, and whose opinion was anxiously wished for. When the poor man arrived from the Upper Provinces he was too ill even to read it, and thus in rather less than *three* months it was sent to England. To add to this the ship had a long passage.

The reason for *the second* is, that as some officers would be deeply implicated, Lord Amherst, from motives of delicacy, made no comments, leaving it to the Directors to make them, they having the whole evidence before them, and being in possession of every fact. *Thirdly*, as to not directly pardoning all the mutineers, it must be remembered that they were taken in arms in open mutiny, and condemned to death, which was *immediately* commuted to hard labour on the roads for a specified time; and about a week or ten days afterwards, the remains of the same native regiment, and all the native regiments had avowedly distinguished themselves by uncommon bravery in the face of the enemy, for the express purpose of trying to wipe off the stain on the Sepoy character, by the misled regiment which had in part mutinied. Lord Amherst thought, in conjunction with Sir Edward Paget, this a fine opportunity to encourage loyal and brave conduct; and they (the mutineers) all received a free pardon, and were sent that very day to their homes. The last reason had long ago been settled by the King having, in his speech, declared that the war was just and unavoidable. And the Directors actually *wrote* the same opinion. Thus much for their frivolous reasons. Lord Amherst communicated the whole to the Council, and never was there more grief and indignation than the members all evinced on the occasion. This feeling has pervaded Calcutta and all India to a great degree. We had been long engaged to attend the theatre, and went a few days after the recall was known; and the expression of public opinion never was more marked or more enthusiastic. Old Indians have told me that, during the most brilliant successes of Lord Wellesley and Lord Hastings, they never witnessed anything like the reiterated plaudits of that night. And, strange to say, the opposition papers have taken up the cudgels in Lord Amherst's defence, he having been uncommonly liberal to the press throughout. The greedy thirst for place and power of the

Grenvilles has profited by the mischievous malice of private letters to get the head of the family* into this situation with more manœuvring than might be prudent to enter into in a letter. However, the news of the uncommon success of Sir Archibald and his brave army arrived ten days after this resolution had been come to; and we shall see what effect it will have. . . . We, on our part, are quite ready to return when the mandate comes: and a blessed day it will be. . . . .

The fall of Bhurtpore has in every sense of the word delivered us from keen anxiety.† The glory of this success, and the immense beneficial results that are daily pouring in, may perhaps prove to the Directors that their Governor-General is not so "incapable" or feeble, as his enemies have represented. Carrying on two such wars at one time with such splendid success must open their eyes I should hope. Every hour we are expecting to hear of Sir Archibald having arrived at Ummerapoora or Ava, (the present capital) both towns are in turn considered the capital, as the Court moves to each at different seasons. The preliminaries of peace, you must have heard, were refused to be ratified by the King. Sir Archibald put his army in motion the next day. At any rate hostilities *must cease;* whether the King will make peace remains to be seen. If not, our conquests must remain in our hands, and a fine country it is. The Burmese never can again think of subjugating Bengal; there is every reason to believe that, had not our first expedition to Rangoon been undertaken, all our Eastern Provinces must soon have been overrun. So said repeatedly the first minister of Ava, and other chiefs, and that this measure had defeated all their plans. . . . . .

Ever affectionately yours, S. Amherst.

FROM THE SAME.

Calcutta, April 13th, 1826.

My dear Lady Colchester, — I shall have the pleasure now of writing you a cheerful letter, which from the state of things, I have been unable to do for some time. We have, I am happy to say, a glorious termination to the war. Peace, a very advantageous one, was signed, and ratified by the King of Ava, on February 24th. Twenty-five lacs of rupees *paid down*, and all

* The Duke of Buckingham did not, in fact, succeed Lord Amherst, but he had endeavoured to obtain the appointment as far back as 1822.—*Vide infra*, March 18th, 1827.

† Lord Amherst's son was serving in Lord Combermere's army.

the European and American prisoners sent to the British camp. Sir Archibald and his army were only forty miles from Ava when the King sent down a Dr. Price, an American Missionary, and a Mr. Sandford, an English surgeon, who had been taken prisoner, to treat for peace; we are all delighted beyond expression at every detail of this desirable and joyous event, and especially Lord Amherst, who has been worn down with anxiety, is of course overjoyed.

The consequences of the fall of Bhurtpore are pouring in daily; all the heretofore seditious Rajahs in Upper India are at our feet; those who only awaited our failure there to rise up simultaneously and throw off British rule. This has been clearly proved since; and the secret connection between Ava and these malcontents has been clearly laid open. Every part of India is now in a state of peace which may last for centuries to come. And our British officers are in despair at having nothing more to do. . . . . .

Affectionately yours, S. AMHERST.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM THE REV. HARTWELL HORNE.

Islington, Sept. 26th, 1826.

My Lord,— . . . . . I will endeavour to condense the most material facts respecting religious toleration in Hungary.

After the Hungarian Protestants had endured three centuries of persecution, Leopold II., as King of Hungary, issued a declaration of tolerance in their favour. Profiting by this they held a synod for the regulation of their ecclesiastical concerns; its determinations were submitted to Leopold, who died before he could give them his sanction. The attention of Francis I. was so diverted by the long wars in which he was engaged, that the articles presented thirty years since (in 1823) for his royal approbation, have not been signed. A complete reaction has taken place in Hungary. The treaties of Vienna (1607), and of Lintz (1645), which had been solemnly ratified and had become fundamental laws, together with the tolerant laws of Leopold, have been interpreted in the most arbitrary manner, by various provincial and frequently contradictory decrees. The Protestants are excluded from all public offices; scarcely one in a hundred holds any office, though they form a third part of the population (formerly they constituted one half, but have been reduced by three hundred years of persecution). Mixed marriages are op-

posed, or, if permitted, it is only to furnish one out of many pretexts for tearing children from their families, and forcibly placing them under the tutorship of Popish ecclesiastics. In short, the *injustices* (I am obliged to use a French word for want of an English one) of every kind are so numerous that one third of the lawsuits relate to religious disputes. Such Protestants as are converted to Romanism enjoy various privileges. For instance, exemption from military service. Their creed is a capital which yields good interest to those who know how to turn it to good account.

The Hungarian Protestants have repeatedly addressed the Emperor directly. Their petitions contain very numerous recent instances of the vexations to which they are exposed, but they have all remained unanswered.

So far the Reviewer in the "Archives du Christianisme:" I have anxiously examined the succeeding volumes in the hope of finding some further account of the Hungarian Protestants, but in vain.

The most recent traveller in Hungary is Dr. Johnson, who visited that country in 1793, and I do not know of any one who has visited Poland and published since Archdeacon Coxe, whose travels are at least forty years old. . . . . .

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.,

THOS. HARTWELL HORNE.

FROM ARCHBISHOP MAGEE.

Dublin, Oct. 2nd.

My dear Lord,— . . . . . I sit down to reply in haste to your Lordship's letter. . . . . The Education Commissioners have not, as I understand, as yet commenced their inquiries into the state of Maynooth. I will inform your Lordship as soon as I shall learn that they have done so. The passage in Bellarmine about the dispensing power, respecting which your Lordship inquires, is in his "Recognitio Librorum," and in one of the corrections of his work "De Ecclesiâ," on the subject of the Pope's power. I have not the book in my library, but I will take care that your Lordship shall be supplied with the exact reference to the place where it occurs.

Your Lordship's inquiry concerning the writer of the letters in the "Warder," under the signature of Ridley, proves to me that a letter written by me to your Lordship last July, must have gone astray, as I had on that occasion replied to the same query from your Lordship that, after close inquiry at the office of the

paper, I could only learn that the writer was a Cork gentleman. More would not be communicated.

We are relieved from anxiety respecting our potato crop. The general crop in Ireland is always a late one, and therefore we have had the full benefit of the rains, and, upon the whole, it will turn out a good crop.

Our Popish demagogues here are going completely mad. No thing or person is now secure from the fury of their attacks at their several meetings. The country is in a state of universal inflammation. The priests are now openly arrayed with the demagogues in uttering incendiary harangues, and I can myself see no issue to the proceedings but in a rebellion. The Association and the rent (in defiance and mockery of the law) going on as fearlessly as ever, and conciliation, as before, standing by and looking quietly on. . . . . .

Respecting the state of public affairs in this country to which I have alluded above, I have to add that on my return from England (where I had been for about ten weeks in order to recruit the health and spirits of the younger part of my family by change of scene and air) the advance made in the progress of general fermentation quite astonished me. With the best wishes for your Lordship's health, not only on private but on public grounds,

I remain your Lordship's most faithful, W. Dublin.

FROM DR. HAMILTON.

Vicarsfield, Oct. 10th, 1826.

My Lord,—I have just returned home from a long tour among my friends, in which I have passed through the four provinces and many counties in Ireland, and am sorry to say that I found the same intolerant and rebellious spirit actuates all the Roman Catholic inhabitants to the full extent in which it is represented in the public prints. The priests are doing all they can to inflame their minds against the Protestants, and prepare them, I fear, for civil war. One instance occurred in the county of Roscommon, immediately after the election, very similar to what took place in this parish at Christmas, 1824, which I reported to your Lordship. A priest named Quin made a speech at a public meeting in the chapel, in which he said that, though they had been disappointed in General Mahon not standing for their county, yet the time was coming when Saint Lorton should know that he should not ride over the independence of Roscommon; that "blood had been shed in Italy, and blood had been shed in France, and why should not Ireland as-

sert her independence?" Lord Lorton, with whom I spent some time, told me this, and showed me an affidavit of the above, sworn by the reporter. It was exactly similar to the notice given in the chapel by one of the priests in this parish, when he desired the congregation "to be ready at a moment's warning. That they had a great work to do, and blood to spill, and that he would lead the way."

Since my return, I have learned that emissaries from Waterford had attended the several chapels as *Liberators*, haranguing the congregations on their slavery and degradation; but that they would break their chains, and that the Catholic rent had been, and would be spent in obtaining their freedom; that, if the Government did not grant them emancipation quietly, they would have it by force; and desired them to have no dealings with the Protestants, or Waterford Quakers. They then sold medals to as many as would purchase them; some gave a guinea, and some as low as half-a-crown; these they wear in their button-holes as Liberators; while, if a Protestant presumes to wear a bit of ribbon resembling orange, he is attacked, perhaps murdered. On some poor persons begging from them at the door of the inn where they stopped, they answered them in a surly way, and asked who was their parish minister. When they replied, "Dr. Hamilton," they desired them to go to him, and tell him that *they* had sent them to him, and that it was his duty to feed them, and clothe them, and provide for them; for he got the tithes for doing so. I understand since that the common people speak plainly, and say they must have *their rights*, or they will have them by force.

I am confident, as I have long since been, that the Jesuits have laid a deep plot, and are daily preparing the minds of the people for the execution of it, which is no less than the extermination of the Protestants; and they have said as much; and whatever the Cabinet may think, there is no time to be lost on the part of the Government, if they wish to prevent such an awful occurrence. Thank God there is still spirit and energy among the Protestant gentry and population to defeat their plans, *if* they are *supported* by the Government. At present they have everything to discourage them. If the Government was, as it should be, firm and uncompromising, giving the Roman Catholics to understand that they should be amenable to the laws, our Constitution would be preserved, and, in a few years, Ireland would be really emancipated; for the rising generation are under a system of Christian education which must tell in a short time. There are 150,000 children under Sunday-

school instruction alone, so you may judge how many more there must be under *daily* tuition. Add to this the establishment of infant schools in progress; a measure admirably adapted to take the children out of the hands of the priests, and attach them to Protestant teachers.

If Ireland is only kept quiet for a few years, all this exertion must lead to the moral regeneration of Ireland, which will confer on her the emancipation she really wants. There is one mode strikes me which would completely frustrate the plans of the Jesuits, as to organising the people for rebellion; and that is, to call out the militia in both countries, and exchange them. By this measure you would remove from Ireland many, who, having belonged to the line and militia, are already trained, and ready to train, or perhaps actually training others for the rebel ranks. If this could not be done, the constabulary force ought to be doubled, or such an arrangement made of the troops in England that some thousands could be poured into Ireland on an emergency; and it ought to be *known* that such an arrangement is made. Government ought thus to show the Roman Catholics and their leaders that they understand them, and that they are prepared for them. By acting otherwise they are only encouraging and strengthening the hands of those who are resolved and sworn to overturn the Constitution. . . . . .

I have forgotten to mention that in my tour I saw many new Popish chapels erecting, built with cut stone in the most sumptuous manner, quite of a different character from their former chapels; indeed, more like cathedrals, with towers, spires, and minarets; and they no longer call them chapels, but *churches*. I am sorry to say that our Protestant country gentlemen are more ready to subscribe to them than to Protestant churches and school-houses, which are so much wanting. . . . . .

Your Lordship's most faithful servant,

HANS HAMILTON.

FROM LORD SIDMOUTH.

[Private.] Richmond Park, Nov. 1st.

My dear Lord, — . . I was in town yesterday, and heard many congratulations on the supposed favourable change in the Duke of York's health. There is no doubt that within the last five or six days appearances have very much improved, but I dare not rely on them. The impression which I received three weeks ago, when I passed an hour with His Royal Highness, was indeed more satisfactory than I had anticipated. Since

that time, however, the symptoms have been such as to create not only uneasiness but alarm; and though they have subsided, the prospect must, I fear, be still considered as gloomy. This I say *to you only*.

Lady Sidmouth saw the Chancellor on Monday, and reports well of him. I think he will be prevailed upon to keep the seals till Copley has drank plentifully of the waters of Equity. The Chief Baron * is talked of as the successor of our excellent lamented friend in the House of Lords.

Ever sincerely yours, Sidmouth.

FROM ARCHBISHOP MAGEE.

Dublin, Nov. 1st, 1826.

My dear Lord, — . . . . . I have now to inform your Lordship that the Commissioners of Education Inquiry are at this time in close investigation of the Maynooth establishment, and extraordinary things are coming out, of which I shall soon be able to convey to your Lordship an account to be depended on; at present we have but rumour. Jesuitical doctrines in plenty. Dixon, who was before the Lords' Committee, has given important evidence. The constant and familiar discourse at Maynooth in his time was, how to overturn the Establishment and to separate the countries. Jesuits were teachers at Maynooth at that day, although this is positively denied by the Maynooth Professors on oath. . . . . .

Your Lordship's most faithful, W. Dublin.

14*th*. — Parliament assembled. Mr. Sutton was re-chosen Speaker. The King went in person. Oaths Indemnity Bill passed. Forty-one election petitions presented. Upon the number of new Members in the House of Commons, the Duke of Wellington mentioned the other day that the estimated votes on the next Roman Catholic question were 14 majority against it.

The Duke of York is worse; tapped, and relieved from time to time.

FROM THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Clumber, Nov. 19th, 1826.

My dear Lord, — You are well aware of my anxious wish to lend my best assistance to the establishment and maintenance of

* Lord Gifford, Master of the Rolls; he was, however, succeeded by Sir John Copley.

what is right, as well as for the prevention and overthrow of all that is wrong and *rotten*. I am thoroughly convinced of the necessity of watching closely, and of the utility of the perseverance of those who are stanch supporters of British and constitutional, I may even add, *rational* principles. In your Lordship I repose confidence as a vigilant guardian of the public weal. Several questions are likely to come on, I presume, of the utmost importance to the well-being of the country; such as corn, Roman Catholics, the state of the country, &c. I shall feel greatly indebted to you if you will have the goodness to give me a previous notice of any question of importance, and summon me to London if I can be of any use on any occasion.

To me it appears that the fate of the country hangs on our early decision on matters of vital importance, and on the peculiar course which Parliament may now see fit to adopt. It is not a small matter which is required to set us right, wholly unorganised and unchanged as we are.

Yours very sincerely, NEWCASTLE.

I am much of opinion that, even in this short session, it would be proper for loyal men to attack several points of prominent evil.

FROM DR. HAMILTON.

Vicarsfield, Nov. 21st.

My Lord,— . . . . . Your Lordship will have seen in the public prints the account of the progress of reformation in the recantation of many Roman Catholics. I am convinced that if Government will only keep Ireland quiet for a short time, the people will emancipate themselves from the thraldom of the priests and their political agitators, and that by simply reading the Word of God, which many of them are now doing, and to which the conversions that have taken place are in a great measure owing. . . . . .

Your Lordship's faithful servant,

HANS HAMILTON.

Monday, Dec. 11th. A royal message sent to both Houses of Parliament upon the affairs of Spain and Portugal, and troops sent to Lisbon.

12th.—Debate and address in both Houses of Parliament, for repelling any aggression by Spain upon Portugal.*

* See *Stapleton's Canning*, pp. 537-550.

FROM LORD SIDMOUTH.

Richmond Park, Dec. 15th.

My dear Lord,— . . . . . I am afraid to hazard a prediction, but I think we shall not get into war; *si vis pacem, para bellum.* We now feel the effects of our improvident and prodigal economy in the extent to which the reductions were carried of our military force; and we have long bitterly felt them in the East and West Indies, and in Ireland. If no Spanish troops join the Portuguese military refugees, we may be unavoidably placed in the situation of directly interfering in the internal concerns of Portugal, and of becoming a party in a civil war; but, be that as it may, our course is an honourable one, our motive is good faith, and our object the defence of an ally. We may justly, too, feel some pride in exhibiting to the world our determination not to suffer the difficulties we are under to deter us from discharging without subterfuge or compromise, all the obligations of honour, and all the duties of a sound steady policy.

The cloud in Arlington Street * slowly darkens;—

"We ne'er shall see Lord Ronald more."

Such is my fear, and it is that of most of those, I believe, who have the most frequent opportunities of judging from personal observation. . . . . .

Yours ever sincerely, SIDMOUTH.

LETTER FROM DR. HAMILTON.

Vicarsfield, Dec. 29th, 1826.

My Lord,—Since I had last the honour of addressing your Lordship, matters have assumed a more serious aspect. The war with Spain and withdrawing troops from Ireland seem to inspire our deluded countrymen with fresh hopes of accomplishing their object, the overthrow of the British Constitution in Ireland. And, unless the Government are prompt in calling out the militia, I fear they may find it difficult to do so, as the priests will no doubt throw every obstacle in the way of recruiting, and their influence is very great. They give their people to understand that they must now fight for their religion, and that they do so in opposing the British Government. I have heard lately from officers of the line, that though they could trust Roman Catholic soldiers in any other part of the world, they could not in Ireland; and for the above reason, that they

* The Duke of York was at the Duke of Rutland's, in Arlington Street.

would be fighting against their religion. At present I may say we have no protection in this part of Ireland, and I believe there is no part more under the influence of the priests. We have only one regiment between the garrisons of Waterford and Kilkenny; and in these towns, as I think your Lordship must be aware, party spirit runs higher than in any other towns in the kingdom.

To give your Lordship some idea of the feeling of the people towards their priests in this quarter, I will state a matter of fact which occurred in this parish, not long since. A priest named Dalton, in a state of brutal intoxication, beat and abused a man in a most shocking manner; the man, being greatly incensed, went to lodge informations before a magistrate the next day; but when arrived at the magistrate's gate, he was followed by his neighbours, who used every means to dissuade him from doing so, and at length succeeded by saying, "Surely you would not go to law with your God." This, my Lord, may appear incredible, but it is true. I will mention one more. A servant maid who lived with one of my curates, was lately asked by a Protestant, If she knew there was a plot laid to murder her master, and the priest desired her not to inform her master, what would she do? Her reply was, "The priest could never desire any one to do wrong;" in other words, whatever the priest desires must be right. Under such circumstances no Protestant is safe with Roman Catholic servants, and this was proved lately in the county of Westmeath, where an attack was made on a Protestant gentleman's house, and though there were seven men-servants in the house, not one came forward to oppose the villains, who piked one of the gentlemen so that his life is despaired of. That county, and part of Tipperary, are in a state of open rebellion, and yet no means more than ordinary, are taken to put it down, and the Protestants live in constant alarm.

This spirit, if not checked, will spread among a people whose minds are already worked up to a state of rebellion, and only waiting for the signal to rise. The system of plundering for arms seems to be renewed; and armed bands have not only appeared by night, but by day in some places. As I before stated to your Lordship, the Jesuits have long since laid a plan which is deep and widely extended, in which all the Popish states on the Continent are concerned; and if our Government permit them to go on, and take no measures to put the country in an attitude of defence, they will find it necessary to do so when it may be too late. I perceived what they were about in

the neighbourhood of Dublin at the time Mr. Grant came to Ireland, and informed him of it, when the postage of one of these colleges amounted to 20*l.* a week, which plainly proved that their foreign correspondence must have been pretty extensive. Afterwards I learned from a clergyman in the neighbourhood of Clongowes, who watched their motions, that they were constantly despatching Jesuits from their college, some to Rome, some to Spain, and others to Stonyhurst; and that they appeared to abound in money. This was four years ago. Of course they have not been idle since that period.

In this parish they speak openly among the lower orders, of their expectation of a rebellion, and they give a strong proof of their expectations, in not paying their tithes. . . . . A man told one of my collectors that a man would be a fool to pay tithes now; in short they are taught to look upon the day as their own, and say openly that they have been too long under an heretical King, but the time is coming when they will have one of their own sort.

The priests are increasing in power and influence every day, and I do not know that any other measure will prevent their exercising that influence in the worst way, but the presence of a strong military force in the country, that can be depended on.

. . . . . .

Your most faithful servant, HANS HAMILTON.

CHAP. LXXIV.

1827.

DEATH OF THE DUKE OF YORK.—BRITISH EXPEDITION TO LISBON.—POWER OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC PRIESTS IN IRELAND.—CORN LAWS.—ILLNESS OF LORD LIVERPOOL.—DUKE OF WELLINGTON IS EXPECTED TO BECOME PRIME MINISTER.—CONVERSATION WITH DR. PHILPOTTS.—VIOLENT LANGUAGE OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION.—BILL FOR CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION DEFEATED IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.—ILLNESS OF CANNING.—DIFFERENCE BETWEEN HIM AND SIR JOHN COPLEY.—DUKE OF NEWCASTLE'S AUDIENCE OF THE KING.—THE DUKE OF RUTLAND'S AUDIENCE.—MEETING OF THE OPPOSITION.—DUKE OF WELLINGTON'S APPROBATION OF LORD AMHERST'S MEASURES.

REMAINED at Kidbrooke till February 2nd.

Of public affairs in January, the most important was the death of the Duke of York, on January 5th, an irreparable loss to the army, whose efficiency he had established, and to the State, as settled by the Reformation and Revolution, of which he was the avowed Protestant supporter. His funeral took place with great solemnity and royal honours at Windsor, on the 20th. The King went to Brighton on the 24th.

The landing of the British troops at Lisbon in the early part of the month; the appointment of Lord Beresford to the chief command, and the garrisoning of Elvas and other frontier fortresses of Portugal, while Spanish troops are assembling in the Spanish frontier, formed the chief articles of foreign news.

On the 5th of January I received from Lord Liverpool, to whom I had forwarded Dr. Hamilton's last letter of December 29th (without the writer's name), the following answer:—

[Private.] Combe Wood, Jan. 4th, 1827.

My dear Lord,—I am much obliged to you for the communication of the enclosed letter, which, having read, I now return.

I trust the opinions of the writer are exaggerated; but I am by no means insensible to the difficulties and dangers to which we may all be exposed, (but more particularly the Protestants of Ireland) from the activity and machinations of the Roman Catholic priesthood. For, say what we will, their bigotry at this moment exceeds what it has been during any period of the last century. Yours very faithfully, LIVERPOOL.

LETTER FROM LORD SIDMOUTH.

[Private.] Richmond Park, Jan. 10th.

My dear Lord, — Perhaps there never was an event which set to work more minds good and bad, than that which we are all deploring.* . . . . . A vast void seems to be produced, which it is impossible to supply. A portion of it is filled up by the appointment of the Duke of Wellington to the situation of Commander-in-Chief, with which he is to hold the Ordnance. But where can we hope to find another royal bulwark of the throne, of our Protestant constitution, and the long established and invaluable institutions of the country? I grieve at the loss of a person whom I highly respected and cordially loved; but private grief is absorbed in public considerations, and I sicken at the prospect before us. The country was never, I believe, more disheartened:

"I catch the alarm from Britain's fears;
My sorrows fall with Britain's tears,
And join a nation's woe."

The brutal language of the Sheils, &c., &c., in Ireland, has, I trust, had the effect, which it ought to have had, of fortifying our friends; but I have heard of some instances of defection, which have astonished and alarmed me, and it will require the utmost exertions of which any and all of us are capable, to keep the arch together and make it durable now the keystone is gone. Ever truly yours, SIDMOUTH.

Thursday, Feb. 8th. — House of Lords. Lord Liverpool gave notice of an address of condolence to his Majesty on the death of the Duke of York.

12*th.*—House of Lords. Lord Liverpool desired my opinion upon the course which he proposed to take for opening the Corn Law business without coming to any specific resolution, viz., by a motion to take into con-

* The death of the Duke of York.

sideration the several Acts for regulating the importation and exportation of corn; to which I assented as a convenient course. And I took the opportunity of saying to him, with respect to the Roman Catholic question, upon which Lord Lansdowne was to present petitions on Wednesday next, "that if he, Lord Liverpool, would stand forward upon that as the earliest occasion, and declare plainly his determination not to concede a jot further, he would save much future trouble to himself and to both Houses of Parliament." To which he replied, "It would be seen what the Commons did." And there our conversation ended.

He moved the address of condolence to the King upon the death of the Duke of York very well, feelingly, and judiciously. *Nem. con.;* but no speech from any opposition Lords in concurrence.

FROM DR. HAMILTON.

Vicarsfield, Feb. 9th.

My Lord,— . . . . . The same spirit of hostility to the Protestants remains as strong as ever, and has latterly been manifested in a general refusal to pay the Church tax. The Catholic farmers told the churchwardens plainly when they demanded it, that they would no longer pay a tax to support a damnable religion. The churchwardens have applied to the magistrates assembled in petty sessions, and lodged a complaint, according to the late Act. The parties were summoned, and appeared yesterday, when they told the magistrates that they would appeal against the warrant and allotment, which were drawn up in the usual way, according to the Act. And the magistrates deferred the case for a fortnight, though I conceive by the Act they were bound to grant warrants against the defendants. But I am sorry to say, that one magistrate at least, in this quarter, would rather throw an obstacle in the way of Church tax than assist the clergymen or churchwardens in the collection of it. Messrs. Sheil and O'Connell have recommended the people not to pay it, and the Popish attorneys have instructed them in various ways of resisting the payment, so that the most trifling flaw in the proceedings of the churchwardens is taken advantage of; a circumstance which never occurred till the legislation of the Association. No one who does not live in the country can form

an idea of the mischief which that illegal assembly has done, and I fear it will take a long time to do away the effects of it.

I enclose your Lordship, a letter which I received a short time ago. Your Lordship will at once perceive from the handwriting, manner of folding the letter, &c., that it is not the production of an ignorant or illiterate person; and by turning over the sheet, you will see it was written from the College of Maynooth, but by a priest or student well acquainted with this parish. I must explain what the writer alludes to in his letter. During my absence last summer, the sexton, in clearing out the rubbish which remained of lime and sand, after the taking down the walls of the old chapel, made a heap which he intended to remove to his farm for manure, and which contained nothing but lime and sand; on my return, I found complaints had been made of his doing so, and as I found it gave offence, I prevented his removing it. . . . . .

Your faithful servant, HANS HAMILTON.

LETTER ENCLOSED IN THE FOREGOING.

Sir,—Your conduct on many occasions having been stated relative to your conduct as a Protestant clergyman, and it having appeared grossly bigoted and intolerant, and particularly of late the disrespect you have shown to the Holy Catholic religion; I have to inform you also your disturbing the bones of our ancestors, who were interred before your heresies were thought of, and your allowing that drunken hypocrite cur, Jaques, to manure his potatoes with the holy reliques, and spreading your heresies, and trying to turn the people to them from the word of God, have caused such indignation that it has been represented here. Now, having some regard to you as a man, though you are no Christian but under the curse of the Church and of God; and wishing to save the effusion of blood, even of heretics of the blackest kind, I give you notice, if you don't go back to your native hell, the north, and leave the innocent people alone, you will be as dead as the arch-heretic, the Duke of York, before a year is over. I do this in kindness, as my own life would be forfeited if it was known I gave you this warning; so never speak of this or show it, as walls have ears, and you will get no further notice. Yours, HOHENLOHE.

FROM DR. HAMILTON.

Vicarsfield, Feb. 14th.

My Lord,—When addressing your Lordship a few days ago, I forgot to mention a circumstance respecting the Waterford elec-

tion, which may serve to show you the way in which that influence was obtained, which secured the return of Mr. Stewart. Previous to the election, the Roman Catholic Bishop informed Mr. Stewart, that if he would lodge in his hands the sum of 10,000*l.*, he would secure his election. The money was paid accordingly, and we know the result. I am not certain whether Mr. Stewart conceived that the expenses of the election were to be defrayed out of this sum, but if he did he has been disappointed, as the bills have since been brought in to him to a great amount. *This I had from his cousin, who had it from himself.* I heard also another fact, which shows the manner in which the priests compelled their flocks to vote against Lord George Beresford, and contrary to the wishes of their landlords. Some of Mr. Palliser's tenants had promised him to vote for Lord George, but on the morning of the election they came to him and informed him that they were very sorry they could not comply with his honour's wish, for that their priest told them if they did not vote for Mr. Stewart and their religion, he would turn them *all into magpies,* and send them *hopping through* the world. "And then, sir," said the poor people, "we do not know what will become of us." That the ignorant Roman Catholics believe that their priest can change them into what he pleases *is a fact* of which we had a proof in a parish adjoining this, not many years since. A neighbouring gentleman had his plough-irons stolen out of a field; he sent to the friar in the next village, to mention it from the altar on Sunday, and endeavour to recover them for him. The friar, an old drunken creature, whom I remember well, named Power, accordingly gave out from the altar on the following Sunday, that if the person or persons who stole the irons did not bear them back by a certain day, that he would turn them into goats, and send them trotting up the neighbouring hill, *with their tails cocked up.* In consequence of this, the plough-irons were taken back. Though this may appear too ridiculous to be believed, *I know it for a fact.* . . . . . Another instance of the power of the priest and the gross ignorance of their flocks came to my knowledge the other day. One of my poor Protestant parishioners was bathing in the county of Waterford, where she lodged in the same room with a poor Roman Catholic woman who was dying. She sent for the priest to anoint her. On coming, he asked her "what she had got to pay him." She replied she was a very poor woman, and had nothing. "Then," said he, "I can do nothing for you; but will send you to hell." The poor woman was terrified, and began to cry; however, he

persisted in saying he could do nothing without money; when she said she had half-a-crown she was keeping for her funeral, which she gave him. He then anointed her, and said "he would send her to heaven." The person who told me this *was present.* . . . . . .

Your faithful servant, HANS HAMILTON.

13*th.*—The Chancellor told me that the Chief Baron declined sitting to hear appeals in the House of Lords; that he (the Chancellor), meant to sit three days in the week in the House of Lords, and three days in the week in Chancery, so as to carry on the business concurrently in both Courts. That Lord Gifford had been extremely serviceable in clearing off the arrear of Scotch appeals, but that the effects of that arrangement in the House of Lords had been mischievous in the highest degree to suitors in the Court of Chancery, whose counsel, being engaged in the House of Lords so constantly, put off the hearing of their Chancery causes, and the solicitors would not allow the junior counsel to proceed with them upon the days on which they were called on. Query. Was not this his own fault?

14*th.*—House of Lords. Lord Lansdowne presented the general Irish Roman Catholic petition; and also one from the Irish Roman Catholic Bishop, disclaiming their obnoxious doctrines, &c. The latter (the names being all upon a sheet separate from the petition itself, and none written upon the petition), was withdrawn to be presented hereafter in proper form. He fixed March 8th for moving a proposition upon the repeal of all disabilities.

Lord Winchelsea, newly seated, spoke against the concession.

16*th.*—Lord Liverpool, there having been a royal message for the purpose the day before, stated the proposed addition to the income of the Duke and Duchess of Clarence, in consequence of the death of the Duke of York; for the Duke, besides the 3000*l.* a year devolving to him by the death of the Duke of York, in right of survivorship as one of the late King's younger sons; a

further sum of 3000*l.* a year, and to the Duchess of Clarence 6000*l.* a year. His friends remarked upon the unusual inefficiency of his manner in opening this proposition.

17*th.* — The news was brought that Lord Liverpool was suddenly seized with a paralytic attack. (N.B. It was subsequently pronounced to be apoplectic).

18*th.* — Met Cecil Jenkinson *, who told me that his brother was a shade better; but there was very little hope. It was decided apoplexy. The only doubt was whether it was a pressure upon the brain, or an effusion.

From other quarters I heard the following circumstances. After breakfasting yesterday morning as usual, he went to his room of business, but not ringing his bell as he was accustomed, his servant went in and found him fallen on the floor. Dr. Drever was in the house, and bled him and put him to bed. This was about eleven in the morning, and a messenger was sent off to the King at Brighton. In the afternoon the Ministers met, and at 6 P.M. Mr. Peel went down to the King. This was Lord Stowell's account, who had seen the Chancellor this morning.

19*th.*—Lord Liverpool is stated to be "not worse." News that the Duke of Cumberland is dead in Germany. And a messenger is gone down to the King with the account. It is believed to be true. (It was not true.)

20*th.* — At the House of Lords to-day, Lord Shaftesbury said Lord Liverpool was able to walk across the room leaning on his servant. Only two or three Ministers present, and no mention of or allusion to Lord Liverpool.

21*st.* — The conversation in and out of Parliament supposes seven possible persons for Prime Minister: Canning, Duke of Wellington, Lord Wellesley, Lord Harrowby, Lord Bathurst, Peel, and Robinson. The King is supposed to hate Canning. Peel and the Duke of Wellington have declined; they will not serve under

* Lord Liverpool's brother.

Canning. And it is rather thought that some personage like the Duke of Portland would be looked for, under whom they may all go on as they are.

Lord Bristol told me that Lord Liverpool was decidedly better to-day, and that there was more *consciousness* about him.

22*nd*.—To-day the Duke of Wellington is considered as the intended First Minister. Lord Liverpool was cupped again last night, and is announced to be "better to-day."

House of Lords. Lord Bathurst moved to discharge the order of the day for taking the Corn Laws into consideration on Monday next, and stated it not to be the intention of Government to bring the subject before the House until the measure came in the shape of a Bill from the Commons; but no objection would be made to a Committee on the *Foreign* Corn Trade, if required.

23*rd*. — Lord Liverpool is a little better; in the House of Lords, Lord Lorton presented several Anti-Catholic petitions.

24*th*, 25*th*.—Lord Liverpool is going on satisfactorily but slowly. His family expects he will be restored to at least a state of *comfort*.

26*th*. — Dr. Philpotts * came upon the subject of his pamphlet, the Chancellor's approbation, the Bishop of London, &c.; but chiefly on his proposed *New Test*, instead of the *old* declaration against transubstantiation, &c., which may indeed be accepted by some of the laity, but must be decidedly refused by every Roman Catholic who abides by the decree of Pope Pius IV., and by every Roman Catholic priest.

A subscription was opened to-day for a monument to the Duke of York at a public meeting. The Duke of Wellington in the chair. No speeches.

27*th*.—House of Lords. Lord Wharncliffe presented two Bills for amending the game laws, with an opening speech. Lord Lansdowne postponed his motion on the

* The present Bishop of Exeter.

Roman Catholic question to March 18th. A Chancery Reform Bill was brought into the House of Commons by the Master of the Rolls.

Lord Liverpool is not worse; but he has not yet recovered in any degree the use of his speech. Sir Henry Halford thinks ill of his present state, at the end of a fortnight from his seizure.

Friday, March 2nd.—House of Lords. Many petitions on the Corn Laws; and long speeches against the new plan and propositions as opened yesterday in the House of Commons by Mr. Canning.*

5th.—House of Commons. Sir Francis Burdett's motion upon the Roman Catholic claims was debated till after twelve; chiefly by Irish Members, and adjourned till to-morrow.

6th.—House of Commons. Division on the Roman Catholic claims. For Burdett's motion, 272; against it, 276. Majority 4.

"Lord Liverpool is in all respects better."

8th.—In the House of Lords upon a Roman Catholic petition, Lord Lorton complained of the language of the Roman Catholic Association; and much discussion ensued. Lord Lansdowne (upon a sort of challenge from the Chancellor) said he should state to-morrow his future course of proceeding, and whether he should or should not bring on his motion for Relief of the Roman Catholics on the 15th inst. Lord Lauderdale moved for a Select Committee on the Foreign Corn Trade, with reference to the propositions now pending before the House of Commons. Lord Bathurst asked my leave to name me as one of the Committee.

LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP MAGEE.

Dublin, March 5th, 1826.

My dear Lord,— . . . . . We are all most anxious about the issue of this day's debate in the House of Commons.

* The measure thus brought forward imposed a duty on imported grain, varying with the fluctuations in the home price, and contained the first germ of the sliding-scale, which was the most important principle of the Corn Law of 1828.

Mr. Plunkett's observation (in Friday's debate) about Lord Farnham's crusade has given great offence. Lord Farnham has little to do with the conversions; they are going on all over Ireland. The great increase of schools, pointed out by Mr. Foster, the circulation of the Bible, and the discussions and inquiries relating to the Bible, together with the gross and furious misconduct of the priests, are the real crusaders. . . . . .

Your most faithful, W. Dublin.

9th.—Dr. Philpotts called. Mr. Canning had persuaded himself that he (Dr. P.) had written his pamphlet under the joint dictation of the Master of the Rolls and the Chancellor, as an intimate friend of Canning's told Dr. Philpotts. And it appears from the same authority that Canning intended, if he had carried the Roman Catholic question, to have made himself First Minister.

House of Lords. Lord Lansdowne, after a long lamentation over the loss of the Roman Catholic question in the House of Commons, discharged the order for summoning the House upon his motion for Thursday next, leaving it open to himself or any other noble lord to bring it forward at any other time in this or any future session of Parliament.

11th.—Lord Bexley came to persuade me to take the chair of the Corn Committee; which I doubted I should be well enough to undertake, and recommended him to take Lord Farnborough.

13th.—The Duke of Newcastle came by appointment. His wish was to form an association for supporting the King in appointing a Protestant Administration. He had twice seen Lord Mansfield on the subject. He also found Lord Salisbury and Lord Falmouth in the same mind. Lord Mansfield thought they could reckon up sixty. The question was where and how soon to meet, for fear the project of making Canning First Minister should be forced upon the King, who is to come to town to-morrow. He left me to see more about it. I told him that I thought the object highly proper. That the King might be assured of a large support among the first persons in his kingdom for rank, distinction,

fortune, and influence, if he desired to put his Government into hands different from those of Mr. Canning and Mr. Huskisson; but it should be an association not composed of those who might be thought to seek office for themselves, nor to dictate any choice whatever as to individuals. "The principle of a Protestant Administration" was the object to be sustained and enforced.

Lord Redesdale called. Saw no individuals capable of making a Government in exclusion of Canning.

14*th.*—Sir Murray Maxwell called. Has hopes of being appointed to command the Bombay Marine, which the East India Company propose to remodel, as their increased extent of coast eastward to Rangoon requires a better disciplined and organised force.

15*th.*—Corn Committee. Lord Farnborough in the chair. Examined witnesses upon the carriage of corn from Odessa, Dantzig, &c. In the House of Lords, Lord Mansfield and Lord Falmouth both spoke to me of the urgency of excluding Canning from the office of First Minister, by showing the King that there was a body of Peers who would support him in any other choice.

16*th.*—House of Lords. Upon the presentation of petitions for and against the Roman Catholic claims, impressive speeches were made by Lord Winchelsea and Lord Roden; long and feeble speeches by the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Darnley.

Canning is medically reported to be "disabled at present from discharging his official duties." Other reports say that "he is getting better." (N.B. He was sufficiently recovered to attend the House of Commons on the 26th inst.)

18*th.*—Spencer Perceval told me that Goulburn and Richard Ryder always complained of Lord Liverpool's manner of talking with them; hanging down his head, and never looking them in the face, though his particular friends, exactly as the Foreign Ministers always complained.

Sir W. Houston told me that Lord Chandos had this morning expressed to him the Duke of Buckingham's anxious desire to go as Governor-General to India, now that Sir Henry Wellesley's refusal had come over from Vienna.

FROM DR. PHILPOTTS.

Albemarle Street, March 10th, 1827.

My Lord,— . . . . . Mr. Canning, I understand, has said that Prussia has made a concordat with the Pope, and he proposed to found some course of proceeding, or of argument, on that supposed fact. I apprehend *it is an error*. Does it happen to your Lordship to know any person who could be sure of the point?

I am glad that your Lordship entertains the sentiments which you express respecting Ireland; would that they could be put in execution. Is it possible that the Attorney-General for Ireland* can continue to hold his office after the public rebukes he has this week experienced in both Houses of Parliament from leading Ministers? . . . . .

Your Lordship's most faithful servant,

HENRY PHILPOTTS.

FROM DR. HAMILTON.

Vicarsfield, March 16th.

My Lord,— . . . . . Seeing that Lord King, in presenting a petition from Cobbett to the House of Lords, took on him to assert that the established clergy of Ireland enjoyed the revenues of the Church *without* contributing one farthing to the support of the *poor*, and not perceiving that any observations were made by any Member of the House in reply to so unfounded a charge, I take the liberty of troubling your Lordship with a few observations which will show how that body are misrepresented. It is a well-known fact that when the peasantry of Ireland stand in need of advice or relief of any kind, it is to the resident clergyman they uniformly apply, and that, were it not for the exertions *of the clergy*, generally speaking, the poor would be in a most lamentable state. They are, in general, the promoters and chief contributors to schools, dispensaries, and other charitable institutions, and devote a considerable portion of their

* Mr. Plunkett.

time to superintending them; but I grieve to say that in many parts of Ireland they meet with little assistance from the landlords, and *none* (with but very few exceptions) from the *priests*.

. . . . . .

Your Lordship's faithful servant, HANS HAMILTON.

19*th*.—Dr. Philpotts called. After the debate on the 6th, Canning sent Plunkett with an apology to the Master of the Rolls to assure him "that he did not intend to have said what he appeared to have said." To which Sir J. Copley replied, "what he *intended* to say, I do *not* know, but what *he did* say that I *do* know."* Dr. Philpotts is to give me the perusal of the examination of "him of Maronia†" before the Commissioners, Education Inquiry, last autumn at Maynooth, &c.

Bankes called. He had just seen the Chancellor, who knew nothing about the future Government, whether it was to be a Protestant or a Roman Catholic Cabinet.

Had a long conversation with Lord Sidmouth on men and things. Within these three days the Duke of Wellington has said that he saw nothing to prevent Canning being First Minister. Peel *is* willing to serve under him. The Chancellor is giving away his livings right and left,—a symptom of going out, or expecting to be turned out. Lord Bathurst has considered *me* as a person to be brought into the Government. The Duke of Clarence is very willing that Canning should be wholly out of the way. The Duke of Buckingham

* On that occasion Sir J. Copley had spoken against emancipation, at the same time expressing his willingness to make concessions, "if securities are proposed to which the Catholics will agree, and with which the Protestants will be satisfied." Canning, in his speech, which was very much devoted to replying to Copley, mentioned that, a year or two before, the new Pope had written to the King, notifying his accession to the Pontificate, and Gonsalvi, at the same time, had written a complimentary letter to him himself, which Gifford and Copley, then Attorney and Solicitor-General, had told him he could not answer without rendering himself subject to the penalties of præmunire, by 5 Eliz. c. i. sec. 12. Canning therefore argued that the same statute must prevent any one from negotiating with any officer or minister of the Pope about securities. This gave rise to an angry discussion, Copley maintaining his opinion had been given in a *private* letter. Canning, that it was a *public document*, received by him in an *official* way.

† Maronia was the Roman Catholic name of Dr. Curtis's diocese.

very anxious to go to India, and canvassing. Lord Wellesley coming over from Ireland on leave of absence.

20*th.*—House of Lords. Presented petition (for Lord Feversham) from Yarmouth against further concession to the Roman Catholics. The Duke of Devonshire presented one in favour of them, and supported it by a set speech. Answered earnestly by the Chancellor. His replied to by Lord Lansdowne. A rejoinder by the Chancellor, urging the justice of refusing *now* to consider the state of the Roman Catholics, having formerly considered their *general* state; discussed and rejected *general* Bills and *particular* Bills, all of which having been found and voted to be inexpedient, the renewal of a general consideration of the same claims of power was now necessarily resisted.

Second reading of Lord Wharncliffe's Bill for amending the Game Laws. Carried by 38 against 17.

Lord Lansdowne expressed a strong desire that some Government might be formed which could give answers as to the policy intended to be pursued upon many momentous subjects.

In conversation the Lord Chancellor told me he had not heard one word respecting the Government to be formed from any man amongst those with whom he might be supposed, upon such a subject, naturally and necessarily to have communication; that he had attended the King, upon the Recorder's report, last Thursday, but had purposely denied to ask an audience, knowing how much he was watched, and all his movements suspected.

23*rd.*—The Duke of Newcastle, seeing Lord Bathurst, Secretary of State, in his place in the House of Lords, asked whether it was intended to propose the thanks of Parliament to Lord Combermere for his reduction of Bhurtpore? Lord Bathurst, after consulting for a moment with the Duke of Wellington, said "that, with the highest respect for Lord Combermere, it was not thought a service of that class which called for such a vote." (Note. Mr. Wynn, President of the Board of

Control, stated in the House of Commons before Christmas, that he should, upon an early day after the recess, propose the thanks of that House to the Indian army, for their signal achievements in the late war; but he has not yet proposed them.)

24*th.*—In the votes of the House of Commons yesterday is the following entry: "48. Keeper of the Signet. (Ireland.) Copy ordered of the patent by which the office of the Keeper of the Signet in Ireland was separated from the office of Chief Secretary, and granted for life to the officer now holding that appointment." (Myself.)

Saw Sir Charles Flint upon it, who furnished me with distinct proof that they had *never* been *united* offices. That Lord Castlereagh was Keeper of the Signet long before he was Chief Secretary. From Mr. Rickman I learnt that the motion was made by Sir John Newport, without preface or comment.

Saw Lady Shelley, who told me of the King's high spirits and cordial reception of the Duke of Wellington at Windsor. He (the Duke) had related it to her yesterday. Saw Lord Falmouth, who understood from the Duke of Newcastle, that he (the Duke of Newcastle) would probably go down to Windsor to-day. Sir Charles Stuart declares himself as ready to go to India as Governor-General; but the world speak of the Duke of Buckingham and C. W. Wynn as rival candidates.

Canning walked out to-day for the first time since his illness. He goes on Tuesday to Windsor.

26*th.*—House of Lords. Breach of Privilege. A person ordered to attend at the bar for serving a messenger of the House (whilst in attendance upon the House) with process from a Court of Requests for taking away his umbrella whilst he was below the bar; the umbrella being lost when the stranger went to look for it. (N.B. He appeared the next day, expressed regret, or ignorance, and was dismissed without further animadversion.)

Lord Lauderdale protested against moving any reso-

lutions upon the Corn Laws whilst a Bill upon the same subject was in progress through the other House.

The Duke of Newcastle went down to the King, at Windsor, yesterday; he assured his Majesty of the support of a large body of Peers of the greatest weight and influence, in the choice of a Protestant Administration. The King assured the Duke that he was "*Protestant, heart and soul,*" and would never consent to Catholic Emancipation. Spoke of the d—d Roman Catholic Association at Dublin; but could not break faith with his Ministers, &c., and went into a long story of his own conduct and aversion to the Roman Catholic claims for a long series of years.

After the House was up, the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Mansfield, Lord Salisbury, and Lord Falmouth, discussed the best mode of proceeding. Lord Mansfield was eager for giving notice of resolutions in favour of a Government united in support of Protestant ascendancy, and for a new Lord-Lieutenant, and a new Attorney-General for Ireland. Lord Salisbury and Lord Falmouth came in their way home to my house to renew the discussion. I advised *immediate* notice, and an *intermediate* meeting of their friends before the day of debate; and to frame their resolutions in general terms, as strong as they pleased, but without special mention of any particular office in Ireland or elsewhere.

27*th.*— Heard from the Duke of Newcastle a fuller account of his interview with the King, at Windsor, on Saturday last. (The former account I had received from Lord Falmouth.)

He arrived at Windsor at two, and requested an audience. At the end of two hours, when he was exhausted and almost asleep, the door of his apartment was opened, and the King was announced.

The King received him very graciously; believed he understood the subject of his visit; entered at great length into the whole history of the Roman Catholics, from the reign of James II. down to the present time. Professed himself a "Protestant, heart and soul." De-

clared he never would give his assent to any measures for Roman Catholic Emancipation. And, when pressed by the Duke as to the new form of his Administration, he assured the Duke "that the First Minister should be for the Protestant side of the question," and, as to Ireland, that the Chancellor there should be Protestant also. He added that the present audience would be necessarily known to everybody; but "he must keep faith with his Ministers." He said, "the courage of his family had never been questioned." When assured that, in choosing Protestants for his Ministers, his choice would be supported by a large and powerful body of Peers, and pressed for an assurance that his choice would be made accordingly, he said, again and again, "Do you doubt me? But it is not I who fail in my duty. It is you in Parliament. Why do you suffer the d—d Association in Dublin?"

The Duke of Newcastle clearly saw that the Chancellor had lost his former influence with the King. It was evident that the King knew the Duke of Rutland's opinions upon the present subject. The King's sentiments were strongly expressed, but there was reason to apprehend that considerations of ease and repose might outweigh his principles.

The Duke told the King plainly that the support or opposition of himself, and of those for whom he was acting, would depend on the choice that the King should finally make in forming his Administration.

In parting, the King very graciously told him "he never need ask an audience *in form*, he was always welcome," and hoped he would come and fish there in the summer.

(N.B. The King did not finish the audience without talking to the Duke about his *tailor*.)

After this narrative the Duke approved of the form of words which I suggested as fit for such a motion as Lord Mansfield proposed to make, viz., "For an Address to pray that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to place the *direction* of his Government in

such hands as will most effectually support the Protestant constitution in Church and State as by law established at the Revolution," and took them down in pencil from my dictation. He was going to see the Duke of Northumberland on the same subject.

In the afternoon the Duke of Newcastle met Lord Mansfield and me in the Great Chamberlain's apartment beyond the King's gallery at the House of Lords, when he related to us that the Duke of Northumberland declined committing himself to support any such proceeding as Lord Mansfield's till he had further informed himself. Lord Mansfield proposed, on his own part, to see the Duke of Rutland immediately, and that, if he could have two such supporters, he would take his chance for all the rest, and give his notice to-day of a motion for Friday se'nnight on the present state of the Administration. And before we separated he agreed (subject to further consideration) to move on that day two resolutions, viz., 1st. Upon the expediency of a Government which might, with any other differences of opinion, proceed nevertheless as to the Roman Catholic question upon an unity of action. And 2ndly, for the formation of such a Government as would most effectually support the Protestant constitution.

I went home. When I returned to the House of Lords, I found that Lord Mansfield had not been able to see the Duke of Rutland, and would therefore not give his notice *to-day*.

It is understood that Canning and the Duke of Wellington go this evening to Windsor; also Lord and Lady Granville.

Before dinner Lord Falmouth called on me to say that Lord Salisbury had changed his mind about the expediency of any proceeding in the House of Lords, and had (very imprudently and strangely) mentioned what was in contemplation to Lord Londonderry, the Duke of Buckingham, and Mr. Arbuthnot. Query, was it only to sound them, as to concurring in Lord

Mansfield's resolution with the formation of a Government all of *one mind?*

28*th.* — The Duke of Newcastle came (by his own appointment) to me at the House of Lords while I was attending a Committee. He had seen the Duke of Rutland, who was decidedly for a Protestant Administration, but did not see his way, at present, as to Lord Mansfield's proposed motion, and thought that at present it was better not to bring it forward. He has offered himself to visit the King at Windsor.

House of Lords. Desultory speeches on corn, Roman Catholic petition, Pensions in Ireland, &c.

30*th.* — House of Lords. Lord Lansdowne moved for lists of appeals from the courts of the Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon, and India, depending before the Privy Council. Lord Harrowby acceded to the motion, but apprehended the defeat of justice, not with the Privy Council, but in some misunderstanding or neglect of the parties, who never, by their counsel or agents, appeared to prosecute the appeals.

Peel is gone to-day to Windsor. Tierney, in the House of Commons, opposed supply, unless a new Administration was promised before Easter. Huskisson is very ill.

31*st.* — House of Lords. Corn Committee. A division of 8 to 5, on a question proposed by Lord Redesdale to a witness respecting the probable price to the growers, if, upon an average price of 60*s.* per quarter for wheat, the foreign wheat was admitted at a duty of 20*s.*

Lord Sidmouth assured me that Tierney's motion of last night was concocted with Canning.

Sunday, April 1*st.* — The Duke of Rutland went yesterday to Windsor, and the Chancellor is gone to-day.

The King comes to London on Thursday next.

3*rd.* — Called on the Duke of Newcastle, who relates to me the Duke of Rutland's offer of visiting the King at Windsor. Lord Conyngham's excuses of "not

having had an opportunity" of laying his letter before his Majesty. He subsequently received a letter from Lord Conyngham by the post, saying that the King would be in London on the 4th, and glad to see him there if he could wait so long; or else would see him at Windsor before he went to Belvoir. The Duke of Rutland had the horses to his carriage on Saturday last, when Lord Conyngham's letter arrived, and instead of proceeding straight to Belvoir, went *round by Windsor* and saw the King. What passed is hitherto unknown.

Rode with Sir John Beresford, who told me that he had dined twice lately in company with the Duke of Clarence, who had said, in the hearing of a large company, that he was against Free Trade, "it would leave no sailors in the British navy," and "he wished that Huskisson was hanged;" also "that he would not take Canning for his Minister if there was any other man in England to be found for that office."

I also met Sir Thomas Lethbridge, who told me of his proposed motion for an address to the King to appoint an Administration which would be *unanimous* in their plan of Government, and act upon some *united* principle; and ended our conversation with saying that he would to-day give notice of making such a motion on Friday next, for he was tired, and the country was tired, of a see-saw Government here and in Ireland, and better have any *decided* Government than none; for even if it were Roman Catholic it would be better than none, especially as a Roman Catholic Government would not last six weeks. Accordingly, this evening he gave his notice in the House of Commons.

4th. — News of the day. The King, on Saturday last, gave the Duke of York's George to the Duke of Rutland. Lord Bathurst, it is said, is to be First Minister. Peel has refused to lead the House of Commons unless Canning is in the Cabinet.

5th. — Riding in Hyde Park, met an elderly-looking gentleman wrapped up in a great coat (*the day very*

warm), pale-faced, but with a sparkling eye. On passing near enough to recognise him, I found it was Canning.

The Opposition to-day had a meeting at Lansdowne House.

6*th.*—In the House of Lords, I was told by Lord Arden and Lord Carbury, that I was reported to be the author of Sir Thomas Lethbridge's motion. To which I only replied, "Certainly not." And other persons being near us, I gave no further explanation. Sir Thomas Lethbridge, after some conversation in the House of Commons, withdrew his notice.

Mr. Canning declared in his place, "That the arrangements for a new Administration were not so far advanced as to make it too late for Sir Thomas Lethbridge to make his motion, unless he wished for an excuse to withdraw it.

7*th.* — According to Dr. Philpotts, Mr. Blake and the other active Roman Catholics are professing a readiness to give the strongest securities for rendering their emancipation safe to the Protestant constitution.

This agrees with what Sir Thomas Lethbridge told me, that Sir Henry Parnell was constantly pressing him to make some conciliatory propositions, &c., &c. Dr. Philpotts showed me the Papal Bull for settling the ecclesiastical affairs of Hanover, but it is nothing like a concordat.

Nobody but Lady Liverpool has yet seen Lord Liverpool. He does not appear to improve in mind, nor in the use of his hands. He has occasionally given proofs of memory, and can make her understand him. He had been exceedingly harassed for the whole of the last two years by the intrigues then carrying on, and was growing nervous and irritable.

8*th.* — The Chancellor was to see the King to-day at two o'clock by command. I dined at Peel's. Peel, talking with me about the arrangements, said, whatever may be their event, the adjournment till May 1st will not be too long.

9*th.* — Left London for Kidbrooke.

FROM LORD AMHERST.

Delhi, Feb. 20th, 1827.

My dear Lord,— . . . . Two years ago it was believed, in all the parts of India which I have lately traversed, that our empire was drawing to a close. The reaction is very striking, and I believe that a more opportune moment could not have been taken by any Governor-General for re-establishing in the minds of the inhabitants that confidence in the stability of our rule which had no doubt been considerably shaken. Scindiah, who was never known before to hold complimentary intercourse with the British Government, has been prevented only by his bodily infirmities from coming in person to the camp of the Governor-General. He deputed the man next in authority to himself to be the bearer of good wishes, of costly presents, and of assurances of attachment. From Holkar I had a similar deputation. Mahrattas and Patnas have vied with each other who should offer most demonstrations of respect. Runjeet Singh has expressed a wish to meet me in a boat on the Sutlej, like our betters at Tilsit, but his physicians oppose his leaving Lahore. I say nothing of the numerous chiefs from Bundelkund, who have now had an opportunity of confirming in person the friendly assurances which for some years back they have made to the British Government. But the most remarkable attention which I have received is from the King of Delhi, who himself sent me a message to tempt me to visit him by the disclaimer of all pretensions to a *nuzzer* (valuable offering), and by a proposal that I should be seated in his presence. Accordingly on Saturday last, to the amazement of all the inhabitants of Delhi, I occupied a golden chair alongside the throne; and I must do King Akbar the Second the justice to say, that he witnessed the strangest sight with the greatest apparent satisfaction. He condescends, moreover, in a day or two, to come and receive my presents at the Residency.

Among the branches of the royal family who came and met me at the city gates was a young Timour. I do not know how to compare my entrance into Delhi on an elephant, surrounded with pomp and splendour, to my entrance into Rome, thirty-two years ago, in a chaise and four, without attracting more attention than usually awaits a traveller; but I certainly experienced somewhat of the same sensations at each of the immortal cities, though the long line of tombs is the only circumstance common to both. In this respect Delhi presents the appearance of a more extensive city and a more numerous population; but,

splendid as are some of these repositories of the dead, there is nothing at Delhi to compare with the inimitable Taj at Agra.

. . . . . .

Our next move is to Meerut, one of our principal military stations in India; after that we ascend the hills, the approach to the great snowy range, for the purpose of passing there the hot months of April and May. As soon as the rivers fall I shall commence my voyage to Calcutta, there to await the arrival of my successor.

It will have been satisfactory to you and to my other kind friends to witness the extraordinary desire which the Birmese have manifested to fulfil the conditions of the peace, and to live in harmony with their late enemies. I do very sincerely regret that the Peguese have shown a disposition to liberate themselves from the yoke of Ava, and have actually, I believe, possessed themselves of Rangoon. While civil war rages we can enter into no commercial relation with the southern provinces; but, if the insurrection is successful, the descendants of Alompra will rue the day when they entered into hostilities with us. They will be confined again to their ancient limits, and will have lost one of the finest lines of coast which is to be found in the world. The settlement which we have lately made at the mouth of the Martaban river, and to which I found that I had been made to stand godfather, will rise upon the ruins of Rangoon, and soon monopolise the teak and other valuable trades. . . . . .

I do derive the most sincere satisfaction from the good opinion expressed of my government by the Duke of Wellington, with whom I cannot boast of a private acquaintance. Within these few days I have received letters from Leadenhall Street, written in a very different tone from some of their predecessors. . . . .

Most faithfully yours, Amherst.

CHAP. LXXV.

1827.

INQUIRY FROM THE DUC DE BROGLIE INTO OUR PARLIAMENTARY USAGES. —CANNING BECOMES PRIME MINISTER. — RESIGNATION OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON, ETC.—LORD GREY REFUSES TO JOIN CANNING.— AUDIENCE OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY AND BISHOP OF LONDON ON THE CATHOLIC QUESTION.—THE KING'S DECLARATIONS.—CONVERSATION WITH LORD HAREWOOD.—STATEMENT OF PEEL IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, AND OF CANNING. — LORD LYNDHURST (CHANCELLOR) TAKES HIS SEAT IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS.—EXPLANATIONS OF THE RETIRING MINISTERS. —DINNER AT THE ROYAL ACADEMY.—CONVERSATION WITH LORD MANSFIELD.—LORD GREY'S ATTACK ON CANNING.—CONVERSATION WITH THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.—HIS STATEMENT OF ALL THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF HIS RESIGNATION.

TUESDAY, April 10th. — Received the following letter from the Duc de Broglie:—

Paris, 4 Avril, 1827.

Milord, — Je prends la liberté de m'adresser à vous pour obtenir de votre obligeance et de votre longue expérience quelque éclaircissement sur une question qui nous préoccupe à ce moment.

Il existe à la Chambre des Communes un Comité de Privilége. Je désire savoir précisément —

A quelle époque de l'histoire parlementaire de l'Angleterre ce comité a été fondé ;

De combien de membres il se compose ;

Comment il est nommé ;

Quelles sont ses fonctions, ou attributions, en ce particulier ; s'il se borne simplement à recevoir des plaintes sur l'infraction des priviléges, ou s'il est autorisé à agir de lui-même, et à prendre spontanément connaissance de ces infractions.

Si vous êtes assez bon, milord, pour m'honorer d'un mot de réponse, je vous en serai infiniment reconnaissant. Veuillez excuser mon importunité. Elle prend sa source dans la bienveillance que vous m'avez témoignée durant votre trop court séjour sur le Continent.

Veuillez agréer, milord, le témoignage de mes sentiments de haute considération. V. DUC DE BROGLIE.

HEADS OF MY ANSWER.

I would not delay for a day to give such information as is desired.

Committees of Privileges in the two Houses of Parliament.

1. The date of their origin.

In the Commons, first mentioned upon the Journals, March 22nd, 1603, and then spoken of *as usual* at the beginning of every Parliament.

In the Lords, first mentioned, Feb. 5th, 1620.

2. The number of Members in each Committee.

In the Commons, originally between twenty and thirty, now about fifty; but all who choose to attend have voices.

In the Lords originally about thirty, now about eighty.

3. How named.

In each House it should be upon the motion of some Member, according to strict form; but according to general practice the Speaker names them, taking the most prominent persons on all sides; nevertheless any Member may object to any name, and propose any other, in which case the House at large decides, by the Speaker putting the question upon the particular name for their determination.

4. The powers of the Committee.

Each House most frequently disposes of all questions of privilege by its own immediate authority; but sometimes, when the matter may require much investigation, the House refers it to the Committee of Privileges, who are to report it to the House, to be there finally decided.

In the Lords, universally, all questions respecting titles to peerage are referred to the Committee of Privilege.

In the Commons, all questions of election of Members are decided by sworn Committees under modern Acts of Parliament; but as to privileges generally, although the

Committee of Privileges is appointed at the commencement of every session, and ordered to sit three days in every week, they never, in practice, do meet, unless specially ordered to do so. And no instance has occurred of their actually sitting within the last forty or fifty years. They are empowered when sitting, to call for any persons, papers, or records to be brought before them, but only for the purpose of assisting their inquiries; the result of which they are to report to the House.

N.B. In the "Times" of April 27th, it appears that the Duke's letter was written at the instance of Royer Collard, who quoted it as his authority in a debate in the Corps Legislatif.

12th. — (The day before Good Friday.) A new writ was moved in the room of Mr. Canning, now First Lord of the Treasury. In the "Gazette" of Tuesday 17th, the Duke of Clarence was appointed Lord High Admiral. Lord Eldon, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Bathurst, Mr. Peel, Lord Westmoreland, Lord Melville, and Lord Bexley, have resigned. Lord Bexley first agreed to continue; then resigned; and afterwards desired to withdraw his resignation.

For the rumours and floating opinions through good channels of information, see the following letters from Lady Shelley.

Thursday, April 12th.

My dear Lord Colchester, — As bad news proverbially speeds its flight, I doubt not that your London correspondents informed you yesterday that Mr. Canning had received his Majesty's commands to form an Administration based upon the principle of Lord Liverpool's (of course alluding to the Catholic question). I did not hear this upon authority upon which I could rely until just as the post-bell was ringing.

Yours very sincerely, F. SHELLEY.

April 13th.

My dear Lord Colchester, — . . . . . The papers are not wholly correct. The Duke (of Wellington) resigns *both*

Wife of Sir John Shelley, of Maresfield Park, M.P. for Lewes.

offices. Seven Ministers have resigned without hesitation. Thank God, for now we shall come to principles.

I think it impossible Canning can stand, or find materials to form an Administration, without the Whigs. The King has made a *sine quâ non* of the Catholic question not being carried or attempted. Consequently can the Whigs join him? They all profess to hate him; and how can he resist both Whigs, Protestants, and landed interest, in that case united? They say the Vice (Leach) is decidedly Chancellor, or at all events *pro tempore*. Lord William Bentinck is talked of for the Ordnance or India; and the Duke of Portland is talked of; I don't believe *either*. The last from indolence, the first from good sense, will not accept. The Duke is going out of town for a week, as are all the Ministers. What a hero! He is the *beau idéal* of an honest man, and thank God, the world feels it, and so I trust will the country.

He went down to the review at nine o'clock yesterday morning, and his feelings, which I can imagine, but which your pen only could describe, at resigning the command, I will not profane by attempting.

I am, you see, quite *tête montée*. Not when I saw him after Waterloo did I so worship him and enjoy his superiority over the office-loving Duke of Marlborough. . . . . .

When I wrote to you last, I was not at liberty to express my conviction that the Duke never would act under Canning, without Peel, who has long determined not to act under a Catholic Prime Minister; but until the King's decision, after a long interview, had been declared, few, I believe, supposed he would have been so rash. . . . . .

Ever yours truly, F. Shelley.

April 14th.

Dear Lord Colchester, — I regret your absence from London, as I think you would have enjoyed, as I did yesterday, the triumph of integrity over intrigue in the warm feeling excited by the Duke's resignation of office, as well as Peel's, and the unanimous secession from Administration of their friends. Having long known the improbability of the Duke and Peel continuing to sit in the same Cabinet with Mr. Canning, I still did not anticipate all that has taken place, and I expected that the Duke would continue at the head of the army; and on the first day I did not write to you, for having had access to Canning's circular letter which I mentioned, I was alarmed lest the bait should take, and the Tories remain; which, I own, would

have annoyed me extremely. Indeed if it had not been for Mr. Canning's *insolence* to the Duke of Wellington, he would have found great difficulty in not obeying the King's wish, that he should remain at the head of the army, not in the Cabinet; but the day before yesterday Mr. Canning, in the King's name, wrote him so insolent and sarcastic a letter, that the Duke, with that high feeling of independence which makes him so truly great, felt that he was not called upon to submit, and gave in his resignation. I did not feel authorised yesterday to communicate this, but, having asked the Duke whether he wished it to be known, he said "By all means," and therefore I am delighted to communicate it to you, who are so worthy and able to appreciate his conduct. Peel has been admirable, and old Westmoreland staunch from the beginning. As to the impossibility of acting with Canning as Prime Minister,—if he can form an Administration, then indeed all is lost except our honour; but Canning states the King to be more bigoted to the cause of Protestantism than ever his father was, and that the Catholic question, as a *sine quâ non*, is not to be carried. If this hold in the mind of a man of whom I would willingly not speak disrespectfully, but whose wavering principles who can trust? then the Whigs cannot, I think, in these days of honesty, come in with Canning; and though Burdett and some of the minors, or radicals, rejoice in the triumph of liberality, the influential, I trust, will stand aloof. I hear the Vice Chancellor hesitates to give up his place for life; which looks well.

The following was the project of yesterday, which from different sources appears credible:

William Lamb	Something unknown, in the Lords.
Leach	Chancellor.
Lord Granville	Foreign Affairs.
Robinson	Lord Bathurst's Office (Colonies).
Huskisson	Home Department!!!
Wharncliffe or Dudley Ward . .	Privy Seal.
Lord Morley.	Woods and Forests.
Lord W. Bentinck.	Ordnance, or India.
(The former the Duke does not believe.)	
Lord Carlisle	Ireland.

The Duke of Portland is wished for the Admiralty it is supposed, as no one else is talked of.

Yours truly, F. SHELLEY.

Monday, April 16th.

Dear Lord C.,—The secession of the Ministers has taken place on *principle*, not choosing to serve under a Catholic

premier. Peel will give Canning support in those measures in which they agree. The Duke had originally agreed to retain his situation as Commander-in-chief, reserving his *political* freedom like Peel. His subsequent resignation of that office is the consequence of personal hostility so displayed, that the Duke did not consider it any longer incumbent upon him to retain the situation, as the insult was given in the King's name; but the resignation of himself and the other Cabinet Ministers is upon *public*, not *personal* grounds. . . . . .

I doubt not all will be laid before Parliament. The King is, I hear, furious. Ridiculous as it at first appeared to me, I believe that he means *himself* to be Commander-in-chief; and that this has been an old hobby of his, grounded upon all commissions being signed by him. The Ordnance is offered to Lord Anglesey. Query, will he accept? for the Opposition decidedly join him under the conviction that the Catholic question will be carried.

Lord Londonderry asked an interview of the King, and stated that it was from His Majesty's own statements that his opinion of Mr. Canning's unfitness for the situation of Premier was derived, stating his own exertions to prevent Queen Caroline's reception at a foreign court, and Mr. Canning's conduct on that occasion. From his own account he did it well, and thrust home. The Dukes of Dorset and Montrose, Lord Graham, and Lord Lowther have resigned. All the Lords of the Admiralty remain, and Croker!! forming a board. The Duke goes out of town to-day for a week. Ireland appears to be quite unsettled; Lord Bexley is decidedly gone back to Canning. Sir George Warrender and other underlings are injuring their friend by *drunken* triumph and coarse exultation. Lord Wharncliffe blushed when Shelly asked what he was to have. . . . . .

Yours most sincerely, F. SHELLEY.

April 19th.

Dear Lord Colchester,—It is officially announced that His Majesty keeps the situation of Commander-in-chief himself; and he has made a point with Sir Herbert Taylor of remaining at the Horse Guards, much against his inclination. I have seen several of Canning's friends, whose tone is much lowered. The King has declared his determination to have a Protestant Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and a Protestant in the Home Department. Sir Charles Stewart is all right; and his supposed interviews with Mr. Canning a fabrication. . . . . .

Yours truly, F. SHELLEY.

23*rd*.—Returned to town.

Lord Lansdowne has accepted the seals of Secretary of State for the Home Department. Spring Rice is to be Under Secretary of State. Mr. Wilmot Horton is expected to be Chief Secretary for Ireland. Lord Wellesley is desired to stay a year. Lord Manners ditto. The Duke of Devonshire is to be Lord Chamberlain. Mr. Plunkett is to be a peer; but finding his intended appointment to be Master of the Rolls unpopular, declines that office, still accepting the peerage.

24*th*.—News of the day. That Canning's negotiation with Lord Lansdowne is all off, or at least suspended, because Lord Lansdowne requires to be the leading Minister in the House of Lords, and Canning insists upon its being Mr. Robinson. They have agreed on other points: that the Roman Catholic question shall not be made a Cabinet question, nor the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, nor Reform of Parliament.

Earl Grey declines office on account of his age; Tierney will not take any laborious department; Lord Holland stands aloof; Lord Spencer is furious against Canning, and so is Lord Duncannon.

The Duke of Wellington agrees with Peel *in toto*. Peel supports the measures of the last Cabinet, and on other points; but if Canning joins the Whigs, &c., he holds himself free to oppose.

26*th*.—Dr. Philpotts called, and related to me the substance of the King's audience, proffered and given to the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London, on Saturday, 14th inst. It lasted six hours, from two till eight in the evening. The King talked five hours out of the six, relating the uniform state of his opinions, and declarations against the Roman Catholic claims, to all his Ministers and political friends, beginning with Mr. Fox in the late King's lifetime. At the end, the Archbishop desired to know "if this communication was to be considered as confidential, or such as might be made public?" The King said, "Tell it to all the bishops and all the world." He stated in the course of

the audience, that he was even more immovably fixed on this point than his father; and that, when Mr. Peel told him there were not the materials for a Protestant Administration, he said, "Then it must be a *neutral* Cabinet. Mr. Canning is *forced* upon me; but I will have a Protestant Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, a Protestant Chancellor, and a Protestant Chief Secretary."

The King complained that the Duke of Wellington had left him, after saying that they had no objection to serve with Canning. The Duke of Wellington answers to this, "Canning had told me two days before, that Robinson was to be the head of the Government; and then he writes me word that *he* (Canning) is to be the head. I had no objection to serve under Robinson; but after this duplicity I would not serve *under* Canning." Query. Should not the Duke of Wellington have written to explain this to the King, as Canning had informed the Duke that his (the Duke's) letter had been laid before the King?

Sir William Knighton goes into the King's closet with those who have audiences, and remains there. He did so with Sir Herbert Taylor.

Went to Lambeth, and saw the Archbishop; who related to me his audience with the King to the same effect as Dr. Philpotts. In mentioning the accession of "the talents" to power in 1806, the King said he had pledged his support to their administration solely from his regard to Mr. Fox, being indifferent to many, and *disliking* several of the others; but he had done so upon the express condition "that the Roman Catholic question should not be brought forward to disturb his father, who never would consent, nor would he if the crown descended to him." And that Mr. Fox, in acceding to this condition, only requested His Royal Highness to forbear giving any unnecessary publicity to his own opinions upon the Roman Catholic question. That Mr. Fox strictly observed this condition during the continuance of his life; and when the Grenvilles, in the spring of 1807, endeavoured to thrust a clause into

the Mutiny Bill, giving staff-appointments to the Roman Catholics, early intimation of it had been given to him, *and by him* to the late King, which ended in the dismissal of Lords Grey, Grenville, &c. And then he went on to state all the subsequent occurrences, and his own increasing aversion to any further concessions. He particularly mentioned, as to the coronation oath, that he had told Lord Castlereagh previously to his own coronation, that if they meant he should ever consent to Roman Catholic emancipation, they must *alter* the coronation oath *before* he was crowned; for after taking that he would, like his father, sooner consent to lay his head on the block than consent to that measure. The King then desired the Archbishop to write immediately to Lord Manners, begging, as a personal request from the King, that he would stay out the year, so as to give time for finding another Protestant Chancellor of Ireland, for he would have a Protestant Lord-Lieutenant also, and a Protestant Chief Secretary. The Archbishop accordingly had written to, and had received a letter from, Lord Manners, consenting to remain till October, when he hoped to be released; and this the King (when the letter was carried to him) said would do very well.

Upon this statement of the King's determination to have a Protestant Lord-Lieutenant, Chancellor, and Chief Secretary in Ireland (which the Archbishop had formally notified to all the Bishops last week at their annual dinner on Easter Tuesday), and the present strong reports that all of these would be for the Roman Catholics, I urged to the Archbishop the unhappy effects of the King's contradictory *declarations and actions*, and the loss of respect which they would necessarily produce, &c. &c. (for, whatever might happen to the individual politicians, their loss of credit was comparatively unimportant); and I could not but wish that, before it was too late, the King might be apprised of the fatal consequences of an impression so derogatory to the Royal character, &c. To this the Archbishop very naturally objected, that even if he went to the

King he might only give offence, for he should be asked upon what grounds such suspicions were ever entertained, and the King would resent the interference. And I then suggested that he might communicate to the King the great and general satisfaction with which His Majesty's declaration had been received by all to whom His Majesty had authorised him to communicate it; so that by putting the King between the fear of breaking his word with the Archbishop on the one side, and the fear of dissatisfying Mr. Canning on the other side, he might prefer the preservation of his own honour to the compliance with his Minister's recommendation. The Archbishop admitted this to be a strong position, but hardly saw how he could obtain such an audience as would give him such an opportunity; but if he were sent for by the King, or an other unexpected occurrence gave him such an opportunity, nothing could be more desirable for the purpose; and so we parted.

27*th*. — Sturges Bourne is appointed Secretary of State for the Home Department; the Duke of Portland Privy Seal; Hart, Vice-Chancellor; and Leach, Master of the Rolls.

Lord Eldon called upon Copley to compliment him on his promotion to the woolsack, and mentioned that he had a son who held a place under the Great Seal "at pleasure;" upon which Copley said immediately, "I shall be glad to take him by the hand, and hope he will continue in the office as long as *he* pleases."

28*th*.—In the *Gazette* of last night, Chief Justice Abbott is made Lord Tenterden, and Plunkett Lord Plunkett.

The King, on Saturday, the 14th of this month, volunteered a solemn pledge upon the most important point in the practical government of the country, to the most distinguished personages of the most sacred profession; and upon Saturday, the 28th of the *same* month, he appears to have broken it. Not only does the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland remain (a champion of the Roman Catholics), but Mr. Lamb, an advocate of

their claims, is made Chief Secretary, and the present Lord Chancellor of Ireland is to retire in October, by his own desire; nor is any other named. Will it be Plunkett?

Lord Londonderry, when a few days ago he resigned the situation of Lord of the Bedchamber, asked an audience which lasted three hours, and in which he urged strongly all his personal objections to supporting any Administration under Mr. Canning, and left a letter on the King's table, couched in respectful terms, but earnestly pressing the same reasons. He afterwards drew up a minute of all that had passed in this audience, and showed it to his friends.

At dinner at Lambeth Palace to-day, the Duke of Newcastle said he had told Peel that, by complimenting Canning over-much, he did no good to anybody, and did himself much harm. Lord Kenyon said that Lord Eldon had promised to make a full and strong statement of the causes of his secession.

30*th.* — In Lancashire, the Roman Catholics talk of not paying their tithes now that Mr. Canning is First Minister; and the Roman Catholic priests tell their people that they shall have mass in the Protestant churches next year.

The King this day held a Council, at which all the new Ministers attended, and the seals of office were delivered to them.

Tuesday, May 1*st.* — Lord Harewood came by his own appointment, to talk over the present anomalous and unconstitutional state of the Government, exercised by persons provisionally appointed, they professedly not being considered as the *final* occupants, not qualified to state the system upon which they were to act. They cannot promise what others, as yet unknown, are to perform. He understood that Lord Londonderry had been permitted by the King to take down words from the King at his audience which the King now wished to have considered by others as inconsiderately spoken.

Lord Harewood agreed with me that those who generally wished to support the King's Government could now only look to the individual measures, and not act upon any confidence in the present Administration, or in the unknown persons who may succeed them; and if a question of confidence were pressed to a division, he should vote against the Administration.

As to Ireland, the Roman Catholics appear desirous of not pressing their claims this year. The Knight of Kerry* means not to press his proposed motion, but only to record his opinions upon the journals. According to Mr. Petre, they not only forbear this year to urge a discussion in Parliament, but the Roman Catholic Association in Dublin is to dissolve itself; of course under the direction of their Parliamentary friends. As to the Corn Bill, he should vote against that.

Lord Exeter is to have the third vacant Garter; the Duke of Devonshire and Duke of Leeds the other two.

Lord Salisbury equally reprobated the Corn Bill.

Rode with Lord Camden. By his account, Lord Londonderry was told by the King, at his audience, that the Government was to have a *majority* of Protestants in it, and that the Government of Ireland was to be *wholly* Protestant. And when the King gave audience to his new Chancellor, Lord Lyndhurst (late Sir John Copley), Sir William Knighton, who was present, by the King's command wrote down, at Sir John Copley's request, a declaration to the same effect.

In the House of Commons, upon the motion for a new writ in the room of Sturges Bourne, Mr. Peel entered into a full explanation of the circumstances of his resignation, long ago determined upon, and in contemplation of Mr. Canning becoming Prime Minister, he had signified his intention to Mr. Canning and to the King a week before the other Ministers resigned; and, as to them, he distinctly showed that they had gone out without any cabal, concert, or dictation.

Mr. Canning, after stating that he had the King's

* Mr. Maurice Fitzgerald.

permission to relate all that had passed, avowed his refusal to accede to the proposition of all the King's Ministers remaining in their respective situations after Lord Liverpool's extinction, with a new person of the other House of Parliament to fill the office of First Minister, because that would be admitting the disqualification of any person holding opinions favourable to the Roman Catholics from becoming First Minister.

2nd.—News from Paris of an affront offered to the King of France by some of the National Guard at a review; and that the same day the King disbanded the National Guard of Paris, and appointed the Gendarmerie to mount guard in their place.

This day Lord Lyndhurst took his seat with the same ceremony as Lord Erskine, in 1806. The Duke of Clarence to-day (as he did then) notifying the King's appointment of the new Chancellor, who in the same form carried his patent to the foot of the throne, where it was taken from him and read by the clerk; also Lord Tenterden took his seat; the Attorney- and Solicitor-General, with a whole row of barristers, appearing to attend him as the Lord Chief-Justice of England.

The passages were so crowded, that Lord Eldon had great difficulty in getting through the doorway from the Prince's chamber; and said good humouredly to those who stood in his way, "Pray, gentlemen, make room for an old man who has gone out and wishes to get in again."

The appearance of the House was singular. There were 164 lords present. The steps of the throne were crowded with men; and 20 or 30 ladies on the sides of the throne. The ex-Ministers took their seats on the cross bench; the new Ministers took theirs in the usual front row above the fire-place; Lord Lansdowne in a back row behind them, and Lord Holland near him; Lords Grosvenor, Caernarvon, Darlington, &c., also on the Ministerial side. On the usual Opposition benches, Lords Grey, Lauderdale, Ellenborough, Rosslyn, and Londonderry, with Lords Kenyon, Mansfield, Win-

chelsea, the Duke of Newcastle, and the Marquess of Salisbury.

After Lord Grosvenor had presented a petition in favour of the Roman Catholic claims, Lord Ellenborough called upon the ex-Ministers for an explanation of the causes of their resignation. This produced detailed statements from Lord Eldon, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Bexley, Lord Bathurst, Lord Melville, and Lord Westmoreland. Lord Bexley's adherence to the present Ministry not very fully accounted for after he had once resigned. The speeches of the Duke of Wellington and Lord Melville were clear, forcible, and conclusive upon the fraudulent and intriguing spirit in which Canning had got rid of the ex-Ministers, and their disproof of all concert, cabal, and dictation fully made out.

The speeches successively of Lords Camden and Londonderry drew forth Lord Lansdowne to vindicate his conduct in supporting the present Ministers from his approbation of their policy in finance and commerce, and their intended postponement of discussion of the Roman Catholic claims for a more favourable season. Lord Mansfield gave notice of a motion for bringing forward the discussion on the 4th of June next, contending that if the friends of Roman Catholic emancipation thought it better to wait until they had strengthened their hands, for that very reason the opponents should hasten the discussion and compel a declaration of the sense of the majority whilst in its present strength. Lord Goderich (late Mr. F. Robinson) and Lord Anglesey both spoke well.

N.B. Lord Mansfield also said that, as his motion would conclude with an Address to the King, an answer must necessarily be given which would, in the King's name, inform Parliament of the principles which the King's Ministers advised him to maintain.—*Vide infra*, May 7—9.

3rd.—Bankes returned on Tuesday from Dorsetshire.

It appeared to him that the new Administration had not the confidence of Parliament or of the country.

I went to Lady Shelley, and related to her all the particulars of last night's debate in the Lords. She told me that on Monday last, when the Council met at St. James's, a message was sent to the Duke of Wellington, at the Horse-Guards', where he was winding-up his business, to inquire "why he was still there?" He packed up his papers in a red box and departed in half-an-hour. He has left no arrear whatever of business at the Horse-Guards', or at the Ordnance. He sat with her three hours on Monday evening.

4th.—House of Lords. An angry skirmish with the new Ministers about notices of motion for a Committee upon the state of the nation, &c.

5th.—At the dinner at the Royal Academy. On the toast of "The King, our munificent patron," no applause! "The Duke of Wellington" (and his answer), great applause. When the toast came of "The noblemen and gentlemen who have honoured the Royal Academy this day with their presence," thanks were returned by the Lord-Chancellor in a speech of great feeling, dignity, and good taste; "that he was cradled in this institution; that, when young, he had familiarly known all the great masters who created and adorned the establishment, Reynolds, Gainsborough, Barry, &c.; and from all these and from others he had received great and lasting obligations," &c.

The President enumerated the losses sustained in the past year by the death of Flaxman, the absence of Wilkie, &c.; and concluded with an eulogy upon Lord Liverpool (of whom a magnificent picture by Lawrence was exhibited in the room), and gave for a toast the recovery of his health.

The Council of the Academy were much perplexed how to distribute their guests in the present stormy state of party politics. All the Ministers were present, and were seated alternately between the Foreign Ambassadors.

6th. — The Duke of Clarence, when he became Lord High Admiral, addressed Sir William Hope*, thus; "I ask it as a favour of you to stay here. You may remember that when you were a lieutenant in the ship I commanded, we had a violent quarrel, and that you quitted the ship; and that our quarrel was not made up for ten years; but the world at large, who knew of the quarrel may not have known of our reconciliation, and I wish that, by your staying now, they may become fully acquainted with it. Moreover you cannot know that, after you left my ship I thought you in the right, *and myself in the wrong*, and that is another reason; so you must stay, and be of my council."

7th. — House of Lords. Lord Mansfield fixed his motion on the Roman Catholic claims for June 7th, unless it should appear more advantageous to Protestant interests not to press it at that time. Lord Londonderry made a long desultory speech attacking the "Provisional" Administration, charging Mr. Canning with taking a pension of 3000*l.* a year, and intending to hold the Treasury with the Foreign Office, &c.

Two commissions from the King were read, appointing the Master of the Rolls and the Lord Chief Baron, Deputy-Speakers for hearing causes. The Chancellor pledged himself to bring forward in the next session a permanent plan for disposing of Appeals, and Writs of Error, stated the present arrears to be seventy Scotch Appeals, and forty English and Irish. That he would sit two days a week to hear the English and Irish, and the Master of the Rolls one day a week, and the Chief Baron two days; in all five days a week, during the remainder of the present session, as an experiment. This arrangement was objected to by Lord Lauderdale, as appointing commoners to hear causes and draw up judgments, without being able to give the reasons on which their judgments are founded.

* He had been a Lord of the Admiralty.

Lord Harrowby came and sat by me, and hoped that, "although we were likely to vote on opposite sides of the House, I would not desert him at the council. He hardly knew whom he could get to assist him lately; but the new Master of the Rolls had promised him to sit at the council on Saturdays."

The King has written a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, complaining that he had not given publicity enough to the declaration made by His Majesty to him and the Bishop of London in their audience of the 14th of April, and wishing him to state the substance of that audience in his place in the House of Lords!! and reproaching him for not having stated it upon the occasion of Lord Mansfield's notice of motion.

8th. — Lord Kenyon came to me to talk over the state of the nation, &c., and to persuade *me* to bring forward some motion upon which a case could be made out; 1st. From newspaper reports. 2ndly. From Canning's confessions; and 3rdly. From the avowals in the House of Lords to show the *unconstitutional* state of the present Government; and such a motion as all could join in supporting to upset the present Administration. About all which I hesitated to agree as to the form of such a proceeding; and still more as to my being the proper person to act such a part.

At this moment Sir Robert Inglis came by his own appointment "to talk over politics:" and Lord Kenyon desiring we might discuss the whole together if Sir Robert Inglis had no objection, I brought in Sir Robert, and we continued.

The result was that I told them I thought Lord Mansfield a much fitter person; but as to person or motion, none could be usefully brought forward which had not the concurrence and approbation of the seceding Ministers, but more especially of Lord Eldon and the Duke of Wellington; and that any proceeding disclaimed or deserted by them, would only produce a demonstration of weakness in numbers, which would hurt the Protestant cause, and its present triumphant majority.

Lord Kenyon went away, saying he would talk it over with Lord Shaftesbury, who knew well both Lord Eldon and the Duke of Wellington, and could ascertain their sentiments.

Later in the day Lord Mansfield called. He showed me a copy of his proposed resolution, "that it is necessary to declare, — &c., Protestant constitution, — exclusion of Roman Catholics from political power, &c.;" concluding with an address, praying his Majesty "to support," &c.

On Sunday last he saw Lord Eldon, who cordially approved, and added, "After you have opened, and some of them have spoken, I shall be prepared to say my say, &c." And so they parted most graciously; but on Monday (yesterday) morning he received a note from Lord Eldon "that it was *not* the time for such a motion."

Upon receiving this he saw Lord Bathurst, who was in the same story, "that it was not the time for such a motion;" and therefore it was that yesterday, in giving notice for June 7th, he had reserved the intention of not pressing it, if it should appear to be more advantageous to the Protestant cause to forbear.

The Archbishop of Canterbury has told Lord Mansfield that he understands (he did not speak of the *letter* which he is supposed to have received) the King was displeased with Lord Mansfield for thinking it necessary to call upon him to declare his attachment to the Protestant cause; as if his royal word was to be doubted after what he had said to the Archbishop and Bishop of London at their joint audience. And the Archbishop is to see some of the bishops and know how they would be likely to go; either upon the main question, or upon the previous question, if the Ministers were to move that as a riddance of the business for the present.

Lord Mansfield had not yet seen Peel upon the subject, but would do so, and let me know further.

In the course of the conversation, he said he *knew* that the King had proposed to Peel to form an Adminis-

tration "exclusively Protestant," but had never proposed to him to make an Administration upon the principle of Lord Liverpool's Cabinet with a Protestant First Minister. Also that the Home Secretaryship had been offered with a peerage and a pension to the Speaker, and to Wallace, and he believed to Lord Farnborough, all of whom had declined.

He also confirmed the report of the Chancellorship of the Duchy having been actually promised by the King to Sir W. Knighton, until Canning sent Lord Bexley to the King to retain the office, &c.

9th.—Called on Sir R. Inglis, who found Peel not so zealous as he wished him to be; and who thought "a divided Cabinet" was desirable *per se*, on account of the state of Ireland.

House of Lords. The Duke of Devonshire, as Lord Chamberlain, gave his Majesty's answer to several addresses for papers, &c., holding his white wand in his hand, but dressed in a morning frock and boots; the custom having always been for the Lord Chamberlain to come in full dress upon such occasions. Being told of this by another peer, a Lord of the Bedchamber, he replied, "Oh, that is so much trouble."

The Archbishop of Canterbury told me that he had received a letter which he was authorised to mention in the House of Lords, and if required by the House he should do so. I apprised him of the resolution of the House of Commons, 17th Dec., 1783, on the East India Bill, declaring it to be "a high crime and misdemeanour, a gross breach of privilege, and subversive of the Constitution, to report any opinion or pretended opinion of the King respecting any Bill or other proceeding pending in Parliament."

10th.—Called on Lord Mansfield with my verbal amendments to his proposed resolutions; but he doubted the expediency of bringing them forward, as many persons hesitated as to the time and mode of agitating the question.

House of Lords. Animated speeches on the forma-

tion of the new Ministry. The Duke of Newcastle, on presenting a petition against the new Corn Bill, objected to it as one of the measures of the new premier, "a profligate minister and an unprincipled man." This called up Lord Darlington, who vindicated the support he was giving to the new Government, and talked of the "factious opposition." He was followed by Lord Harewood, who said that much mystery had hung about the resignation of the late Ministers; but that had been completely explained by them in their defence when made. And now there was another mystery about the new Administration,—who they were, or were to be. This also should be explained, or he could not give them his confidence.

Lord Goderich made a flourishing answer, but declined to answer the question. Lords Salisbury, Hardwicke, Lauderdale, and Ellenborough followed; then Lord Spencer justified at length the support he was giving to the new Government; which brought up Lord Grey, who in a long, masterly, and eloquent speech, assigned all his reasons for not concurring with the other Whig Lords; upon his want of confidence in Canning, as the head of a Cabinet pledged not to bring forward the Roman Catholic claims as a Government; as the head of a divided Cabinet, the patronage and favour of the Crown flowing from him in one direction to advance the Roman Catholic interests, and all the Church patronage flowing from a Protestant Chancellor in an opposite direction; on the score also of his foreign policy as to France, Spain, Portugal and South America; and on the score of his domestic policy, as hostile to Parliamentary reform; a supporter of the Test and Corporation Acts, and champion of all the modern laws for restraining the liberty of the subject. He concluded with declaring his own retirement from active public life, unless brought forth occasionally by rare and extreme emergencies. The debate here closed; nor did Lord Lansdowne nor Lord Holland say a word

for the Whigs, nor did Lord Harrowby offer any vindication or explanation on behalf of the Government.

15*th*. — Went to Apsley House by appointment to see the correspondence between the Duke of Wellington and Canning. The Duke, however, said that he had lent it to Lord Fitzroy Somerset for his brother, the Duke of Beaufort, to read, but I should have it sent to me. This was the subject of conversation between the Duke and Canning at the Royal Academy Dinner. The Duke said, "I wished to have avoided him, and therefore, when I had looked at the pictures, I went into the centre of the room, behind the seat which was allotted to me, but he sought me out and told me of the letter which he had sent to me. That was on the Saturday, and I sent him my answer on the Monday morning." (N.B. He, the Duke, had shown it to his colleagues in the interval; who had suggested a few verbal alterations.) And the Duke finished this part of the subject by saying, "I believe it is the only correspondence in which he was ever engaged and had not the last word, for I have heard no more of him." (N.B. Canning had shown his own letter to some of his friends and colleagues, but to nobody after receiving the Duke's answer.)

The Duke continued: "He had long intended to get rid of me. I never lived in habits of personal intimacy with him, nor otherwise than as public business required. I was so little in the secrets of his share in the Government, that when Lord Liverpool made his new peers last year (of which he was also ashamed) the first I heard of it was at a dinner at Agar Ellis's."

(Mem. Another instance the Duke mentioned of Canning's ascendency over Lord Liverpool; when Lord Clanricarde wished to be elected a Representative Peer of Ireland, Canning applied to Peel for the Government interest in his favour; but as Lord Clanricarde had just set his name down as a member of the Roman Catholic Association, Peel declined it, and there-

upon Canning got him created a Peer of the United Kingdom.)

"When I saw the King at Windsor," the Duke proceeded, "he spoke to me about the changes. I told him he must choose between Mr. Peel and Mr. Canning, or some third person under whom both would consent to serve. The King talked of an election among themselves of which they would serve under. When the King talked of this, I told His Majesty I could not offer him any advice of the choice he should make, but that act must be his own. It was the only personal act the King of England had to perform. When he had appointed his First Minister, all the rest devolved upon the person appointed, who became responsible for the King's acts; but he could not, and should not, leave them to elect among themselves — it was surrendering his royal prerogative.

"From that day he had never seen, or been allowed to see, the King for any private communication.

"The King came to town on the Friday before Passion Week, and it was then evidently all settled for Canning to be the Minister. Then came the letter from Canning, signifying that he was commanded to reconstruct the Administration. Then came the Duke's answer to Canning's letter, which answer, Canning wrote back, he had laid before the King, and which the King now says 'he never saw.' But I know, if he was reminded that he had so said, he would say, 'Oh, I may have seen it, but I had forgotten it.' Then came what Canning called the Six Resignations: and then Canning, on the Thursday, drove the King up into a corner, *with his watch in his hand.* 'Your Majesty must decide in half an hour; for if I am to be Prime Minister, my writ must be moved for within that time.' The King then gave him his hand to kiss," &c., &c.

At this point I interposed, and asked the Duke, "Is it possible that a King, in the abstract, can ever like a Minister who has forced himself upon him?" The Duke answered, "No, but he will still keep him. Lord

Liverpool was never more firmly fixed in his station than when he was seized with his present illness, and yet at that very moment the King despised and detested him."

He proceeded: "Canning, I know, would give half his tenure of office to have me back in his Cabinet, *i. e.* instead of ten years of power without me he would be content with five years of power. I have reconciled the King to him forty times whilst I have been his colleague. He would wish me now to be Commander-in-chief, but he fears the consequences of my necessary intercourse with the King three times a week; not that I ever have begun, or would begin, any conversation with the King, nor ever withheld my opinion upon any subject when asked for it. If the King (as may be) should desire me to resume the command of the army, I do not see how, as a soldier, I could refuse it.* But, in that case, I must have it in writing from Mr. Canning, and that shall be a humiliation on his part for the foolish, insulting, and indecent manner of his behaviour to me. His colleagues, I know, urge him to press my reinstatement, but he fears what may follow."

He said further: "I think they will stand if Parliament and the country will bear with them, but they dare not yet try their strength upon any measure; and they hold back from many which they ought to bring forward. You know very well that the Lord High Admiral cannot execute the necessary duties of the Admiralty without Acts of Parliament to give him the powers which have been given by law only to the Lords Commissioners, &c., and yet they do not bring forward any such bills. And I shall oppose the Corn Bill if it comes forward (as it apparently will do) without its conjoint measure respecting the averages and ware-

* It is remarkable, however, that within a week from the date of this conversation, the King himself did request the Duke to return to the command of the army, and the Duke did refuse. The King's letter and the Duke's answer are both given in Stapleton's "George Canning and his Times," pp. 597-8.

housing, which have not yet come up from the Commons."

He then repeated his promise of sending me the correspondence as soon as the papers came back to him, and so my visit ended.

Upon my return, I called on Lady Shelley, by her desire. She felt all the difficulty of the Duke resuming the command of the army after his explicit declaration in the House of Lords, that he had given up the command of the army (as well as the Cabinet), because the Commander-in-chief must be in daily intercourse with the head of the Government, and could not properly discharge the duties incident to such intercourse unless he had confidence in the individual who filled that situation.

My opinion is, that the Duke will suffer in reputation after all that has passed, if he accepts the post of Commander-in-chief without a written assurance that it will be taken as an appointment purely military, and without infringing in the remotest degree upon his political independence.

House of Lords. A petition was presented from the father of Mr. Wakefield's* wife, for a Bill to *annul* the marriage, on the ground that her evidence could not be received in the Ecclesiastical Court in such a case, but might, and had been so done, in the House of Lords.

Referred to a Committee of the whole House.

Lord Mansfield told me that, after a conference with Peel, as well as other friends, who disapproved or hesitated about his resolutions, he should give up his motion which stands for June 7th, but should state his own sentiments when he withdrew the notice.

Peel's notion is, that the King's declarations to the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London, not being made by advice of a responsible Minister, would

* Mr. E. G. Wakefield had carried off a very young lady from a boarding-school, and compelled her to marry him, for which he was subsequently tried criminally, convicted, and sentenced to severe punishment. — *Vide infra*, May 30th.

not be obligatory on the Crown constitutionally; and would only lead the people of England into a false security, by relying upon them for a protection against Emancipation, which, after all, the King's Ministers might advise him to grant.

I do not quite agree to all this; but so it is.

Lord Redesdale moved his Corn resolutions.

The Whigs and Canning are said to be off again; at least they have not agreed; and there are no more writs moved.

At a dinner of the Bishop of Chester's, the Bishop of St. David's (Jenkinson) said, that Lord Wellesley had publicly stated, in the hearing of the Bishop of Killaloe, who repeated it to the Bishop of St. David's, that "he had quite altered his sentiments about the Roman Catholics and their emancipation."

16*th*.—Received from the Duke of Wellington copies of Mr. Canning's letter to him of the 5th, respecting which he spoke to him at the Royal Academy; and the Duke's answer of the 7th. Mr. Canning's letter filled ten sheets of letter paper, and the Duke's filled nine sheets. Mr. Canning's letter* assumes the reports of the Duke's speech in the House of Lords, as taken from the *Times*, and the *New Times*, to be true, and disputes the truth of the assertions they state to have been made.

In the course of this letter the following passages occur:—

"Your Grace was evidently determined to insist upon the superinduction of an Anti-Catholic First Minister over my head, on the principle which, if it was not (as your Grace does me the honour repeatedly to say it was not) one of personal objection, could be no other than this, That an individual holding my opinions upon the Catholic question was *ipso facto* disqualified from holding that post.

"I, on the other hand, was determined (as your Grace, from the beginning, perfectly well knew) to quit the Government

* The letters of Canning and the Duke are given *in extenso* in the *second edition* of Stapleton's "Political Life of Canning," vol. iii., but they are not contained in the first and more generally known edition. The passages extracted by Lord Colchester are the most important.

rather than submit to the degradation of exhibiting in my person the exemplification of that principle of proscription."

Another paragraph runs thus —

"Now, it was His Majesty's special desire that I should retain the seals of the Foreign Department, uniting with that department the attributes of First Minister. And the instance of Mr. Pitt, during the Seven Years' War, was particularly pressed upon me, as showing such an arrangement to be practicable. If practicable, I had not the slightest objection to it. I liked my then office a thousand times better than any other; and I had no ambition for the title of First Lord of the Treasury, provided there were no misapprehension as to *where* the chief power of the Government was to reside.

"As to the proposal made at one time of Mr. Robinson going to the House of Lords in the department of the First Lord of the Treasury, I presently found it would be impracticable to make this arrangement without incurring one or other inconveniences: either the new First Lord of the Treasury would have been considered as in effect First Minister, or, &c. &c. The former inconvenience was the very one, the avoiding of which I had declared from the beginning to be a *sine quâ non* condition of my acquiescence in any arrangements."

The Duke's letter states what he *did* say in the House of Lords.

Some of the principal passages are these —

"I am one of those who think it desirable that the King, in forming a Ministry, should select a person for its head of the same general opinions with himself upon the great questions of policy, whether domestic or foreign; and particularly upon a case likely to come frequently under discussion, on which the opinions of the Empire are so divided as to render it impossible to form an efficient Administration, composed exclusively of persons of either opinion. I judged, from the conversation I had with His Majesty, at Windsor, that His Majesty *did* consider it important that the Administration should be composed of persons of both opinions upon the Roman Catholic question; and that the head of the Government should be of the same opinion with His Majesty; and that it was essential that he should continue to enjoy the benefit of your services."

Again —

"I never had but one conversation with you upon the subject

of the Government, and that was on April 2nd. In that conversation, although we discussed the principle of exclusion from office on the score of Catholic opinions, it was not with reference to your alleged right to be *First* Minister. Indeed this was so much the case that I perfectly recollect stating to you that the conclusion to which I understood we had come, was 'that the arrangement must include persons of both opinions, and no more, and that I should state that to be the conclusion;' as I did in fact to Mr. Peel. Although, however, I did not know that you claimed to be First Minister as a *sine quâ non*, I was very sensible that to succeed to this post was a reasonable object of ambition to you. It never occurred to me that any man could have a right to insist upon this post as a *sine quâ non*: and I thought it not impossible, (when you should come to consider the inconvenience to yourself, as well as to the public interests, of your being the First Minister, taking into account the history of your opinions, conduct, and speeches upon the Roman Catholic question, even to the last, and contrasting in your mind such opinions of yours with those of the King,) that you might have consented to act in a Government which was avowedly to be formed upon the principle of Lord Liverpool's Administration, in the same relation to the Government in which you had stood when Lord Liverpool was at its head.

"I never recommended the King to form an Administration composed exclusively of persons entertaining the opinion that no further concession ought to be made to the Roman Catholics. I should have declined to serve His Majesty as one of such an Administration, because I am convinced that such an Administration, under existing circumstances, would be too weak to carry on the Government. The attempt, therefore, to form such an exclusive Administration would, in my opinion, be the greatest misfortune that could happen to His Majesty and the public; and I must add that His Majesty's honour and welfare, and that of the State, are the circumstances which I think ought on this subject to be considered principally, and in priority to the claims and pretensions of any individual."

He goes on to state what regards the office of First Lord of the Treasury, adding, "I believe you will find it most embarrassing (in modern times) if not impossible, for the First Minister to hold any other office," his reason being, the control exercised by the Treasury over the expenditure of all the other departments of the State.

Respecting the Duke's resignation of his office of Commander-in-chief, the words of his letter, towards its close, are —

"There remains only one topic in your letter to which I have not adverted, and it relates to my resignation of the command of the army.

"I considered your letters to me, and particularly the one of April 11th (in which, be it observed, you state that you had previously submitted it to His Majesty), to have placed me in such a relation towards His Majesty, and towards yourself as his First Minister, as to render it impossible for me to continue in my office of Commander-in-chief.

"I could not be otherwise than in constant confidential communication with His Majesty on the one hand, and with yourself on the other; as you will find by-and-by, when you shall come to conduct the duties of the office of First Lord of the Treasury. And it was impossible for me to look for that personal goodwill and confidence in such communications, which are absolutely necessary, and which I think I deserve, after I had received from you a letter in which I thought you made use of a tone of rebuke, not provoked by anything contained in my letter to you, and for which the sanction of His Majesty was, as I think, very unnecessarily obtained.

"I know what I owe to His Majesty; but I should be unworthy of His Majesty's favour and kindness, and quite useless to him hereafter, if I had continued to endeavour to serve him in the post of Commander-in-chief of his army after I had received that letter.

"I am not in the habit of deciding upon such matters hastily, or in anger; and the proof of this, is that I never had a quarrel with any man in my life.

"If I could have entertained a doubt upon the subject of your letters to me, and the course which I ought to have pursued in consequence of them, the letter which I received from His Majesty of the 13th of April, written I conclude by your advice, must have confirmed the impression which the previous communications had made.

"I am, my dear Mr. Canning, yours most sincerely,

"WELLINGTON."

(N.B. This letter of His Majesty of April 13th, has not been made public, nor shown to anybody: nor the Duke's letter to the King of the 12th, to which His Majesty's was an answer.)

CHAP. LXXVI.

1827.

HOSTILITY TO THE MINISTERS. — DISCUSSION IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS ON THE BISHOP OF LONDON'S PUBLIC STATEMENT OF THE KING'S OPINIONS ON THE CATHOLIC QUESTION. — DOCUMENTS SUBMITTED TO GEORGE III. ON THAT SUBJECT.—PENRYN BILL.—CORN BILL.—LETTER TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON ON PARLIAMENTARY USAGE.—DUKE OF WELLINGTON'S AMENDMENT.—CONVERSATION WITH THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON, AND WITH THE DUKE OF CLARENCE.—DEATH OF CANNING. — CONVERSATION WITH MR. PEEL. — BATTLE OF NAVARINO. — WEAKNESS OF LORD GODERICH'S GOVERNMENT.—LETTERS FROM LORD CLANCARTY, LORD SIDMOUTH, AND LORD REDESDALE.

THURSDAY, May 17th. — House of Lords. More declarations against confidence in the present Administration; viz. by Lords Manvers, Aberdeen, Abingdon, Winchelsea, and Ellenborough.

18th. — House of Lords. Corn Law Bill, second reading put off on account of Lord Lauderdale's absence.

21st. — House of Lords. Lord Mansfield withdrew his notice of motion for June 7th, to address the King to allay the apprehensions of his subjects by declaring his resolution to maintain the Protestant ascendency.

Lord Harewood then desired to put a question to the Bishop of London upon a newspaper statement of a declaration made by the Bishop to the London Clergy at their meeting at Sion College. The Bishop admitted it to be correct. Lord Harewood then asked, "by what authority he had communicated that declaration?" The Bishop said, "He was ready to answer that question if required by the House."

Hereupon a desultory and angry debate ensued. Lord Spencer complained of such questions, and any questions without a regular motion. Lord Lansdowne

objected to any answers being given, as introducing a name into the debates which was not permitted to influence them. Lord Grey admitted the questions to be inadmissible; but argued that the answer already given to the first question contained an answer to the second, for it agreed to the correctness of the whole publication in the newspapers. Lord Harrowby was extremely vehement and passionate at this breach of Parliamentary usage; and asserted that the Crown could not rest safely on the royal brow if the King was to make known his opinions upon any measure pending, or about to depend, in Parliament, until both Houses tendered it for the royal assent — and so this singular debate concluded.

22*nd*. — House of Lords. Complaint made by the Scotch Lords that the Speaker *pro tempore*, being a commoner, when he decided Appeals, and especially by *reversing* sentences of the Court of Session, as he could not speak to give his reasons, gave great dissatisfaction. Lords Aberdeen and Rosslyn spoke upon this, and the Chancellor replied: "I called the attention of the House to the suggestion of the Appeal Commissioners in their report upon the Appellate Jurisdiction, 'That the House should authorise the Speaker *pro tempore*, being a commoner, to give his reasons.'"

23*rd*. — Saw Sir T. Tyrwhitt, who told me that he was with the King on Friday last for two hours: the King was then in great irritation against all the seceders, abusing them (and *their wives*) seriatim. To-day the King has been told by Sir Henry Halford that, *medically* speaking, he ought not to attend a council on the Recorder's report; but he did.

At night I received from Dr. Philpotts a copy of several documents, copied from originals in the handwriting of the late King, of Lord Kenyon, and of Mr. Pitt, of the dates of 1795 and 1801, of which the following are some of the most important extracts:—

FROM LORD KENYON TO THE KING.

March, 1795.

So long as the King's supremacy, and the main fabric of the Act of Uniformity, the doctrines, discipline, and government of the Church of England, are preserved as the National Church, and the provision for its ministers kept as an appropriated fund, it seems that any ease given to Sectaries would *not* militate against the Coronation Oath, or the Act of Union (with Scotland?)

Though the Test Act appears to be a very wise law, and, in point of sound policy, not to be departed from; yet it seems that it might be repealed or altered without any breach of the Coronation Oath, or Act of Union. The temporary Bills of Indemnity which have so frequently passed have, in effect, from time to time dispensed with it in some degree.

It should seem that the Chancellor of Great Britain would incur great risk in affixing the Great Seal to a Bill giving the Pope a concurrent ecclesiastical jurisdiction with the King. It would be contrary to the Coronation Oath, and subversive of a fundamental part of the Act of Union.

Remarks by Sir John Scott, then Attorney-General, on the preceding letter:—

Does it not come round to this? When an oath is prescribed that you shall maintain the settlement of the Church generally, without prescribing that you shall not give assent to the repeal of a particular Act, must not the judgment of the person sworn (being constitutionally advised) determine whether the Statute proposed does destroy the settlement of the Church? Can the oath, so generally expressed, preclude the party sworn from exercising a *judgment*, whether that which he is bound to maintain will be essentially, or in any or what degree, affected by the proposed measure? This strikes me at the moment; but I am lost in the casuistry, &c.

MR. PITT'S LETTER TO THE KING.

(It fills seven sides of letter-paper closely written.)

Jan. 31st, 1801.

After a prefatory paragraph, comes the following:—

Under the impression of that opinion (what in his honest opinion is due to the real interest of your Majesty and your dominions), he has concurred in what appeared to be the pre-

vailing sentiments of the majority of the Cabinet; that the admission of the Catholics and Dissenters to offices, and of the Catholics to Parliament (from which latter the Dissenters are not now excluded), would, *under certain conditions to be specified*, be highly advisable with a view to the tranquillity of Ireland, and to the general interest of the United Kingdom. For himself, he is fully convinced that the measure would be attended with no danger to the Established Church, or to the Protestant interest in Great Britain or Ireland. That now the Union with Ireland has taken place, and with the new provisions which would make part of the plan, &c., &c.

Afterwards he proceeds thus:—

That with respect to the Catholics of Ireland, another most important additional security, and one of which the effect would continually increase, would be provided by gradually attaching the Popish clergy to the Government; and for this purpose making them dependent for a part of their provision (under proper regulation) on the State, and by also subjecting them to superintendence and control, &c.

FROM THE KING'S ANSWER.

I should not do justice to the warm impulse of my heart, if I entered on the subject most unpleasant to my mind, without first expressing that the cordial affection which I have for Mr. Pitt, as well as my high opinion of his talents and integrity, greatly add to my uneasiness on this occasion; but a sense of religious, as well as of political duty, has made me, from the moment I mounted the throne, consider the oath that the wisdom of our forefathers enjoined the Kings of this realm to take at their coronation (and enforced by the obligation of instantly following it in the course of the ceremony with taking the sacrament), as binding a religious obligation on me to maintain the fundamental maxims on which our Constitution is placed, viz., the Church of England being the established one, and that those who hold employment in the State must be members of it, and consequently obliged not only to take the oaths against Popery, but to receive the Holy Communion according to the rites of the Church of England. This principle of duty must, therefore, prevent me from discussing any proposition tending to destroy the groundwork of our happy Constitution, and much more so that now mentioned by Mr. Pitt, which is no less than the complete overthrow of the whole fabric.

If those who unfortunately differ from me will keep this subject at rest, I will on my part most carefully be silent also. This restraint I shall put on myself from affection to Mr. Pitt; but further I cannot go, for I cannot sacrifice my duty to any consideration.

Though I do not pretend to have the power of changing Mr. Pitt's opinion when thus unfortunately fixed, yet I shall hope his sense of duty will prevent his retiring from his present situation to the end of my life, &c.

FROM A SECOND LETTER OF LORD KENYON.

I am not aware what clauses in the Bill of Rights are supposed to be broken in on by what is suggested as likely to be proposed in Ireland.

The Stat. of 12 and 13 William III. shows the great anxiety the Legislature then had to guard against Popery; but here again the question recurs, How is the supreme power of the country bound? The two Houses of Parliament are not under any promissory oath; that obligation has been extended to the King alone.

Dr. Philpotts has permission from Lord Kenyon to publish these papers, and is about to do so. He was present at the dinner of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, on Tuesday last, when the Duke of Clarence made several speeches, declaring his fixed attachment to the Church of England, episcopacy, &c.

25*th*.—House of Lords. Corn Bill debate from five till one in the morning. Lords Goderich, Bexley, and Lansdowne made indifferent speeches for the Bill; Lord Malmesbury a very good one against it; Lord Ellenborough a good one, as against Lord Goderich, but voted for going into the Committee.

Division.—For the Committee	120
Against it	62

Lord Eldon went away without voting.

28*th*.—House of Commons. Penryn Election Bill. Proposed by Mr. Canning to throw the right of election open to the hundred.

Amendment proposed by Lord John Russell, to disfranchise it entirely.

For the Amendment	124
Against it	69
Majority against Ministers	55

30*th*.—Wakefield * and Miss Turner at the bar. Her evidence very collected, distinct, and clear; his behaviour bold and unfeeling.

The Duke of Wellington put some papers into my hand relating to the Corn Bill.

31*st*.—Returned the Duke of Wellington his papers; and in the evening wrote to him.

The Bill for declaring Wakefield's marriage with Miss Turner null and void passed through the Committee without observation.

LETTER TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

Thursday, May 31st, 1827.

My dear Lord,—As I may not have explained myself sufficiently in our short conversation in the House of Lords to-day, I must take the liberty of troubling you with a fuller statement of my view of the question.

The Corn Bill, which is entitled "a Bill to grant certain duties or customs on corn," and which, in its first operative clause enacts that certain duties shall be payable in the cases therein specified, appears to me to bring it fully within the resolution of the House of Commons, July 3rd, 1678, which has been acted upon by the House of Commons uniformly from that time to the present.

The resolution is "that all aids and supplies, and aids to His Majesty in Parliament are *the sole gift* of the Commons; and all Bills for the granting such aid, and supplies *ought to begin* with the Commons; and that it is the undoubted and sole right of the Commons to direct, limit, and appoint in such Bills the ends, purposes, considerations, conditions, limitations, and qualifications of such grants, which ought not to be changed or altered by the House of Lords."

From this time the current of authorities is uniform; and amongst them are to be found the following, which show that the rule is not confined to Bills originating in the Committee of Ways and Means.

* Mr. E. G. Wakefield had carried off Miss Turner from a school, under false pretences, with the hope of inducing her to marry him.

On the 18th of May, 1702, the Commons disagreed to all the Lords' amendments in a Bill for the encouragement of privateers, because it was a Bill to alter duties.*

On July 22nd, 1785, the Commons refused to take into consideration the Lords' amendments to their resolutions for regulating the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland; those amendments being on matters of duties; and other resolutions were brought in which included the substance of the Lords' amendments.

There may be some cases bearing a contrary appearance, but I conceive the general rule to be correctly stated by Hatsell, vol. iii. p. 156, note; that in no case whatever will the Commons admit that the Lords interfere in matters of duties, however trifling or remote the effect of that interference may be.

The exclusive claim of the House of Commons to dispose of and regulate all matters relating to money has been extended also to all clauses imposing pecuniary penalties in Bills of every description; and has been carried to lengths which have always appeared to me to be very unreasonable in modern practice, although they might be accounted for historically; and, when Speaker, I considered myself bound to maintain that privilege as it existed before my time, until the House of Commons itself should think fit to withdraw its own claims in these respects.

But of money Bills granting duties and so denominated, like the present Bill, I know of no instance where the House of Commons has ever departed from its assertion of exclusive right declared in the resolution of 1678.

It follows of course that no alteration whatever can safely be made in the present Corn Bill, unless it be merely verbal or an amendment made by the House of Lords in furtherance of the original intention of the House of Commons, as manifested by the context of the Bill itself. This being the only qualification which the House of Commons has ever allowed to affect the exercise of what it has always maintained to be its exclusive right.

Yours most faithfully,

Colchester.

Tuesday, June 1st.—House of Lords. Corn Bill in Committee. Two divisions. First: On establishing *pro-*

* The Lords had added several clauses; and the Commons passed a resolution that "the Act doth alter several duties granted to the Crown, and doth dispose of several moneys arising therefrom, and of other public moneys." A conference was asked, and the reasons and amendments left with the Lords. No further notice of the matter appears on the journals.

hibition instead of prohibitory duties when corn was below 60*s*. For prohibition, 39; against it 82. Second division: For prohibiting corn to be taken out of bond for home consumption when the average price was below 66*s*. This was an amendment moved by the Duke of Wellington, supported by a letter from Huskisson, who suggested the proposition. Opposed by the Ministers.

For the Amendment	78
Against it	74

7th. — Corn Committee. House of Lords. Lord Delaware stated that after voting against the Corn Bill, which Lord Goderich told him was a Government measure, he had sent in his resignation as a Lord of the Bedchamber. It is understood that Lord Errol also has resigned. Lord Dudley denied that any part of the Secret Service Money had been applied to buy the press.

8th.—Address on message for a vote of credit in respect of Portugal. Moved (well) by Lord Dudley; observed upon by Lord Grey.

The Duke of Wellington declared, at a dinner at Lord Eldon's, that he did not intend to give up his amendment to the Corn Bill. It *is* true that there has been another disingenuous attempt to bring him back to the Horse Guards, with loss of credit.

12th.—House of Lords. Corn Bill Report. Divided at eleven on the Duke of Wellington's amendment.

For the Amendment —	Present	85
	Proxies	48
	Total	133
Against it —	Present	78
	Proxies	44
	Total	122

After which Lord Goderich declined to say whether he would endeavour to throw out the amendment on the third reading, or even to name a day for it.

13th.—House of Lords. Lord Goderich stated that

after the amendment which the House had been pleased to make in the Corn Bill, it was not the intention of his Majesty's Ministers to proceed to the third reading of it.

The Bill to restrain corporations from applying their unappropriated funds to election purposes was thrown out upon the third reading upon the motion of Lord Eldon, on the principle that, if the applications made by them of their own funds was legal, they ought not to be restrained; and if they applied them corruptly or otherwise contrary to law, they were punishable as the law now stands.

15*th*.—Two divisions on Lord Salisbury's Bill for the Sale of Game. The order of the day for the third reading of the Corn Bill was suffered by all parties to drop without a word uttered.

18*th*.—In the House of Commons, Canning moved a new Corn Bill, and abused the Lords.

19*th*.—The Lords all angry at Canning's language of yesterday. Lord Grey declaimed against it.

20*th*.—House of Lords. Lord Winchelsea attacked the Ministers for Canning's abuse of the House of Lords. Answered by Lord Goderich, followed by Lords Grey, Lansdowne, and Ellenborough.

21*st*.—Met Lord Hardwicke, who told me his brother, Sir Joseph Yorke, meeting Canning two or three days ago in Westminster Hall, said, "Mr. Canning, if you do not keep your temper, you will lose your place;" which Canning at first was inclined to resent; but considering Sir Joseph Yorke to be a person privileged to say odd and abrupt things, he passed it off good-humouredly.

Met the Duke of Wellington at dinner at Lord Sidmouth's. I talked with him after dinner about his campaigns. He said he always "had Cæsar's Commentaries with him. They were admirable for lessons in Indian warfare, where a general had troops of various characters to command, but good everywhere." When I talked to him about the necessary plans, and connect-

ing narratives necessary for understanding the operations of the Peninsular war, he said, "Sir George Murray has now completed a collection of all the plans of battles; and the gazettes give the description of the battles." When I asked how we were to know what related (for instance) to the march from the Douro to the Ebro, he said Sir George Murray had all that. He professed to know nothing of Lord Londonderry's advertised work on the Peninsular war, but would inquire about it. He also spoke of Southey's "History of the War" as a work that he knew nothing about.

Mr. Brougham's friends, who at a former election had voted for him, gave him a dinner at Liverpool, at which he made an extraordinary speech on the state of parties and politics.

His first topic was to vindicate the coalition of Canning and the Whigs, comparing it with that of Fox and Lord North, who had differed violently; whereas the parties to the present coalition had for several years agreed upon all topics except Parliamentary Reform.

Praising Canning, who had separated himself from his former colleagues, with whom he had long been at variance.

Praising the Duke of Wellington for his clear and soldierlike, and able and satisfactory, defence of his own separation from Canning.

Praising Lord Eldon, who had never obstructed his promotion to a silk gown.

Praising his own humility in acting as a supporter of Canning, to whom he might have been supposed a rival.

Reflecting on Lord Bathurst and other seceders for their conduct on the Corn Bill.

With expectations also that other Whig leaders would come forward now, and take their share in the Government; apparently meaning Lord Holland.

22*nd*.—House of Lords. Corn Average Bill in Committee. Division upon leaving out "England and Wales" and inserting "Great Britain and Ireland," so

as to obtain the averages from a general result of the markets in all parts of the United Kingdom. For leaving out "England and Wales," contents, 44; non-contents, 44. *Præsumitur pro negante.**

Next question that the words "Great Britain and Ireland" be here inserted. Contents, 37; non-contents, 43. So neither stand in the Bill. The Committee finished with other hasty amendments.

25*th.*—House of Lords. New Warehousing Corn Bill read a second time. Long speeches, but no division. Average Bill amended, and extended by Orders in Council to Great Britain and Ireland; the places to be named by the King in Council, and then published with the others.

26*th.*—In passing through the Horse Guards this morning I met the Duke of Clarence on horseback; after the formal salutation he turned his horse's head, and I rode with his Royal Highness up Constitution Hill.

He began: "How long do you stay in town?" "About a fortnight; I am then going to Scotland." "To Scotland?" "Upon a visit to Lord and Lady Stafford at Dunrobin." "A very clever woman."

"How many sons have you?" "Two, my eldest is the naval officer." "What is the other?" "At the Bar." "Does Captain Abbot wish to be afloat?" "Very much, Sir; his heart is in his profession." "That is the way; there is no doing without it; I must find him employment as soon as I can; my notion about the army and navy is very aristocratic. I wish to have all the young men of fashion brought forward in the service. The country is safest when they are engaged in it; their sense of honour and respect for their own connections makes them more desirous of distinguishing themselves. I don't mind politics, it does Ministers good now and then to have a hard knock: Eh? But officers, if good officers, are not to be put by for their politics."

"How long were you Speaker?" "Between sixteen and seventeen years." "You were Secretary in Ireland?"

* According to the rule in the House of Lords when the numbers are equal.

"Yes, Sir, one year." "Was that before or after you were Speaker?" "Before." "You were Speaker upon Lord Melville's trial?" "Yes, Sir." "You gave the casting vote; you could not do otherwise; the King said so always." "His Majesty was graciously pleased to express himself so at the time." "The late King never liked Lord Melville; when the news was brought of the vote against him, the King said, 'Is that all? I wonder how he slept after it. Bring me my horse.'"

"The late King never liked Lord Rosslyn. You know he had, as some men have, two characters. The Queen liked him; he died suddenly. When the news came the Queen kept it back from the King. And when he asked why he was not told of it sooner, the Queen said, 'Because it might have agitated your Majesty.' 'Oh,' said the King, 'why should you think so; if he is dead then there is one d—d rascal the less in my dominions.'"

The Duke of Clarence continued: "Those of my family who have sat on the throne have been all very different men. George I. had not fair play, and had a hard time of it. George II. was a thorough straightforward man, determined to do his duty, which, with his German notions, was not always very easy. My father was a thorough John Bull, a very clever man; knew other men well, and could play them off against each other. The present King is a different sort of man."

In the House of Lords to-day the principal business for the first hour was a statement and complaint by Lord Londonderry about Canning's office, and the publication of a letter from Lord Londonderry applying for a pension for his diplomatic services, which Lord Liverpool had endorsed. "This is too bad"—answered by Lord Dudley.

Afterwards Lord Lansdowne moved to go into the Committee on the Unitarian Marriage Bill. This produced a long debate: Lord Eldon spoke better than I ever heard him against it. The Chancellor spoke very well for it, and also the Bishop of Chester.

Division. — For it — Present		32
	Proxies	34
		66
Against it — Present		29
	Proxies	25
		54

Went into the Committee *pro formâ;* and then agreed to proceed no further in the present session.

Irish Butter Bill, after some conversation, went through Committee.

28*th.* — House of Lords. Bonded Corn Bill read a third time and passed.

N.B. This day was posted up at Lloyd's the arrival of fifty ships from the Baltic, laden with corn, viz. in the Port of London twenty-two, and at the out-ports twenty-eight.

30*th.* — The King received the City Address upon the change of Administration, and answered, "Whatever difficulties I may have experienced in the exercise of my just prerogative on the occasion to which your address refers, the consciousness that I had no other object in view than the public good has enabled me to meet, and to overcome them."

It is understood that Canning and Lord Lansdowne are at this time by no means agreed upon the arrangement of offices. Canning wants Lord Lansdowne to take the Foreign Department; but Lord Lansdowne will take no other but the Home, and Spring Rice to be his Under Secretary of State, which the King won't hear of.

Tierney (Master of the Mint) said, "We cannot go on; the coach must all be unpacked and repacked again."

Saturday, July 7th.—Parliament prorogued by Commission.

Attended Committee of Privy Council upon a petition and memorial from owners, mortgagees, and creditors of plantations in Berbice and Demerara, against an ordinance of the Court of Policy at Berbice, for the

compulsory manumission of slaves, and against its apprehended introduction into Demerara.

After hearing Mr. Adam against the ordinance, a question arose as to the future course of proceeding, and whether to hear counsel, and in whose name, to support the ordinance. And whether the counsel for the petitioners were to be heard in reply to any defence of the ordinance.

I submitted the proper course to be (by analogy to proceedings in Parliament, where a public measure was complained of, as a grievance to private rights), after hearing the parties by their counsel, to take the public grounds of policy into consideration as weighed against the private grievance; and (without hearing counsel upon the question of *policy*), to decide upon the whole matter according to justice or expediency, reconciling the two, as best might be. Or, as we represented the authority of the King in his Council, and had power to sit in judgment upon the acts of any of his servants, we might inquire and decide, without the intervention of more counsel, upon the advice to be given by us to the King; the King's Attorney-General being also present to assist us by his advice in matters of law.

Adjourned to Wednesday next.

Lord Liverpool has been seized with another attack, and is not expected to outlive the day.

FROM LORD COLCHESTER TO LORD AMHERST.

London, July 9th, 1827.

My dear Lord, — . . . . . The session of Parliament closed on the 2nd inst., by Commission; since which Sir John Malcolm has departed for Bombay, and Mr. Lushington for Madras, and Lord W. Bentinck has been appointed to relieve you from your Indian cares. The Administration is not yet definitely filled up. Lord Binning is gazetted for a peerage of the U. K. as Baron Melros. There is no Commander-in-Chief yet appointed, nor any Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, nor is Lord Lansdowne yet Secretary of State. Lord Palmerston is said to have declined the government of Jamaica, and to be intended for Florence as an envoy there. Calcraft

is to be Paymaster of the Forces; Huskisson is again ill, and advised by his physician to quit office and go abroad as the only reasonable chance for his recovery. Lords Courtoun, Delaware and Errol, have retired from the household. So much for party politics. . . . . .

Other alterations of an *architectural* sort are also proceeding in London. The King's new palace, on the site of Buckingham House, is covered in; the Duke of York's, on the site of his former house, is sold in its unfinished state to Lord Stafford, for 80,000*l.*; and he gives 30,000*l.* more to Lord Gower*, to finish it for his residence. Carlton House has nearly disappeared; and the new terrace of houses towards the Mall is rising rapidly; the grass part of St. James's Park is to be laid out in shrubberies like Regent's Park. New gateways, colonnaded, are already built at Hyde Park Corner, leading on one side into the King's garden by Constitution Hill, and on the other side by the Duke of Wellington's house, into Hyde Park. A new bridge of five arches has been thrown across the Serpentine, at the end nearest to Kensington Gardens; and a new carriage drive has been made round the whole of the Park north of the Serpentine, which makes a most desirable addition to the airing ground for carriages and equestrians.

The tunnel under the Thames, into which the river had taken the liberty of descending, has been nearly emptied; and the work is about to be resumed; but for what purposes, and in what degree this passage is to be materially useful, you may determine, if it is finished by the time of your arrival among us.

Since the parliamentary business of the session is finished, if anything can be said to have been finished during its continuance, *e.g.* Roman Catholic question and Parliamentary reform, and repeal of Corporation and Test Acts, and financial arrangements being all postponed till another session; and the great measure of the new Corn Bill having failed in the Lords,—since these topics have ceased to be talked of, the chief novelties are literary; and amongst the chief is Walter Scott's Life of Buonaparte, in nine vols. 8vo, published simultaneously in France, Germany, and America, to the great profit of the author and his creditors, to whom he proposes to pay the full amount of their debts with interest, by this and the future productions of his pen. The papers of the first Lord Clive have been placed by Lord Powis in the hands of Sir John Malcolm, who will, during his voyage to India, form out of those materials a biographical

* His eldest son.

memoir of Lord Clive's life and actions: a work which in such hands cannot fail to be highly interesting. Some original letters from the late King to the late Lord Kenyon, with Lord Kenyon's answers about the coronation oath, and some letters between the late King and Mr. Pitt, upon his resignation in 1801, have been recently published from some papers in the hands of the present Lord Kenyon. . . . . .

The Duke of Clarence is most actively employed at the Admiralty, and has made some beneficial regulations. He is at present gone upon a cruise from Portsmouth to Plymouth and Milford Haven. . . . . .

Yours ever most sincerely, COLCHESTER.

P.S. Lord Liverpool has revived again by copious bleedings, but I fear to no desirable purpose.

11*th*.—Left London for Scotland.

At the beginning of August Canning died.

LETTER FROM LORD SIDMOUTH.

Upottery, Aug. 22nd, 1827.

My dear Lord,—Your letter of the 11th found me yesterday on my way to this place. I was glad to see your handwriting, and to receive such an account of your expedition. I have long wished to make a similar one. . . . . .

It is gratifying to me to be encouraged to hope that I may have contributed a mite towards the extraordinary change which you have described. I am thankful that I have in no degree contributed to other and very *different changes* which have taken place *within the last two or three years* elsewhere.

"What a world do we live in!" These are the words of the Duke of Wellington, in a letter which I received from him just a fortnight ago. He then thought that we should have another terrible scene of confusion, but, as far as I am able to judge, the feelings of distrust and apprehension which prevailed for more than three months, are recently abated; though confidence is a plant of the growth of which I see no indications at present. The Duke's return to the command of the army will, of course, contribute to the partial renewal of it. Of this I have just received information. You probably know that Lord Anglesey carried the offer to him at Bankes's, at seven in the morning, and that he signified his assent before eight. Lord Eldon left town on Monday last, with the expectation of being soon obliged

to return on Lady E.'s account. Lord Stowell goes this day to Worthing. . . . . .

Ever, my dear Lord, sincerely yours,

Sidmouth.

FROM MR. WILBRAHAM.

Lancaster, Aug. 30th.

Dear Lord Colchester, — . . . . . And now as to public matters, and the state of affairs arising from poor Canning's death. . . . . I believe that there is a hitch in the arrangements in consequence of a struggle for power on the part of the Whig section of the Administration, who have been made very sore by the absolute refusal of the King to admit Lord Holland into the Cabinet office, and are trying their strength in endeavouring to exclude Herries from a seat in the Cabinet which he had been urged to accept by Lord Goderich. Lord Goderich has unfortunately not got firmness enough to resist, and takes their part, and everything therefore depends on the King, who, I trust, will keep firm, and will be aware how hard the Whigs will ride him if they carry their point. In that case I anticipate that one of their first measures may be to dissolve the Parliament before their motive for doing so can be guessed at by the country and suspicion excited. They may thus hope to fill the Treasury boroughs and to make a selection of the sixteen Peers from Scotland more favourable to the Catholics.

All these things, I sincerely hope, may be averted if the King stands true to himself and to his own declarations. I hope also that he will see something of, and converse with, the Duke of Wellington*, who, though not in the Administration, will now have free access to him. As to Mr. Peel, I am fearful that he has, to a certain degree, prevented himself from being in office with and under Lord Goderich, by his declaration about the opinions of the heads of the Administration, and his not liking to serve under a chief who is favourable to the Catholics.

This was intended when spoken to refer to Canning; but it also refers to the present circumstances. I can hardly imagine that Lord Goderich will so identify himself with the Whigs, that if the King decides against them he will also resign, and make a clear stage for Peel. It would, however, be the most meritorious way of getting out of our present difficulty, though at the expense of a useful person in the House of Lords. . . . .

Yours very sincerely, E. Bootle Wilbraham.

* The Duke had resumed the command of the army on Lord Goderich becoming Prime Minister.

FROM LORD REDESDALE.

Batsford, Sept. 12, 1827.

My dear Lord,— . . . . . Our political changes have been extraordinary, and it seems difficult to foresee the consequences. I have been told that Lord Lansdowne laboured to bring Lord Holland into the Cabinet, but this was strenuously resisted; that he objected to Herries as Chancellor of the Exchequer, but there also he was defeated. What is to be the consequence? Lord Goderich, it is said, was positive, and would have his own Chancellor of the Exchequer. Lord Lansdowne has made Mr. Spring Rice his Under-Secretary in the Home Department, to whom the management of Ireland is to be entrusted. He could not have selected a person more offensive to the Protestants of Ireland: indeed the Irish generally wish for an English Secretary of Ireland, that all may have an equal chance. Lord Maryborough's Irish partialities gave great offence, and they contrasted his conduct with that of the Duke of Wellington when secretary, attributing his impartiality to his English and Indian habits, which had separated him from Ireland. Spring Rice is the very essence of Irish and Catholic partiality; and, with Lamb as Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, the Protestants dread the predominance of Catholicism, and place their only reliance on Lord Wellesley, who, they say, is a little estranged from the Catholic cause by some things which have lately happened. I fear Herries will meet with annoyance in the House of Commons from those who called themselves His Majesty's Opposition. Whether Canning was really taken by their professions of support may be doubtful; but I think he adopted it imprudently for himself. Many men who would have supported him were not pleased when they found Brougham and Sir Francis Burdett at his back; and Hume and Hobhouse have risen upon the change of place adopted by Brougham and Burdett. I understand in the circuit Brougham seemed in very bad humour, and did not get the increase of business which he expected. It seems extraordinary that he should have been ambitious of office, which must have compelled him to quit his profession. It seldom happens that this succeeds. The late Lord Melville lamented that he had quitted his profession to turn politician. He told me he had quitted independence, and even affluence with quiet, for rank, consequence, and uneasiness with poverty; and he felt that he had done a very foolish thing. . . . . .

Most truly yours, REDESDALE.

LETTER FROM MR. B. WILBRAHAM.

Lathom House, Oct. 14th.

My dear Lord,—You will perhaps think that I have forgotten your Roman Catholic map, but that is not the case. It is on its way to London with books and other things belonging to Mr. and Mrs. Stanley*, who are going in a few days to establish themselves (while their house is repairing) at Lord Stanley's in Upper Grosvenor Street, for the winter, he being about to be appointed a supernumerary Secretary of State for the Colonial Department, to succeed Horton before the meeting of Parliament. One of his first acts of privilege will be to frank the map to Kidbrooke. . . . . .

I am glad of his appointment, more on private grounds than public ones, because it will give Stanley habits of business, and break the habit of shooting, eternal shooting — the only pursuit, besides reading, that he can follow at a place where he is only third in command and in generation. I should have disliked the Home Department very much, with Lord Lansdowne as his chief; but under Huskisson, he will get valuable information and knowledge in a department to which his attention has been called before; and I hope that he will do well there, whatever may be the fate of the Administration. . . . . .

Yours truly, E. B. W.

Thursday, Nov. 18th.—Mr. Peel called on me at Kidbrooke. We had a long political conversation of an hour, on the recent news of the battle of Navarino; his wonder as to the instructions which must have been given to the Admiral, and are not yet disclosed; the impolicy of teaching a French and Russian squadron our mode of sea-fighting; the probable exasperation of the Turks and the Bey of Egypt; the apprehended destruction of our best interests in the Levant and the Red Sea; the letting loose the Russians upon the Turks, whom we had been used to consider as our best counterpoise to the power of Russia in Eastern Europe, &c.

He added, in answer to my inquiries respecting the measures taken upon the same subject in Lord Liverpool's time, that our intervention by "armed force"

* The present Lord and Lady Derby.

was never in contemplation; and that the Duke of Wellington had been sent on his mission to Russia expressly to soothe Russia and to avert such a crisis. The treaty of the triple alliance, threatening the Turks with "ulterior measures," in case of their not settling matters with the Greeks, was signed on July 6th last, and that the present aggression by us might lead to interminable wars.

Next, he mentioned the incongruous composition of parties in the present Administration, which rendered its duration impossible. A disgraceful compromise of principles, excluding on either side those to whom they were hitherto pledged by common principles; such as Plunkett, refused to be promoted to the office of Chancellor of Ireland, and Denman refused the honours of his profession in England, three peerages accumulated in Lord Norbury's family (a family of no public merit) to make way for Plunkett, and he to be Chief Justice of the Common Pleas (a British Peer), while Hart, the Lord Chancellor, was to remain a Commoner; Sir James Mackintosh made a Privy Councillor. All these are unwarrantable prostitutions of honours; and Holmes, M.P., a member of the present Government, employed by them to obtain a majority in the House of Commons *against* the Roman Catholic question, which Lord Goderich, with Lord Lansdowne, Lord Dudley; Huskisson, &c., all Cabinet Ministers, professed to support.

Then the King's situation; with the existence of a personage like Sir William Knighton (who *certainly* had formerly got the promise of the Duchy of Lancaster for life); and the playing off one half of the Administration against the other half; the receiving recommendations to honours and offices from each party in the Government; and putting aside both, "that neither might have a triumph," and bestowing the favour upon some third individual of his own choice, for which there was no responsible adviser.

Then, as to *Parliament:* that any Opposition was difficult, so far as the Ministers would endeavour to

evade all questions which could create a ground for systematic opposition, &c.; to which I replied, that general questions must soon arise, upon which a declared opposition must be given, and that all eyes looked to him, to come forward and take his stand, put himself at the head of an army of observation, establish a camp to which his friends might repair and find him at his post; that to him all turned as the person whose duty it was to take care in whatever regarded the honour or interests of the Empire, *ne quid detrimenti;* that Huskisson would never be accepted by the House of Commons as leading Minister, to which he assented; that Brougham would never be contented to act under such a leader, but would claim some high ostensible office, such as Secretary of State, &c. (like the late Lord Melville, who came into Parliament as a lawyer); and if he were so appointed, the gentlemen of England, and even some of the old Opposition, such as Lords Althorpe, Tavistock, &c., would never tolerate it, and they had lately said so. Upon which he said, it did appear to him, that neither the aristocracy nor the landed interest, nor the Church, would bear it. He expressed surprise at hearing that Lord Althorpe was likely to oppose the present Government.

I then related to him the expressions of distrust and apprehension towards the present Government, which I had met with *everywhere*, upon my return from the North of Scotland, with some shades of difference in degree of strength, but uniform in substance, upon my visits to Lord Mansfield, Lord Melville, the Duke of Montrose, the Duke of Northumberland, Lords Faversham and Harewood, the Duke of Newcastle, and Lords Manvers and Salisbury. And I added that the country would think itself safe at home and abroad if *he* were the leading Minister in the House of Commons, and the Duke of Wellington head of the Government and leading Minister in the House of Lords; and nothing else could give lasting satisfaction. That, as to the army, the Duke might, in such case, easily separate himself

from that command, and place it in the hands of a merely military person of great military reputation; such an one (for example) as Lord Hill: to which, he said, or the Duke of Gloucester. To which, I replied, "That would be such an one!!" But to the suggestion of himself and the Duke of Wellington becoming the two leading Ministers of such a Government, he listened in silence and with much complacency. He professed, very unaffectedly, to disclaim all ambition for power, or the common appendages of office, but did not disclaim such a situation if really called upon by the country.

The Duke of Wellington's present position he considered as very difficult to maintain, so as to separate himself from any ostensible support to the present Minister. But he thought, when such an object as the army was at stake, he could not, and ought not, as a soldier, to refuse it. It would, however, necessarily neutralise him as a party man, and, so far, take a great portion of strength from the opponents of Ministers. He knew, indeed, that great pains were taken to infuse a strong jealousy of him into the King's mind; for he was a plainspoken man, and, if asked, would not withhold his opinion on any subject.

At the beginning of November there was great disunion in the Cabinet. On the 5th Lord Goderich actually resigned; and the King applied to Lord Harrowby to form an Administration; but on his refusal Lord Goderich consented to resume office, and hold it for two months longer. The principal difficulty was the appointment of Herries to be Chancellor of the Exchequer.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM LORD CLANCARTY.*

Gorbally, Nov. 26th, 1827.

My dear Lord,—. . . . . To what consequences the treaty of July 6th † may lead, it is beyond the power of man,

* Lord Clancarty was for some time the British Minister at the Hague.

† This was a treaty between England, France, and Russia, having for its object the termination of the Greek rebellion, by which the three contract-

even of our sapient Ministers, aided by their co-negotiators, and by all the wisdom of their employers, to form even a rational guess. But of the treaty itself the bare perusal of it is sufficient to show that it is unique, at least in the annals of *modern* diplomacy, and irreconcilable with the main principles of natural and international law, for the support of which we had so long to contend against revolutionary France.

This treaty carries a declaration of war in the very face of it, by the direct usurpation of the sovereignty of an independent, friendly, and unoffending power, and the impartiality of its proposed mediation, which in advance decides (and hostilely) upon the principal point at issue, is only to be equalled by its premature production (secret articles and all!) to the public.

Would to God we had not already felt, and had not abundant cause to apprehend the most bitter effects from the whole of this stultified proceeding. It would be more seemly if, instead of endeavouring to settle Greece, our Ministry would mind their own business and endeavour to settle Ireland—the government of which they appear to have not only abdicated upon the part of their own sovereign, but to have handed over to the direction and guidance of a Popish hierarchy, and a Popish Parliament.

Heaven defend us against trucklers for base popularity.

Yours most sincerely, Clancarty.

FROM LORD REDESDALE.

Batsford, Nov. 27th.

My dear Lord,— . . . . . The amendment to the Corn Bill moved by the Duke of Wellington had no object but to prevent an improper use of the warehousing system, which I know the late Mr. Pitt found might be converted to dangerous purposes. As the Bill sent up by the Commons was abandoned professedly because this amendment was considered as operating to defeat the measure, I feel strong ground for concluding that the Ministers in the House of Lords were glad of a pretence for abandoning it, as certainly that amendment was not inconsistent with the avowed principle of the Bill. . . . .

The subject still agitates the public mind in the agricultural districts, where alarm still prevails lest the Bill which has been dropped should be offered in the ensuing session. Recent events

ing Powers agreed to offer both to the Porte and to the Provisional Government of the Greeks their joint mediation, at the same time requiring them both to consent to an armistice, with a view to negotiation, &c.

will probably prevent any such attempt; but I cannot persuade those who are under alarm to be of this opinion.

The ministerial papers seem inclined to attack Lord Grey; from which I conclude that he is considered hostile to the present state of things. What has happened in the Mediterranean* will probably give the Ministers much trouble, unless the Mussulmans shall be more disposed to submit than many think they will be. I have heard an intimation that they are disposed to consider what has happened as the beginning of a new Crusade.

Truly yours, REDESDALE.

FROM LORD SIDMOUTH.

Dec. 1st, 1827.

My dear Lord,— . . . . When the treaty first made its appearance, Lord St. Helens observed that naval instructions could not be founded upon it: and thus, the construction of a treaty which involved considerations and possible consequences of the very highest importance, was to be left to the judgment and discretion of an Admiral uninstructed, and imperfectly informed; and who might perhaps be under the influence of opinions and prejudices that might stand in the way of a prudent discharge of his duty. . . . .

I heard the other day of Lord Wellesley from our friend Pearse. He appeared somewhat restless, and spoke of the treaty in terms of dissatisfaction; the explosion of Navarino had, however, not then taken place. It is probable, I think, that he expected to be called upon in April last, and again in August; and that his services, if required after his return, would not be refused, but I don't believe that he will be put to the test.

Ever truly yours, S.

FROM MR. RICKMAN.

Portsmouth, Dec. 17th, 1827.

My Lord,— . . . . I am much obliged to your Lordship for information that the Navarino affair is to be disavowed. The more we hear of it, the worse it appears. I cannot understand how Sir E. Codrington was justified, before our allies joined him, in stopping the Turks from provisioning a blockaded place; as it now appears that Ibrahim† had been informed that

* The battle of Navarino, fought Oct. 20th.

† Ibrahim Pacha, Commander-in-Chief of the Egyptian forces in the Morea.

Patras must otherwise surrender (and the garrison of course, with or without capitulation, be massacred in a month), such a stoppage of succour was not *neutrality;* nor scarcely war *in disguise.* . . . . .

Your faithful servant, J. RICKMAN.

FROM LORD REDESDALE.

Batsford, Dec. 20th.

My dear Lord,— . . . . As to the Corn Bill, it appears to me clear that the original intention of the Ministers (I do not say of Lord Liverpool, for I think he was then failing), was to do away *wholly* with the old system, and to allow importation *at all times;* not *free,* but on payment of a duty, so calculated as to encourage importation. Lord Goderich seems to have let the cat out of the bag, as to *constant* importation; and Lord Bexley, that *revenue* was in view. This made the Duke of Wellington's amendment so obnoxious, as it tended to check speculation. So restrictions, entailing the averages, have been objected to. . . . . It is evident that it is intended to allow the importation of Canada wheat *at all times* at a *small duty,* without any attention to the averages. Altogether, I have no doubt that revenue was a principal object in view with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Goderich; and he retained his partiality to that object when he moved to the House of Lords, though he did not directly blab, as Lord Bexley did.

Reports were current of Lord Goderich's resignation; but they seem to have passed away. A Minister in these days has a very disagreeable situation. He has generally in the Cabinet persons of different sentiments. The Cabinet is numerous, divided into parties, and matters are decided by *votes.* I think *votes* were the ground for taking some persons into the Cabinet, whose *advice* would not be much attended to.

Truly yours, REDESDALE.

CHAP. LXXVII.

1828.

RESIGNATION OF LORD GODERICH.—THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON PRIME MINISTER.—EXPECTED POLICY OF THE NEW MINISTERS.—DISSOLUTION OF THE FRENCH CABINET.—LETTERS FROM LORD REDESDALE, LORD SIDMOUTH, AND THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.—SPIRIT OF SPECULATION.—INFLUENCE OF HUSKISSON IN THE NEW ADMINISTRATION.—OPENING OF THE SESSION.—DEBATE ON NAVARINO.

REMAINED at Kidbrooke till January, 1828.

During this time, of public affairs the prominent events were the dissensions among the members of Lord Goderich's Administration respecting the relative authority to be exercised in the House of Commons by Mr. Herries, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Huskisson, Secretary of State for the Colonies, as leading Minister in that House, upon the subject of financial measures. Next followed the dissolution of that Administration by the resignation of Lord Goderich on the 9th January, and the King commanding the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel to form a new Administration. Then the gazetting of seven new Peerages upon the prior recommendation of Lord Goderich, viz. Viscountess Canning; Sir Henry Wellesley made Lord Cowley; Lord Clanwilliam made a Peer of the United Kingdom; Sir W. A'Court made Lord Heytesbury; Lambton made Lord Durham; Bootle Wilbraham, Lord Skelmersdale; followed in a Gazette later by Wallace made Lord Wallace.

The new Ministers were gazetted Jan. 25th and Jan. 26th. The general remark was that Lord Eldon was wholly passed by; and Mr. Huskisson, with Lord Palmerston and Mr. Charles Grant, retained.

Don Miguel, of Portugal, came and departed in the course of this month.

Lord William Bentinck sailed for India as Governor-General.

Monday, Jan. 28th — My own impressions of the state of the Government at present, previously to the meeting of Parliament to-morrow, are these—

The Duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel have disappointed the country by making a mixed Government; incorporating two of the least popular men in the country: Lord Dudley, of no acknowledged character for his department,—fanciful, irresolute, absent; and Huskisson, odious to the agricultural and shipping interest; and the whole Cabinet composed of a majority of favourers of the Roman Catholic claims, viz. seven for them, and six against them; omitting also Lord Eldon, whose former offices and long services led all men to expect that he would be President of the Council, in a Government formed by two of his old colleagues, with whom, upon a common cause (their anti-Catholic and anti-Canning principles), he had resigned last year.

What will be the declared policy of the Administration? 1st. As to Ireland. 2ndly. As to the Corn Laws. 3rdly. As to the Turkish war. Probably in all three points unsatisfactory, perhaps modified concessions to the Roman Catholics, whom nothing but supremacy will satisfy; probably a renewal of the Corn Importation Bill of last year; and probably some disclaimer of Sir Edward Codrington, as having no instructions *to fight*, although he was sent with an armed force *to interfere* between Turks and Greeks, *i.e.* only to bully. *Nous verrons.*

LETTER FROM SIR CHARLES FLINT.

[Private.] Jan. 9th, 1828, 6 P.M.

My dear Lord, — I cannot deny myself the pleasure of informing your Lordship of the important events of the day.

1st. The Government is dissolved. A Cabinet was held at four o'clock to-day, when that event was formally announced by Lord Goderich.

2ndly. The Duke of Wellington and the Lord Chancellor (Lyndhurst) left town at eleven o'clock this morning, in obe-

dience to the King's commands, to receive his Majesty's orders respecting the formation of a new Government.

This is all that is known at present. The Chancellor returned a little before five; and, I understand, drove immediately to the Speaker's.

The immediate cause of the schism which has led to this important result is understood to be a dissension between Mr. Herries and Mr. Huskisson. I need hardly add, that the aggression originated in the latter. I write all this in *perfect confidence*, and remain your most faithful, CHARLES FLINT.

FROM LORD REDESDALE.

Batsford, Jan. 11th, 1828.

My dear Lord, — . . . . . If the story told of the cause of quarrel between Huskisson and Herries be true, I can have no doubt of the overbearing disposition of the former. The submission of Lord Liverpool to him manifested during the debate on the Canada Corn Bill, leads me to suppose that he had then obtained complete power over Lord Liverpool.

The French * Administration seems to be in a situation very similar to that of our own; and both countries are in such confusion that war must produce great inconvenience, and neither France nor England will have predominating influence in any terms of accommodation which may be proposed. How will a new Administration be prepared to open Parliament on the 22nd? What must be the King's Speech on that day? Must it be the speech of Lord Goderich, or of whom? It seems to me that a prorogation will be necessary to give time to form a new Administration, and to enable that Administration to agree in the language of the King's Speech, and on the measures to be adopted. Has his Majesty been playing a game for himself? Or has he been led by others to play *their* game? Or has the disturbance which has occurred resembled the quarrels among thieves on division of a booty?

I have some little knowledge of Huskisson from his early life. I know the late Mr. Pitt's opinion of him, and I know

* After the general election in France, in November 1827, such dissensions arose in the French Cabinet, especially between M. de Villèle and M. Peyronnet, that M. de Villèle resigned; and a new Ministry, with M. de Martignac at its head, was formed, which Alison calls a transition Ministry, meant merely to pave the way for M. de Polignac, the King, Charles X., stating to the new Ministers that his confidence in M. de Villèle was unabated. — *Alison's History* (Second Series), c. xvi. sec. 74-6.

what the late Lord Melville, once his patron, was induced to think of him, and whilst I was in office myself I had some experience of him as an official man, and I have occasionally met him since. I take him to have more haughtiness of temper than even Canning; a high opinion of himself, and a great contempt for the opinions of others. I do not believe it would have been possible for Lord Goderich and Herries, as First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, to have gone on with him unless they would have submitted to his dictation. If the report that the quarrel was respecting the Committee of Finance be true, I think this shows that very opinion is well founded. The Committee of Finance was an important measure in the Treasury Department, but could have little concern with the Colonial. Huskisson had superseded Lord Goderich when Chancellor of the Exchequer, and meant to continue his authority over him when First Lord of the Treasury, making both him and Herries ciphers in their departments, under the control of *his* Committee of Finance. Have you heard that Brougham was a little out of humour with the (shall I call it) *late* Ministry? . . . . .

I believe it will be advantageous to the public service that those who are out of the question as candidates for office should take a high tone and speak out upon the state of the country, its internal state of disorder and distress, and the loss of its dignity and influence in external relations. The magnanimous Alexander and the accomplished Nicholas have been subjects of panegyrics in our newspapers, and we have what may be called a Russian party. All the other Sovereigns in Europe, Austria, France, and Prussia, &c., are shamefully libelled in their private as well as in their public characters, and even their persons are made subjects of ridicule. This is done so constantly and so systematically that I think there must be an object beyond that of amusing idle readers.

The ensuing session of Parliament must be interesting on many accounts. If I look to the old colleagues of Lord Liverpool, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Ellenborough, Lord Bathurst, &c., I do not perceive the sort of energy which is requisite in debate on such subjects; and I found, in the last session, certain persons anxious to put themselves forward, on whose *discretion* I could have no reliance. I wish some of a more sober cast, and more dignity of situation and character would come forward; men who seek no office, and wish for no influence but for the public good. . . . . .

Truly yours, Redesdale.

FROM LORD SIDMOUTH.

Richmond Park, Jan. 11th.

My dear Lord, — So the ill-constructed and weak fabric has fallen to pieces! How is it to be replaced?

Lord Liverpool told a deputation from the Trinity House, two or three years ago, that he was friendly to free trade; but with two exceptions — corn and shipping. As to the former, however, he relaxed, as is well known; and as to the latter, he gave way completely. About ten days, I believe, before his seizure in February last, he was again waited on by a deputation from the Trinity House, for the purpose of bringing under his consideration the losses to which the shipping interest was exposed, and which it had severely experienced in consequence of the change which had taken place, notwithstanding the opinion he had heretofore expressed. He asked them if they had read Mr. Huskisson's speech on the subject. They said they had, and they thought it fallacious. He was evidently of a different opinion, but said he would see them again. This was their last meeting.

The above is, I believe, a correct statement of what I heard from one of the Elder Brethren of the Trinity House.

Ever truly yours, SIDMOUTH.

FROM THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Clumber, Jan. 15th, 1828.

My dear Lord,—Our feelings of anxiety for the result of the late sudden change are, I am sure, very similar. Our wish will be for a sound, plain-dealing *Protestant Administration*, divested of all quackery and mysterious nonsense. For myself, if what we have a right to expect after all our sufferings is not accomplished, I shall not be satisfied, and my place will continue to be on the same side where I last sat.

I wrote a few days ago a long letter on the subject to the *Cabinet-maker*, who has just received the King's commission, and, as you may believe, did not disguise my sentiments; and I stated what was the expectation of the country, as well as my own; namely, the formation of a sound and efficient Constitutional Ministry, to the utter *ex*clusion of all the *rubbish* men, except the Lord Chancellor and Mr. Herries, and the *in*clusion of several valuable men whom I named; and you may be sure that amongst them you were one. I have but very faint expectation that my letter will be more than barely read; still, I

shall be able to acquit myself of having discharged my duty; and, although that is but a poor consolation, yet, if one can tax oneself with the omission, it weighs heavily on one's mind.

By what I can learn, the wish is to reunite those who formerly acted together, forgetting and forgiving what is past with true Christian charity. This is very *dishonest*, and unworthy of the chosen Cabinet-makers; it is shallow also and wretched policy, for most assuredly they will destroy their reputation and popularity, and be swallowed up in the vortex of opprobrium and disgrace which will engulf the contemptible rubbish. The old saying is never to be forgotten, that honesty is the best policy. In the case before us, an ounce of honesty would be worth a ton of treachery, let it be ever so cleverly or speciously glossed over. It would appear that there is a lack of political courage in those who have now the golden opportunity presented to them. Fortune may yet do more for us than the virtue of our leaders; of this, however, I am thoroughly convinced, that the declension of patriotism and public virtue in high quarters is not less alarming than it is deeply to be lamented; its direful consequences will be as a plague over the land. No one can calculate the moral injury which is done to a country by ruling it by deceit, manœuvre, and intrigue. Can Parliament meet without a Ministry? Surely it must be postponed. If it is not, I shall be in my place on the 22nd.

Very sincerely yours, Newcastle.

FROM LORD REDESDALE.

Batsford, Jan. 19th.

My dear Lord,— . . . . . I cannot understand the present supposed coalition. I think it cannot lead to good; I know enough of Huskisson to be persuaded that he *will* take the lead in all financial and commercial business, and have everything his own way, in spite of his colleagues. On these subjects he held Canning in leading-strings, and knocked down poor Lord Liverpool. . . . . .

The joke against Lord Dudley is, that he is to remain where he is: "Ses affaires ont lui été toujours etrangères." . . . . . I think the New Ministry will find the Chancellor not very manageable. I pity the Duke of Wellington, who is making thorns in his pillow, of which he is not aware.

The only person whom I do not pity among those whom I consider as meaning well, is His Majesty. I think he has led himself into all his difficulties by being himself an intriguant.

I believe he fancies he has acted with great dexterity under the guidance of Lady Conyngham and Sir W. Knighton, two intriguants who are looking only to themselves. I think His Majesty imagines that he has managed matters with great skill and success; but he will find himself mistaken. I believe that open dealing is generally the true policy in political as in private life. A manœuvrer generally outwits himself, or herself, like the unfortunate lady in Miss Edgeworth's novel.

Truly yours, REDESDALE.

LETTER FROM MR. PHILIP ABBOT.

University Club, Jan. 20th, 1828.

My dear Father,— . . . . . Yesterday I went to Lady Shelley's, and did not return here till past six, too late to write; but I find that neither the "Standard" nor the "John Bull," give you the list of the Ministry, and as you probably will like to know it soon, I send it without delay. The "Morning Chronicle" list is correct: viz. —

Duke of Wellington	First Lord of the Treasury.
Lord Lyndhurst.	Lord Chancellor.
Lord Bathurst	President of the Council.
Lord Ellenborough	Lord Privy Seal.
Lord Melville	Board of Control.
Lord Aberdeen	Duchy of Lancaster.
Lord Dudley	Foreign Secretary.
Mr. Peel	Home, and leads the Commons.
Mr. Huskisson	Colonies.
Mr. C. Grant.	Board of Trade.
Mr. Goulburn	Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Mr. Herries	Mint.
Lord Palmerston	Secretary at War; but whether in the Cabinet or not I cannot find out.

Lady Shelley told me this, and that the Army was not settled; nor the Ordnance; nor any of the minor places. (In fact it appears that it was not intended to publish the list if the "Chronicle" had not got hold of it. The "Age" says Herries gave the list to Maberly, and so it got round.)

She also said that the King would not hear of Peel as premier. That he dislikes and quizzes him, particularly as to his *bowing*. That Lord Aberdeen was an excellent politician, and that it was very advantageous to get a person in the Duchy who would keep Knighton down. That Sir Henry Hardinge had been with her that morning for the first time since she left Apsley House; because, as he said, he could not *tell* anything before. That the object had been to put in people likely *to last;* and therefore

Lord Eldon and Lord Westmoreland had been omitted, as too old. That Huskisson now would be "nul." In answer to a question of mine, she said she thought Lord Anglesey too ill to go to Ireland; and hinted at Lord Jersey for that place. Lady Jersey, as we knew before, is a strenuous supporter of the Duke of Wellington. Lady Shelley also mentioned Lord Hill as a possible Commander-in-Chief.

To-day the news I have picked up (the authority of much may be doubtful) is a report that the Army is to be put into commission. Sir Willoughby Gordon, Sir Henry Torrens, and Lord Fitzroy Somerset, to be the Commissioners. Sir Herbert Taylor declares he will have nothing to do with it, and will rather go abroad. There are contradictory reports as to Scarlett's remaining Attorney-General. It is said that the King told the Duke that, whoever was Premier, he should hold no communication with the Government but through the Duke; and that thereupon he very reluctantly accepted the office of First Lord. Lady Shelley had heard that the Duke was looking ill. Wickham, on the other hand, said he saw him yesterday, and thought him looking remarkably well, "quite young."

The Duke of Devonshire has resigned.

Sir John Beckett told Lady Davy that he was not in office (viz. *yet*). A barrister yesterday, in the Court of Chancery, said he had heard Brougham offer to bet ten to one that the late Government lasted two years: this was on *the day* that Lord Goderich gave in his final resignation.

On dit that when Lord Goderich resigned, on going out he cried, and that *his Majesty offered him his pockethandkerchief.*

The Duke of Wellington went to Windsor to-day, as it is said, to arrange the minor appointments with the King.

Lady Davy said the King's illness was nothing serious. That Sir Henry Halford, on Wednesday (or Thursday) determined to go to Windsor, although not expressly sent for (he had been desired to come when convenient). That he mentioned it to Lady Halford in the morning, saying he had told nobody of his intention, and wished her to say nothing about it. When he saw that morning's newspaper he found his intention declared!

Your dutiful and affectionate Son,

PHILIP HENRY ABBOT.

FROM LORD REDESDALE.

Batsford, Jan. 23rd.

My dear Lord,— . . . . . I wish some one well informed on the subject of trade would take up the cudgels. I am

persuaded such a person might thresh Huskisson severely. Huskisson is by education an economist, and therefore bends everything to the system of the economist. We want a man to meet him in his own way, or rather to oppose facts and experience to theory. . . . . .

The public funds of this and other countries have produced an universal spirit of gambling. Many of our men of property, *not in trade*, have been gambling in the public funds extensively; playing with the English and foreign funds. Some have gained greatly. I know a noble lord who sold out of our 3 per cents. at 94, and purchased in the French funds; and this was done by British capitalists to the extent of ten millions of money. The French funds rose considerably in consequence; the wise ones sold out of the French funds at an advanced price, and repurchased in the English funds at 84, 10 per cent. below the price at which they had sold out of the same funds; and they sold out of the French funds at 5 per cent. beyond the price which they had paid for them; thus they gained 15 per cent. on their capital . . . . . Many ladies, too, have gambled in this way; and some, trusting to agents, have suffered severe losses by their insolvency or roguery. This gambling spirit I wish to see checked; it is extending to everything, and almost to everybody. Grave clergymen have been led into such speculations with the few hundred pounds which they possessed. Tradesmen of all descriptions are gamblers. I believe Erskine threw away all his gains at the bar by such speculations, and died a beggar. It seems to me important to the general good that speculations of all sorts should be discouraged by the Government of the country; but Huskisson would tell you that speculation is *the life of trade*. Our old traders did not make fortunes *in a minute*, but they generally died rich, the result of constant moderate gains on regular trade.

I wish we had a Minister capable of understanding the subject, and acting wisely upon it; but I fear we shall have no such Minister.

My dear Lord, truly yours, REDESDALE.

FROM MR. BANKES.

Jan. 24th, 1828.

Dear Colchester,—No adjournment is intended on Tuesday, because the *want of money is urgent*. The minor official arrangements are not known, nor, as I believe, fixed; at least so Lord Lyndhurst told my son George yesterday. The Attorney-

General's * continuance is doubtful, but more probable than his resignation; and I think that he has the option; but he sits for Peterborough, which may occasion some difficulty and hesitation. Lord Bexley was much surprised to find his office disposed of, in which only the day before he had written to a friend that he considered himself safe.

There is talk of putting the office of Commander-in-Chief into commission, which would be a very clumsy expedient. The Duke of Wellington's declaration of his unfitness for Prime Minister is much relied upon in the papers that are adverse to him. . . . Huskisson's friends give out that he is to have the entire direction of everything relating to trade and revenue, and that he has been attended to in the admissions to and exclusions from the Cabinet. . . . .

Most sincerely yours, H. Bankes.

FROM THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Clumber, Jan. 24th.

My dear Lord, — I am indeed anything but satisfied with the ministerial arrangements which have been made. I should be guilty of inconsistency and tergiversation if I could approve of another *divided* Administration, or one, as it is synonymously called, on the principle of Lord Liverpool's Administration. I hate such principles; they never yet have or ever will lead to any good, whilst the evil which they engender is incalculable. Any Ministry which excludes Lord Eldon and includes Mr Huskisson cannot gain my confidence. On the face of it, "there must be something rotten in the state" which can resort to such perfidious expedients. I am very sorry that I reminded them of Lord Ellenborough; they have got him, as you will have seen, and a great acquisition he is, as well as Lord Aberdeen. They are unquestionably strong, but stronger ministries have fallen when destitute of that main ingredient, *mens sana in corpore sano*. . . . .

Very sincerely yours, Newcastle.

I hear frequently from Lord Mansfield who is strongly for *fixed* principles, and a pure Ministry of one sort or the other. I wish there were some other designations than Whig and Tory.

* Sir James Scarlett. Sir Charles Wetherell did become Attorney-General, and in 1829 was succeeded by Scarlett.

FROM LORD SIDMOUTH.

Early Court, Jan. 25th.

My dear Lord, — It grieves me to think that an opportunity of forming an Administration which would have given entire satisfaction to the country has been lost. It must now be very imperfect. The admissions and the omissions are deeply to be deplored. If Lord Eldon and another friend of mine had become members of the Cabinet instead of * public confidence would have been strongly excited, and our prospects brightened in a far greater degree than they are at present. There were unquestionably considerable difficulties in making the new arrangements, but they might and ought to have been overcome. *Sic censet amiculus.* But on this subject more when we meet. . . . .

Ever truly yours, SIDMOUTH.

Tuesday, Jan. 29th. — Returned to London.

The session was opened by Commission; and a speech from the King, the principal points of which were, "the unexpected collision" at Navarino, and lamenting "the untoward event;" with hopes, nevertheless, that the objects of the protest at St. Petersburg, and the treaty of intervention of the 6th of July last, might be peaceably accomplished.

The Address was moved by Lord Chichester, and seconded by Lord Strangford. Other speeches followed by Lord Holland, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Grey, Lord Lansdowne, and Lord Goderich. The Duke of Wellington disclaimed all censure of Sir Edward Codrington, he having already received marks of Royal approbation; and everybody else praised his skill, valour, &c.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Cecil Jenkinson and Mr. Robert Grant moved and seconded the Address. Lord Palmerston was the only Minister present; the rest were out by acceptance of office, and their elections not having taken place.

The Duke of Wellington announced a Corn Bill; not the same, but upon the same principle as last year.

* Blank in original.

31*st.* — It is stated upon *good* authority, that the Duke of Wellington says, that he did not take Lord Eldon* into his Government, because he knew his opinion to be different from those which must be acted upon.

House of Lords. No business: but a complaint of a breach of privileges by Viscount Hawarden, an Irish Peer (not representative), who had been arrested at Brighton for debt, by a sheriff's officer. He was *sworn* at the table, which was thought wrong, as he enjoys every privilege of a Peer of the United Kingdom, except sitting and voting. The Sheriff of Sussex, Under-Sheriff, and Sheriff's officer were ordered to attend at the bar on Monday next.

Lord Holland thought that Lord Hawarden, as a Peer of the United Kingdom, ought not to be *sworn* in such a case. Afterwards, the Chancellor thinking the same, directed it to be left out of the entry in the journals. I had thought so too, and had argued it with Lord Holland and the Lord Chancellor.

Friday, Feb. 1*st.* — House of Lords. The Chancellor announced his intention of sitting three days in the week on appeals, viz., two days on Scottish, and one day on others: by which arrangement he hoped, without the necessity of a ballot, to obtain time enough, and a sufficient attendance of Peers to get through the present list. He gave no explanation of the manner in which the business of the Court of Chancery was to go on during these three days.

The Duke of Wellington does not sleep well, and has not during the last twelve months.

Lord Ashley told me to-day he was to be gazetted to-night as a Member of the Board of Control, and to be the representative of the Board for Indian business in the House of Commons, which pleased him much.

Lord Londonderry complained of the violent resolutions of the Roman Catholic Association against the

* See an account of Lord Eldon's conversation with the Duke shortly after the formation of the Ministry, in a letter to his daughter, Lady Frances Bankes. — *Twiss's Life*, vol. iii. p. 30.

Duke of Wellington's Administration. Lord Clifden attempted an excuse for it.

4*th.*—House of Lords. Lord Holland's motion put off, he having a fit of the gout.* Case of privilege. Parties heard. Lord Eldon having no doubt of the privilege, nevertheless thought it necessary to refer the question to the Committee of Privileges. The Chancellor, having also no doubt, concurred in referring it to a Committee of Privileges. The High Sheriff was dismissed; the other parties ordered to remain in attendance.

5*th.*—House of Lords. The Chancellor being absent at a Council at Windsor, I moved that Lord Shaftesbury do take his seat as Speaker; and accordingly he sat on the woolsack to receive the new Peer (Lord Skelmersdale).

Huskisson was re-elected this day at Liverpool; long speeches, and a long explanation by him of his conduct from the accession of Canning to power to his junction with Lord Goderich, after Canning's death, and his present junction with the Duke of Wellington, who had acceded, as Huskisson said, to his stipulation for the continuance of his system of free trade, and the same system as Canning's for foreign policy, Greeks, &c.

7*th.*—House of Lords. Report from Committee of Privileges on arrests. Minutes of Lord Hawarden's case read. I moved that all the delinquents, viz., the Under-Sheriff, Solicitor, and Bailiff, should be taken into the custody of the Usher of the Black Rod, according to precedent in like cases; so that they might afterwards, by petition, submit themselves to the clemency of the House, and be liberated after a shorter or longer period, according to the degrees of demerit. Ordered accordingly: Lord Lauderdale observing that, in any case where this offence was committed again, the parties offending should be sent to Newgate.

8*th.*—House of Lords. Moved to bring up the

* *Vide infra*, Feb. 11th.

Under-Sheriff of Sussex, the Solicitor, and Bailiff concerned in the arrest of Lord Hawarden, upon their petition; that the Under-Sheriff and Solicitor might be reprimanded and dismissed, paying their fees, which was done accordingly. I then moved, that in consideration of the Bailiff having declared "that he would rather suffer all that the displeasure of the House of Lords could do to him than risk the consequences of an action by the plaintiff, whose suit he was to serve," the consideration of *his* petition be postponed for a week, in order that he might suffer a longer imprisonment. Upon this the House divided; the Duke of Richmond urging his immediate release.

For my motion, 9; against it, 27. Lord Lauderdale then proposed postponing it till Wednesday next; but the Duke of Richmond pressed for shortening the interval, and Monday was agreed upon. Lord Grey told me, in going away, that though he had voted in the majority, he had voted against his conscience.

10*th.* — Dr. Philpotts called. From good authority he mentioned the Duke of Wellington's extreme dissatisfaction with Huskisson's speech at Liverpool; also Lord Goderich is violent on the same subject, so is Lord Lansdowne.

11*th.* — House of Lords. Lord Carnarvon (in the absence of Lord Holland) moved for the instructions to Sir Edward Codrington previous to the battle of Navarino, &c. The answer to this motion was, that the instructions were concerted with the Allied Powers, and could not, therefore, be disclosed by one without the concurrence of the others; and that, even if they had been singly the act of this country, the disclosure pending actual negotiation with Turkey would be prejudicial to the desired pacification.

In the course of the debate, the speakers were (besides Lord Carnarvon) Lord Dudley, Lord Eldon, Lord Goderich, Lord Lansdowne, &c.

The declarations of Huskisson, at Liverpool, about stipulations and guarantees were utterly denied by

the Duke of Wellington. The circumstances stated by Huskisson about Lord Lansdowne's conferences with him on the formation of the new Ministry were differently explained by Lord Lansdowne; and the differences on which Lord Goderich's Government split, about Herries's and Huskisson's quarrel for the appointment of a Chairman to the proposed Finance Committee, were all stated at large by Lord Goderich, who, instead of deciding between them, chose to resign his own office.

The Duke of Wellington professed his determination to carry into effect the spirit and the letter of the Treaty of July 6th, 1827, to the end of establishing peace.

A gentleman (Stewart Mackenzie, of Seaforth) present at Liverpool at the election, and who heard Huskisson's speech there, said that the corporation dinner was kept waiting while Huskisson was correcting the MS. reports of his speech for the London newspapers, and that when it appeared in print it was mightily different from what he had heard; much lowered indeed.

Sir Murray Maxwell called. Agreed in the abuse practised by the sale of bad slops to the sailors, and the material improvement made by the Duke of Clarence in changing them for jackets of good quality.

Lord Sidmouth called. He saw the Duke of Wellington a few days ago, who showed him a private letter written by himself to Canning last spring, specially objecting to the project of a treaty introducing France and Russia into the mediation with the Turks.

The Duke said that Peel would not undertake the House of Commons without Huskisson, and that he had no choice. Lord Sidmouth told him that the country regretted to see many omissions, as well as admissions, in the present Administration; adding, "In your hands I have the greatest hope that the continental policy will be successfully managed, but in other respects I cannot sacrifice my opinions to your diffi-

culties." The Duke said, "I well know your opinions, but so it is."

15*th.* — House of Commons. Peel opened his propositions for appointing a Finance Committee. Twenty-three appointed.

19*th.* — House of Lords. Lord Goderich denied his making Herries's resignation a pretext for his actual dissolution of his Government.

I spoke to Lord Bathurst, hoping there was no intention to bring in any Bill for enabling the King to receive the Recorder's report *out of* the county of Middlesex, urging that any such proceeding would be irregular, if proceeding upon the supposition that the King acts upon that report as being acts "of the King in Council," which they were not, and unnecessary, as not being indispensable acts, as must appear if the King were absent from London upon any case of sickness or travelling, or holding *Parliament* at York, Oxford, Carlisle, &c. And that the King, who could convoke and open Parliament by commission, without his personal presence, might do acts of State inferior in degree of solemnity by like means. Lord Bathurst quite agreed that the King's acts upon the Recorder's report were not acts of the King in Council, and he did not see why the rest might not be done by commission. I pressed upon his consideration whether the King's intervention was necessary at all, as his Secretary of State might do in the London and Middlesex cases as in those of the Circuits.

I afterwards shortly expressed the same to the Duke of Wellington, who listened, and then said, "Yes, but more will be necessary: the King cannot write his name." I said, "Then he must sign by *a stamp*, as King Henry VIII. did" (and as King William III. did by the Act of Succession). The Duke rejoined: "The instrument which he stamps must be stamped in the presence of a competent sworn officer, and previously signed by a responsible Minister." I further said: "Also, according to the mode of signing messages to either House of

Parliament, it should be stamped at *top* and also at *bottom*, to prevent additions;" and so our conversation ended.

22*nd.*—House of Lords. The Chancellor gave a long and able judgment upon a Scotch appeal. The question turned upon the fulfilment of a contract for repairing a whaler at Leith. In the evidence it appeared that American oak rotted in a very few years, and was much inferior to British oak.

The Chancellor told me that the King was coming to town; and the question of proceeding upon the Recorder's report would now be superseded by the King's presence in the usual form and place. The King *can* write his name, but the multitude of signatures is oppressive to him; and as he grows more and more inactive, difficulties will arise in the transaction of business.

Countless petitions were presented for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, with flying speeches in support of them.

The Pacha of Egypt has appointed three learned persons to collect from all the modern periodical journals and reviews published in Europe, such scientific discoveries as are most important, that they may be translated into Arabic, and published in that language.

24*th.*—The news of the day is that the Duke of Cambridge is deranged at Hanover.* The King is coming from Windsor to London for two months, and is to give balls for Lady Conyngham's daughter; but is not strong enough on his feet to hold Drawing-rooms or levées.

The Turks have issued a manifesto, calling upon all Mussulmen to arm.

25*th.*—House of Lords. Lord Clanricarde denied Huskisson's explanation of his declaration to Mr. Canning. Speeches from Lord Dudley; from Lord Seaford, who justified himself, and all Mr. Canning's friends, for

* This proved entirely incorrect.

giving their support to the Duke of Wellington, because the Duke had adopted Mr. Canning's system of policy in foreign affairs, colonial affairs, and commercial affairs, and the Government of Ireland by keeping in office Mr. Canning's colleagues at the head of each of these departments, viz. Huskisson, Grant and Lamb; also from the Duke of Wellington, who denied that he had ever entertained any personal or *political* hostility to Mr. Canning!*.

26*th.*—Lord John Russell's motion in the House of Commons for considering of a report of the Test and Corporation Acts was carried by a majority of 44: 237 to 193.

Wednesday, March 5th. — Dr. Philpotts came to discuss his pamphlet, which we did point by point. He told me the Archbishop of Canterbury was well inclined to an *oath* instead of a sacramental test for all corporate and other offices.

I gave Lord Lansdowne's Bill to Sir T. Tomlins, to prepare a clause for giving summary jurisdiction to magistrates in cases of common assaults, with power to imprison for not less than ten days, nor more than one calendar month.

* See my Journal, May 16th, 1827.

CHAP. LXXVIII.

DISTRESS OF THE FARMERS. — REPORT OF TEST AND CORPORATION ACTS. — PENRYN DISFRANCHISEMENT BILL. — CONVERSATION WITH LORD ELDON, AND WITH THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON. — THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND. — CONCORDAT OF THE POPE WITH HANOVER. — NEW GAME BILL. — MAJORITY FOR CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS. — CONFERENCE WITH THE LORDS. — CONVERSATION WITH THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON. — EAST RETFORD DISFRANCHISEMENT. — RESIGNATION OF HUSKISSON, LORD PALMERSTON, ETC. — DÉBATE IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS ON THE CATHOLIC QUESTION. — SPEECHES OF THE DUKE OF SUSSEX AND OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON. — CONVERSATIONS WITH THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

THURSDAY, March 6th. — House of Lords. Lord Londonderry attended to question Lord Clifden how far he had communicated to the Roman Catholic Association a declaration alleged to have been made by Lord Anglesey, that he regretted his unguarded expressions about the Roman Catholics.

The Chancellor told me that he had no doubt of the legality of carrying capital sentences in London and Middlesex into execution, without the Recorder's report being previously made to the King in London.

7th. — House of Lords. Committee on Parliamentary offices, &c. A question arose upon the jurisdiction of the Great Chamberlain and the respective claims of the Black Rod over the apartments in the New Building. Lord Gwydir, as Deputy Great Chamberlain, claiming the paramount authority over the whole as part of the King's palace. Lord G. was requested to produce his title at some future day, and the Committee to be summoned accordingly.

In the House of Lords, Lord Londonderry desired to know from Lord Clifden, whether he had authorised Mr. Clooney, a member of the Roman Catholic Association in Dublin, to use Lord Clifden's name for a statement of Lord Anglesey's opinions as to the

Roman Catholics. Lord Clifden denied it; Lord Lansdowne also disavowed the use of his name on a like occasion; and Lord Roden protested against all their proceedings.

12*th*.—Sir Thomas Tomlins came about the Great Chamberlain's claim. No trace of jurisdiction or power in the custody or management of the King's palace. His patent is stated to give him "livery and lodging there," and divers honorary services about the King's person at his coronation; but nothing so special as the Black Rod's patent, which gives him "cura et custodia penetralium nostrorum domûs ubi consilium, &c.; tum in ultimi curiâ Parliamenti, quam in omnibus aliis," &c., &c.

14*th*.—House of Lords. Very full; much expectation: no business. Lord Wellesley there for the first time, except the formality of taking his seat some days back. General rumours of actual hostilities between Russia and Turkey, on the alleged breach of the Treaty of Ackermann on the part of the Turks.

News confirmed of the loss of the "Cambrian" off Carabusa.

16*th*.—Sir Edward Knatchbull told me that all the farmers in Kent were insolvent. Mr. Peel told Sir Edward and others this day that the Corn Resolutions were to be brought in before Easter, and the Bill to stand over till after the holidays.

18*th*.—House of Lords. Lord King, in presenting a petition, abused the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; Lord Holland abused the Test and Corporation Acts, and anticipated a triumph over them, but proclaimed his desire that nothing might stop short of absolute and equal rights to all civil privileges.

Lord Lansdowne moved the second reading of his Bill for consolidating the Statutes, and amending laws respecting injuries to the person, and for amending the law of evidence.

In the House of Commons Peel proposed a declaration instead of the Sacramental Test; and the Committee

on the Bill for Repealing the Corporation and Test Acts agreed to it without a division.

The Dean of Christ Church told me to-day that the University of Oxford had voted a petition against the Roman Catholics; but their pulse had been felt on the subject of a petition against repealing the Test and Corporation Acts: and a strong disinclination was felt to any such petition.

19*th*. — Dr. Philpotts called: desponding about the *manner* in which Peel had given way to the majority for repealing the Test and Corporation Acts.

20*th*. — House of Lords. Observations by Lord Strangford on the effects of the war between Brazil and Buenos Ayres, to the stoppage of South American trade with this country. Answered by Lord Dudley. Reply by Lord Londonderry on the general effects of the foreign policy of the last Government with respect to South America, Portugal, and Greece.

The Duke of Wellington gave notice of moving for papers, and stating his proposed measure on the Corn Laws on Friday se'nnight.

21*st*. — House of Lords. Lord Tenterden read his two Bills for Amendment of the Law each a second time. Nobody made a single remark, or attended much to them; all appearing to have full confidence in his experience and judgment in such matters.

A wild attack was made by Lord King upon the Secretary for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign parts, completely refuted by Lord Bathurst, Lord Goderich, and the Bishop of London.

House of Commons. East Retford Bill. Instructions to lay open the franchise to the Hundred in which it is situated, and to let in the 40*s*. freeholders. Division with Mr. Peel, 157; against, 121.

22*nd*. — The Duke of Wellington, coming from the opera, slipped his foot getting into his cabriolet, and he fell on his face and cut it much.

Amongst the Members of Parliament there is a general feeling of dissatisfaction at the wavering and unsettled

state of the House of Commons, without sufficient authority in the leading Minister.

News that Don Miguel has overturned the constitutional charter in Portugal, and dissolved the Legislative Assembly.

26*th*. — House of Lords. Showed Lord Tenterden my "Common Assault" clause, for giving a summary jurisdiction to two magistrates to commit for not less than ten days, nor more than one calendar month, which he approved.

28*th*. — House of Lords. The Duke of Wellington postponed his motion on the Corn Laws until Monday next: the reason assigned was the indisposition of Mr. Grant, who was to have opened the proposed measures on the same subject this day in the House of Commons.

Lord Lansdowne went through the Committee upon his Bill for Consolidating the Statutes, and amending the law respecting injuries to the person. Lord Tenterden moved several clauses and amendments.

Left London till April 15th.

Thursday, *April* 17*th*.—House of Lords. Lord Holland moved the second reading of a Bill for repealing the Corporation and Test Acts; the Archbishop of York and the Bishops of Lincoln (Kaye), Durham (Van Mildert), and Chester (Blomfield), spoke for it; besides the Duke of Wellington and Lord Goderich. It was opposed by Lord Eldon, Lord Winchelsea, and Lord Mansfield; but there was no division.

18*th*. — House of Lords. Penryn Disfranchisement Bill. Witnesses examined.

20*th*. — The Duke of Newcastle yesterday asked the Duke of Wellington whether "there was any truth in the report of the Concordat with the Court of Rome." The answer was, "You may put any question you please; but I know nothing about it."

FROM THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

April 20th.

My dear Lord,—I have just seen Lord Eldon, from whom I came to say that he will call upon you to-morrow morning to

consult you about the declaration or oath to be substituted for the Sacramental Test, when he will explain his plan for to-morrow, and will hope to obtain your assistance in furthering his views, of which I hope and think that you will perfectly approve.

We have no time to lose in understanding one another, and I think we have a fair prospect at all events of making a good fight, and probably of being victorious.

Most truly and faithfully yours, NEWCASTLE.

21*st.* — Lord Eldon came, and discussed with me the amendments to be proposed upon the Test and Corporation Repeal Bill, and drew out the following amended form of declaration, framed upon the substance of the Coronation Oath and the Dissenting Ministers' Declaration in Stat. 19 Geo. III. c. 44:—

"I do solemnly declare, in the presence of Almighty God, that I am a Christian and a Protestant; and that I believe the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament as commonly received in the Protestant Churches do contain the revealed will of God.

"And that I will not exercise any power, authority, or influence to injure or weaken the Protestant Church as it is by law established in these realms; or to disturb it or the Bishops and Clergy of these realms; or the Churches committed to their charge, in the possession and enjoyment of any such rights and privileges as by law do or shall appertain unto them."

N.B. Not adopted in this form: but as modified by the Duke of Wellington. Lord Winchelsea called afterwards, and reported his interview with the Duke of Wellington and Peel, upon neither of whom could he make any impression in favour of *his* proposed form of declaration of Belief in the Divinity of Our Saviour.

The declaration in the Bill as sent up by the House of Commons was settled at Lambeth by Peel with the Archbishops and the Bishops of London, Durham, Chester, and Llandaff (Copleston): the Bishop of Durham yielding most reluctantly; but Peel said that a stronger declaration (which was proposed), would not pass the House of Commons.

House of Lords. Debate till twelve at night, upon the Corporation and Test Act Repeal Bill, before and after the going into Committee. I spoke shortly,

before going into Committee. Lord Eldon proposed all his amendments; upon the question of requiring the declaration to be made upon *oath*, the House divided. For the Government, 100; against them, 32. Lord Holland, and the Opposition, and eighteen Bishops voted with the Government. Lord Eldon and two Bishops, Hereford (Luxmoore), and Chichester (Carr), against them.

There were also divisions upon Lord Tenterden's motion for requiring the governing members of Corporations to be of the Church of England. For it, 22; against it, 111.

And upon Lord Winchelsea's motion for a declaration of the belief in the Divinity of Our Saviour. For it, 15; against it, 113.

Lord Redesdale, aged upwards of eighty, travelled up to-day eighty-four miles from Gloucestershire, and spoke repeatedly, and stoutly in the debate, and staid it out till after midnight.

22*nd*. — House of Lords. Bill for suspending the further granting of Government Annuities read a second time. Lord Bexley, and Lord Goderich, explaining their share in the continuance of those grants, and doubting even now the conclusiveness of Mr. Finlaison's objections, his calculations being not yet concluded.

Penryn evidence at the bar continued.

Mr. Manning and his colleague, contrary to my advice, and after my first refusal to make the proposed motion, desired me to move for a message to the Commons, that they might attend to be examined at the Bar. (N.B. The Messenger went, but they did not persist in desiring to be examined.)

23*rd*. — Dined with the Duke of Wellington. At coming away, the Duke took me into his private room. I asked him about the probable duration of the session. He said, "he did not know how it would be with the Turks and Russians, but we were upon a good understanding with France, and he hoped all would go well

as to us. Something" (he said) "must be done for the currency, and (as I understood him) not for small notes, but to help the banking interests."

24th. — House of Lords. On Report of Corporation and Test Acts Repeal Bill, divided upon Lord Eldon's motion to amend the preamble to the Clause of Declaration. Content, 31; non-content, 71.

The Duke of Cumberland divided with *us* Contents. And then, upon Lord Eldon's moving to insert "Protestant" in the Declaration, the Duke of Wellington moved to adjourn the further consideration of the Report till "to-morrow." Lord Rolle moved as an amendment, "till Monday." For to-morrow, 49; for Monday, 24.

25th. — House of Lords. Report of Corporation and Test Acts Repeal Bill, further proceedings. Division upon inserting in the Declaration substituted for the Sacramental Test, the words "I am a Protestant."

For the words: —	Present	43
	Proxies	12
		55
Against them: —	Present	77
	Proxies	40
		117
	Majority	62

Two Bishops voted against the words, and two did not vote at all.

28th. — House of Lords. Third reading of Corporation and Test Acts Repeal Bill. Several amendments. On the question that the person making the proposed declaration, should declare "that I am a Protestant." Division for inserting these words.

Present (including seven Bishops)		42
Proxies		10
		52
		100
Against them: —	Present	50
	Proxies	
		150

The Duke of Cumberland divided with us in the minority. And afterwards, on the question "that this Bill do pass," he stated his opposition to His Majesty's Government on this question to be founded on "a conscientious motive, and in no degree hostile to the noble Duke at the head of it, for whom he entertained the highest respect," &c.

29th. — Lord Malmesbury read his two lunatic Bills a second time, and referred them to a Select Committee.

30th. — The Dean of Chester (Philpotts) called upon the present state of Parliamentary measures respecting the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, and the approaching discussion of the Roman Catholic question in the House of Commons. Talked over the altered state of opinion at Oxford. The yielding temper of Peel, the right intentions of the Duke of Wellington; but his submission to the supposed necessity of conforming to Peel's course and Huskisson's principles. The probable necessity of contemplating the precise nature of the best securities, and to bring the Roman Catholics to the trial of adopting or rejecting what would give to our Protestant constitution an adequate protection, without persisting to stand out for absolute exclusion from offices, Parliament, &c. When at Durham, the Duke of Wellington had desired to converse with Dr. Philpotts on the suggested possibility of any arrangement in the nature of an agreement with the Court of Rome, but seemed aware of the impossibility of allowing two Bishops of different persuasions for one see, &c. &c.

Thursday, May 1st.—Read the concordat of George IV., in his capacity of *King of Hanover*, with Pope Leo, by bull, dated 26th March, 1824, for regulating the dioceses and endowments of Roman Catholic bishops and chaplains in the Kingdom of Hanover, with a domestic election of bishops, &c., subject to a royal veto and papal confirmation; such as, if established in England, with "the spiritual authority"

therein reserved, would be tantamount to a counter reformation; and be (according to Lord Liverpool's declaration, in his last speech on the Roman Catholic question) a violation of the King's coronation oath in this country.

House of Lords. Short discussion on notice of moving Wool Committee. A long speech from Lord Darnley on the distressed state of the population of Ireland: Lords Limerick, Longford, and Lorton contra. Also the Duke of Wellington against a Committee of Inquiry; the facts being all known, and the attention of Government earnestly bent to that subject.

2*nd*.—House of Lords Committee on lunatic Bills. Mr. Cullen, council for Dr. Fox, Burlington House, near Bath, (a private establishment for lunatics), on which near 35,000*l*. has been expended, spoke for three hours against the various regulations of the Bill for regulating private mad-houses.

In the House, the Game Bill, compounded of Lord Salisbury's clause for legalising the sale of game, and Lord Wharncliffe's clauses for altering the qualification by making the sole property of twenty contiguous acres sufficient for entitling the owner, or his deputy, to kill game, and making wilful trespass punishable by summary process, passed through Committee, with a division upon the clauses for altering the qualification: content, 33; not content, 18.

4*th*.—Saw Lord Sidmouth. By report of members of the House of Commons, Huskisson is declining in reputation.

5*th*.—The Duke of Richmond, in an excellent manner, moved for a Select Committee to inquire into the British Wool Trade. The Duke of Wellington consented to it, but declared, upon the information he had been able to obtain, he should not be willing to reimpose any duty on the importation of foreign wool.

Penryn witnesses examined every day.

12*th*.—House of Commons. Adjourned debate on the Roman Catholic question.

Received from Lord Redesdale the following letter upon Sir John Shelley's claim to the barony of Sudley, which I had sent him:—

Harley Street, May 16th.

My dear Lord,—I conceive that in the reigns of Edward I., II., III. it was not conceived that summons to Parliament *by writ* created a barony *in fee;* and that it was conceived that a writ had that effect at any time before the determination in the case of the barony of Clifton, I much doubt. I apprehend the creation of barons by *patent* was occasioned by an opinion that a writ did *not* create a barony in fee, though it might be inferred, from constant usage, that such a right had been gained. The case of John de Sudley, who died in the tenth year of Edward III., seems to me strongly to confirm this opinion, as John de Sudley, his grandson and heir, was thirty years of age at his death, and was never summoned to Parliament though he lived till the forty-first year of Edward III.

Sir Thomas Boteler is stated to have become sole heir of John de Sudley first-named, in the third of Richard II., and lived till the twenty-second year of Richard II.; but was never summoned.

His son John, having been fourteen in the twenty-second year of Richard II., was living in the eighth of Henry IV. and was then of age, but was not summoned. William, his brother survived, and was not summoned, but it is not stated when he died.

Sir Ralph, the younger brother, was not summoned as entitled to a barony in fee by writ, but accepted of a patent, creating a barony in tail, made in the twentieth year of Henry VI., about 100 years after the death of John de Sudley, the person last summoned.

The acceptance of this patent seems to me to prove that in the twentieth year of Henry VI. it was conceived that a summons to Parliament by writ in the reigns of Edward I., II., III. of one person, whose heir was never afterwards summoned, did not, in the opinion of the lawyers of that day, create a barony in fee descendible to heirs general. And, I believe, many other cases tend to prove that such was the opinion of lawyers of that day, and long after.

Sir Ralph Boteler, created Baron of Sudley by patent, died in 1473 without issue, leaving the grandson, and son, of his two sisters his co-heirs. What became of the issue of one sister is not stated. Sir Edward Balknap, Privy Councillor of Henry VII. and VIII., the heir of one sist r, did not claim the dignity

as in abeyance; and he left four sisters his co-heirs. The dignity, if a dignity descendible to heirs was created, is, therefore, in abeyance, probably between many co-heirs; and I apprehend that the Crown has been advised that it is highly impolitic for the King to determine abeyance, where it is clear that the dignity was descendible to co-heirs. I doubt, therefore, whether, if the claim could be supported, the Crown would think it advisable to determine the abeyance. This was strongly urged to the advisers of the Crown in a recent case, the claim of the dignity of Lord Lisle, in which the existence of two creations by patent was conceived to be strong evidence that in early times it was not conceived that a writ, and sitting on that writ, did create what was called a Barony in fee. . . .

Truly yours, REDESDALE.

13*th*.—House of Commons. Division at three in the morning on the Roman Catholic question: for the motion, 272; against it, 266; majority for the motion, 6.

14*th*.—House of Lords. I moved the second reading of C. Williams Wynn's Bill for consolidating the laws for regulating the trial of election petitions in the House of Commons.

15*th*.—House of Lords. Wool Committee examined W. F. Campbell on the depreciation of wool in Islay, Jura, and the county of Argyll.

16*th*.—Called on the Duke of Wellington by my own appointment, soon after twelve o'clock. I opened my business thus:—

"I understand we are to-day to have a communication from the House of Commons, with their Roman Catholic resolution *; and, as your Grace has declared your determination to resist further concessions, I wish to know what is the Parliamentary course you mean to pursue upon this occasion."

The Duke.—"We shall not have it to-day; but I will tell you what has passed. The opinion of some of my friends with whom I talked last night is for letting the resolution lie upon our table, and taking no further

* The resolution passed three days before by the House of Commons, affirmed the expediency of taking the Roman Catholic disabilities into consideration, "with a view to a final and conciliatory adjustment."—*Vide infra*, June 9th and 10th.

notice of it; but that is not mine. I would have it disposed of by a negative; and if the friends of the resolution do not take it up, some other peer of our way of thinking (not myself as one of the Government) should take it up, and move a negative upon it. But it should not lie there to be taken up by anyone at any future time. It is a dexterous proceeding on their part to break down the amount of our former majority, and so to leave the business for another year.

"But I will tell you more. I know that last year Canning meant to have taken exactly this course, and then to have had a Bill brought in to remove the illegality of a correspondence with the Pope; and I have reason to think he had brought the King's mind to it; and it is singular that in *The Times* newspaper of this morning the same sort of proceeding is put forward; and I shall not be surprised to see Lord Harrowby or Lord Goderich coming forward to move such a Bill; but I think it won't do. Canning had even *promised* the King that if he would pass such a Bill, he (Canning) would never in his lifetime allow the Roman Catholic question to be pressed upon him."

I said I thought it quite impossible for such a Bill to pass; "that it amounted to a *counter reformation;*" and, strangely enough, admitted at once the whole doctrine of divided allegiances, by taking the Court of Rome into partnership with the King, to assist him in governing his own subjects."

The Duke continued: "The resolution, when it comes, which will not be till Monday, must lie upon the table; and we shall then see in a day or two who takes it up or stirs in it. I have desired Courtenay* to bring me all the precedents to-morrow."

I said: "The practical questions are these,—*First:* to grant or refuse the conference; and, considering the unfinished state of the session, and the ungraciousness of a refusal, it would not be prudent, *so long as the present Parliament continues to sit*" (and this I repeated),

* Assistant-Clerk of the Parliament.

"to do an act which would be considered as not maintaining a good understanding between the two Houses.

"*Secondly.* — The next question is, to concur in or negative the resolution of the House of Commons; and whether to *volunteer* a negative by raising the question if the other side were unwilling to raise it, may be matter for consideration, but what *must be specially avoided* is to qualify their resolution in any way which the House of Commons could agree to afterwards; for then they would (as in the Irish commercial resolutions, and upon the Irish Union) immediately press another conference, and desire a joint address by both Houses, which would place the King in a very embarrassing situation as to the answer he should give, and render it almost impossible to give an answer which would not raise future expectations, and encourage future hopes."

The Duke.—"I am sure the King would never give a favourable answer to such an address."

I proceeded: "Sir, the danger may be this. If, for instance, it were proposed to resolve, 'That the Lords would not proceed to consider the subject matter of the resolution of the House of Commons, *until* presented to them as a legislative measure in the accustomed form of a Bill for those purposes.' This might carry a larger majority for putting aside the resolutions of the Commons than a mere denial to concur. *But*, inasmuch as it would sanction the expectation of a possible Bill to that effect, the House of Commons would at once accede, and follow it up by a *joint* address, &c.

"These are technical consequences of such modes of proceeding, leading to the greatest possible inconveniences; and, having been obliged to look at these matters in this view for the last thirty or forty years, I thought it possible that it might not have occurred to you; and the mischief might be done unexpectedly."

The Duke.—"I had not thought of that, but I see it, and it is very true, and I am much obliged to you for suggesting it."

He then repeated, "That he thought nothing would be done to-day in our House; and there would be time to think more about it after the resolution had reached us; but these were his present views."

In the course of the conversation, which lasted about twenty minutes, he said again, "That the King appeared to be very uneasy about the Roman Catholic question, and especially with the majority in the House of Commons." He went, at the close of our conversation, into a minute analysis of the non-voting Members of the House of Commons; and concluded his reckoning with an opinion that the real balance of numbers was against us, from whatever motive the votes were given."

I said: "I must trouble your Grace with one further observation, as you allow me to talk upon these subjects, and to which you will pay no more attention than you choose; but I never knew any Government go on well and steadily with a House of Commons elected under its predecessors."

I then rose; we shook hands and parted.

Whilst talking over the intercourse with the See of Rome, the Duke said that Lord Bathurst had distinctly avowed to him that he had carried on a negotiation with the Court of Rome, both as to Canada and Malta, and that he (the Duke) fully believed other negotiations had been managed through other channels.

17*th.*—Local Committee.

19*th.*—The Commons having requested a conference with the Lords on the subject of their resolution of the 13th inst., the Duke of Wellington moved the names of seven Lords to attend the conference with the Commons, viz. the Lord President, the Duke of Devonshire, Earl Grey, Earl Vane (Lord Londonderry), the Earl of Eldon, the Bishop of Durham, and Lord Colchester.

At half-past five a message came from the Commons that they were ready in the Painted Chamber waiting for the Lords. The names were then called over, and each Lord (having changed his round hat for a cocked hat) as his name was called rose, and passed below the Bar,

&c., entering the Painted Chamber covered, and taking off their hats at the Corner Bar, then sitting in a row fronting the Commons, and covering themselves.

The Members of the House of Commons upon the opposite side of the table were, Sir Francis Burdett, C. Williams Wynn, Huskisson, Brougham, Littleton, Sir James Mackintosh, Spring Rice, &c.

They stood up uncovered, and when the Lord President had taken his seat, Sir Francis Burdett said: "He was commanded by the Commons to communicate the following resolution," which he then read, and delivered to the Lord President, who stood up uncovered to receive it; and Sir Francis then added that "he was further commanded to request their Lordships' concurrence." The Lords then all rose, uncovered, and returned out of the Painted Chamber in the same order, covering themselves as they passed beyond the Corner Bar.

Upon returning to the House of Lords, which had been adjourned during pleasure, the Lord President reported the conference, "which was managed on the part of the Commons by Sir Francis Burdett," &c.

Lord Lansdowne then rose, and proposed, as a due mark of respect to the other House of Parliament, to take their resolution into consideration on a future day; and, after some desultory conversation, Monday, June 9th, was fixed.

Lord Grey afterwards, in a long speech of old grievances and stale eloquence, presented a petition from the Roman Catholics of England, headed by the signature of the Duke of Norfolk, &c.

And about seven o'clock the House resumed their proceedings upon the Penryn case.

In the course of the evening I had much talk with Lord Sidmouth, who had been conversing freely with the Duke of Wellington on these matters: I desired Lord Shaftesbury to see upon what question on the Roman Catholic claims our numbers had been largest. The Chancellor told me that, as I had thrown out the

Roman Catholic Bill formerly in the House of Commons, they hoped for my help again.

20*th.*—Great ferment about the division in the House of Commons on the East Retford Bill, last night, in which Secretary Peel voted one way, and his two Cabinet colleagues, Secretary Huskisson and Lord Palmerston, Secretary at War, voted *against* him, leaving him only a majority of 18.

21*st.*—House of Lords. The Bill for consolidating the laws to regulate the Trial of Election Petitions.

23*rd.*—The Speaker told me that after last Monday's East Retford division Huskisson wrote the next day to the Duke of Wellington to account for his vote. The Duke acknowledged his letter of "resignation," and acquainted him that "it was laid before his Majesty." Huskisson then wrote again "to explain" the circumstances; but the Duke replied that any explanations must now be made by Mr. Huskisson himself to the King; and so the matter stood according to the latest accounts.

In the park the Duke of Montrose told me he understood all was made up; and so Lord Mansfield told me in the House of Lords. But Huskisson did not to-day attend the House of Commons. And the rumour then was that all three (he, Lord Palmerston, and Mr. C. Grant) were out.

Arbuthnot told me that nothing was yet settled about Huskisson, &c. That Huskisson and his friends were trying to tread back their steps; but that the Duke "would not hold out a hand to help them." That Lord Dudley was to see the King this evening after his return from Kew.*

25*th.*—The news, from the best authority, is that nothing was settled between the Duke of Wellington

* Lord Dudley did not see the King, but the Duke of Wellington, who hinted to him that Huskisson might withdraw his letter, which, in express words, "afforded his Grace an opportunity of placing his office in other hands." The whole affair is related in the *Life of the Duke of Wellington*, vol. ii. pp. 150–154.

and the outgoers; at three o'clock this afternoon the Duke of Wellington was then with the King.

30*th*. — Called on Bankes, who told me of his son George's appointment to be Secretary to the Board of Control.

Other changes were mentioned to me by Frankland Lewis and Colonel Trench *, whom I met.

Wilmot Horton declines taking office at all under the Duke of Wellington. Lord Mountcharles resigns his seat at the Treasury.

Lord Eliot is expected to do the same.

Mr. Lamb resigns the office of Chief Secretary for Ireland.

Lord Francis L. Gower resigns his place as Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Lord Palmerston resigns as Secretary at War.

Charles Grant resigns as Treasurer of the Navy and President of the Board of Control.

Frankland Lewis as Vice-President, &c. &c.

The new appointments are: —

Sir George Murray .	Secretary of State for War and the Colonies.
Horace Twiss . . .	As Under-Secretary.
Sir Henry Hardinge .	Secretary at War.
Lord Lowther . . .	First Commissioner of Woods and Forests.
Arbuthnot	Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.
J. P. Courtenay . .	Vice-President of the Board of Trade.
Earl of Aberdeen . .	Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

Lord Dudley having also resigned.

An angry and determined opposition is expected for the rest of the session.

Monday, June 2nd.—Explanations made in the House of Commons by Huskisson and Lord Palmerston.

Division on East Retford question —	Government . .	258
	Opposition . . .	152
	Majority . . .	106

Those who form the *Huskisson party*, or rather the *rump of the Canning party*, are at present from twenty-one to twenty-five, as per the list which the Speaker showed me.

* Afterwards Lieut.-Gen. Sir Frederick Trench.

Stewart Wortley.	Villiers.	Sturges Bourne.
Lord Sandon.	Lock.	Frankland Lewis.
A. Ellis.	Lord Morpeth.	G. Grant.
Lord Palmerston.	Lord Jermyn.	Wilmot Horton.
Jolliffe.	Littleton.	R. Grant.
W. Lamb.	Lord T. L. Gower.	&c.

3rd.—House of Lords. No business, but much conversation about Huskisson, and the debate of last night in the House of Commons.

6th.—Saw Lord Shaftesbury and the Chancellor, and afterwards went to the Duke of Wellington to understand the intended proceedings in the House of Lords on Lord Lansdowne's motion next Monday. The two first did not know, but *supposed* a direct negative was to be given to it. And so said the Duke of Wellington.

7th.—Called on Lord Eldon to know his opinion on the proposed course of proceeding on Monday next; he agreed that it should be met by a direct negative, and, if negatived, no further notice to be taken by the Lords.

9th.—House of Lords. Lord Lansdowne's motion on Roman Catholic question: various speeches. Adjourned at one till to-morrow. 195 Peers present.

10th.—Resumed debate. I spoke first, then Lord Bute, Bishop Law, Lord Falmouth, &c. The Duke of Sussex spoke *for* the Roman Catholics. The Lord Chancellor and Lord Eldon with us; Lord Plunkett and Lord Wellesley against us. And at the close the Duke of Wellington spoke, objecting to and resisting the motion of Lord Lansdowne, declaring in the course of his speech that the Roman Catholic religion was the most difficult to manage in all Governments, on account of its separation from the State; that to follow the example of Prussia and Hanover by endowing the Roman Catholic hierarchy in this kingdom was out of the question; it could not be done, nor anything, while the present agitation was kept up. "Let the question rest for a time," and "something" might be done.

Division (for Lord Lansdowne's motion) —	Present . .	92
	Proxies . .	45
		137

Against it — Present	. . . . .	123
Proxies	. . . . .	59
		182

Total votes, 319; majority, 45. The entire number of Peers, including minors, Roman Catholic Peers, &c., 354.

The Bishop of Rochester (Murray) was the only Bishop who voted in favour of the Roman Catholic claims, and he held the proxy of the Bishop of Norwich.

12*th*. — House of Lords. Lord Strangford complained of piracies by the Buenos Ayres armed ships, and Lord Beresford explained the particulars of his correspondence with his friends in Portugal, particularly the Duque de Cadoval, Don Miguel's first Minister.

13*th*. — Called on the Speaker, who agreed with me that the vote (or resolution) of 1678 respecting the right of the House of Commons, *exclusive of the House of Lords*, to *originate* all Bills levying duties upon the subject, should be restrained by some explanatory resolution of the House of Commons, so as not to prevent the House of Lords from inserting penalties, fines, and forfeitures in Bills passed by them.

Rode with Sir C. Flint, and talked over the ministerial arrangements. Everybody disapproves of Vesey Fitzgerald's appointment, as President of the Board of Trade with a seat in the Cabinet. It is said to be Peel's doing. Lord Francis Leveson Gower is going to be Chief Secretary for Ireland.

Lord Gage told me he had hitherto voted *for* the Roman Catholics; but this year he had not voted either way, thinking the Roman Catholic Association meeting and sitting in defiance of the law, a thing not to be countenanced.

In the House of Lords, Lord Lauderdale made an able speech against the Corn Importation Bill.

Dined at Lord Rolle's. Before dinner there was much conversation about the manner in which the Duke of

Wellington had expressed himself at the close of Tuesday night's debate. And the Duke of Cumberland said he would see him to-morrow morning, and ask him whether he had any objection to be asked, and what answer he would give *if* asked, in the House of Lords, "In what manner he had wished to be understood as to his future views and intentions respecting the Roman Catholic question?"

14*th*. — Dined at the Duke of Wellington's. Conversation was upon French contributions, Ouvrard, Don Miguel's character, Spanish nobles, — of whom none can leave Madrid without permission of the King, and none have residences upon their estates. The Portuguese are a much more civilised people, and their nobles, residing in the country amongst their peasantry, have much more connection with them, and more influence over them. Mr. Irving said he had been concerned (with authority from the English Government) in importing at one time ten millions of dollars during the war in Spain, and (as I understood) as part of Ouvrard's arrangements with the Court of Spain. The Duke also said that he and Lord Londonderry had saved Baring from absolute ruin at Aix La Chapelle when the loans were contracted for to make good the contributions; and the French Government, giving the French bankers the preference, had raised and depressed the French funds purposely.

The Duke of Wellington at coffee talked with me separately about the state of business for the remainder of the session, &c.

15*th*. — Called on Lord Stuart de Rothesay, to congratulate him on his reappointment to the Embassy at Paris. He told me that such was the ruinous effect of our free-trade system, that Rothschild informed him of the weekly discounts which he was making upon Bills, to the amount of 40,000*l*. per week for French goods, supplied to such houses at Howell and James, &c.; whilst France imposed duties of 33 per cent. on British manufactures imported into France, and the

United States of America cent. per cent. on the importation of English lead, &c. &c.

Rode with Lord Enniskillen, who thinks the Duke of Wellington has some plan in contemplation about Roman Catholics. The Duke of Newcastle means to see him about his declarations on the Roman Catholic question.

16*th.*—House of Lords. Lord Falmouth came across to me to say, from the Duke of Cumberland, who was sitting next to the Duke of Wellington, that "the Duke of Wellington wished to have a question asked of him respecting his expressions at the close of the debate of Tuesday last on the Roman Catholic question," and that either Lord Eldon, or Lord Falmouth, or *I*, should ask it. That Lord Eldon declined it, and he, Lord Falmouth, also, but he pressed *me*. This I also declined, and the more as I did not know what would be the answer, which might possibly do more harm than good.

17*th.*—Wrote to the Duke of Wellington to appoint a time for seeing me. He fixed two o'clock, and at that hour I went.

Upon sitting down with him, I said: "My business with you is upon the subject of a message brought to me last night as I was sitting on the Cross Bench of the House of Lords, by Lord Falmouth from the Duke of Cumberland, that '*you* wished me to put a question to you, on the subject of your speech at the close of the late debate on the Roman Catholic question.' Which I declined to do, and I only wish you to understand that my declining was from no want of deference to, or respect for, your supposed wishes; but, in the first place, I must say fairly that I should not choose to put any question in Parliament without knowing beforehand what sort of answer I was to receive; and, at all events, I personally could not ask any such question, because it would contradict the whole of my Parliamentary conduct, in resisting at all times any reference to expressions in bygone debates as highly irregular, and leading to the greatest inconvenience."

The Duke then said: "Nothing could have been more irregular or undesirable; that what he said in the debate was his own individual act, and not as the organ of Government, which, on that subject, did not act as a Government; that Lord Lansdowne had tried to fasten a pledge upon him*; that Sir Francis Burdett was fair enough in the House of Commons; that Williams Wynn (to whom he had shown numberless kindnesses, and who was now angry because he could not have something else done for him,) tried to make out a pledge against him, &c.; and all these notions of questioning him (the Duke) arose out of the practice of referring in the debates of one House to those of the other.

"That he never would concert with anybody that any question should be asked him, nor what answer he should give; that to any question, if put, it was obvious to say, 'You yourself were present and heard what I said;' and to come afterwards and ask what it was, could not be tolerated as a practice in Parliament.

"That the Duke of Cumberland was a well-meaning man, but rather loved to do things" (waving his hands in and out) "in his own way."

Upon my repeating my reasons for declining to comply with the message brought to me, &c., he said: "You and I see the business quite in the same light; I shall not be surprised, however, if some question is put this afternoon; but, in truth, we have plenty to do without it;" and so we parted.

The Duke told Lord Shaftesbury to-day, "that he should not look upon any man as his friend who put any such question to him, and he should answer it accordingly if put; that it implied suspicion of his conduct. He should be very glad to relieve the Roman Catholics if they could give adequate security, but he did not see how they could give any."

* Lord Lansdowne admitted this to Moore. (*Moore's Life*, vol. v. p. 319.) In his reply, "he congratulated himself on the advantage which he had obtained from his motion in eliciting from the Duke a speech which gave such great indications that the day of concession was not far distant." — *Yonge's Life of Wellington*, vol. ii. p. 161.

CHAP. LXXIX.

1828.

LORD HEYTESBURY'S MISSION TO RUSSIA. — CANADA CLERGY RESERVES. — MEETINGS AT LORD KENYON'S, ETC. — SYSTEM OF RECENT IRISH GOVERNMENT. — MR. O'CONNELL IS RETURNED FOR CLARE. — LETTERS FROM DR. PHILPOTTS AND MR. CROKER ON THE POSSIBILITY OF O'CONNELL TAKING HIS SEAT. — THE BRUNSWICK CLUB. — RETURN OF LORD AMHERST FROM INDIA. — THE DUKE OF CLARENCE REMOVED FROM THE OFFICE OF LORD HIGH ADMIRAL. — THE RUSSIANS TAKE VARNA. — ARRIVAL OF THE QUEEN OF PORTUGAL IN ENGLAND. — LETTERS FROM DR. PHILPOTTS, LORD SIDMOUTH, AND LORD REDESDALE. — CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON AND DR. CURTIS. — LETTER FROM LORD SKELMERSDALE.

WEDNESDAY, June 18th. — The Duke of Wellington has himself corrected his speech on the Roman Catholic debate for the "Mirror of Parliament."

Lord Heytesbury told me that he is to set out on Friday next for the Russian head-quarters in Bessarabia, where the French Ambassador, the Duc de Mortemar (a military man), now is. He goes by Ostend and Brussels to Vienna, and, after conferring with Lord Cowley, proceeds (as he expects) to Bucharest.

19th. — House of Lords. I opposed the reception of Lord Clifden's Kilkenny petition upon abuse of a charity trust, and supported the amendment made by the House of Commons in the Bill respecting offences to the person, by a clause giving to justices of the peace a summary power of conviction for common assaults, and fining in any sum not exceeding 5*l.*, &c.

20th. — House of Lords. Penryn Disfranchisement Bill, second reading negatived without a division, after a luminous and powerful speech against it from the Chancellor upon the defective evidence.

24th. — House of Lords. Wool Committee. Closed

the evidence, and agreed to draw up an introductory arrangement of the evidence without giving an opinion on the result.

26*th*. — House of Lords. Debate on Canada clergy reserve lands. Also on third reading of the Corn Importation Bill.

FROM LORD KENYON.

Glyndbourne, June 25th, 1828.

My dear Lord, — I had hoped to have seen and conversed with you on the subject of a confidential meeting intended to be held at my house in Portman Square, on Friday next, at one o'clock, on the subject of the state of the Roman Catholic question; and which I have desired Lord Chandos still to allow to be held there. . . . . I have applied to Lords Abingdon, Howe, and Boston to attend, and will be greatly obliged by your doing so to Lords Mansfield, Harewood, Brownlow, and Skelmersdale. The sacred cause will, I am sure, plead my excuse for giving you this trouble. . . . . .

I enclose the rough view in which the meeting for Friday is invited. . . . . .

Your Lordship's most faithful, KENYON.

PAPER ENCLOSED IN THE FOREGOING.

At a meeting of Members of both Houses of Parliament, June 24th, 1828, it was resolved that the declaration made in the Roman Catholic Association by Mr. O'Connell, that petitions should be prepared from every parish in Ireland, on behalf of the Roman Catholics, to be presented on the first day of the next session of Parliament, having been taken into consideration, it is deemed to be of extreme importance to call forth the decided expression of Protestant feeling in Great Britain on the subject of the Roman Catholic question, inasmuch as the silence of Protestants is unjustifiably assumed as indicative of their apathy on the subject.

That in order to consider of and determine upon the best and most efficient means of drawing forth a just and general expression of such Protestant feeling and opinion, it is considered desirable that a select meeting should take place of true friends to the Protestant cause, for the purpose of insuring a mutual and cordial co-operation toward the attainment of this important object.

27*th.* — At one o'clock a meeting took place at Lord Kenyon's house, in Portman Square, to consider of the fittest mode of expressing the Protestant opinion of the kingdom against the claims of the Roman Catholics, by counter-petitions in the next session of Parliament, in opposition to the universal petition of the Roman Catholics called for by the Roman Catholic Association. We drew up a proposed resolution, and adjourned to Tuesday next, at Lord Howe's.

FROM LORD CLANCARTY.

Under-Secretary's Lodge, Dublin, June 28th.

My dear Lord,—Your acceptable letter and its very valuable enclosure [my speech in the late debate on the R. C. question] have followed me here; however hackneyed the subject, it derives fresh information from some of the facts you have adduced, and from several of the arguments you have so powerfully urged upon it. . . . . .

In considering future probabilities with reference to the Romanist question, I would willingly continue to join with you in placing strong reliance on the Roman Catholic perseverance in displaying their unalterable hostility to us, as the most formidable obstacle to their views. But, "hélas! ces beaux jours sont passés." Is it possible for them to go further than they have hitherto done to excite disgust and abhorrence in the mind of every rational man attached to the Constitution and to the institutions of the empire? The separation of the two countries, the destruction of the Church, Parliamentary reform, &c., have been loudly proclaimed by them as measures to which their unqualified emancipation was to lead, and without which it would afford no content. Herein they had been at least honest. But in England the public will not look at Ireland, and are generally as ignorant upon its whole subject as if no such island existed; while the Ministry, which possesses the means of information, of which it will not profit, contenting itself with still enjoying the Government in name only, have actually abdicated all efficient authority on the part of the Crown; and, moreover, have handed it over to the administration of a Popish hierarchy and Popish Parliaments, in defiance of the first principles of the Constitution and of the Common Law.

Since the year 1822, we have had no legitimate Government,

subsisting efficiently, or otherwise than by name, in Ireland. Each step taken by the Romanists has left us, poor simple martyrs to this system, to the conclusion that this at last must open the eyes of the British Cabinet, and induce it to look the situation of the country fairly in the face, with the view of establishing some *system*, some effectual course of legitimate government for the protection of its inhabitants. In vain; we have ever been disappointed, till we are driven nearly to despair; insomuch that the ties of even the Protestant part of the community to the Crown and Parliament have been much relaxed, in many instances absolutely broken, by this dereliction.

In my immediate neighbourhood in the country we are quiet, and generally free from taint; but around us, and at no great distance, all is organised, and leaders alone are wanting to place the major part of Ireland in a state of demonstrative (if not of actual) insurrection, sufficient to appal the truckling timidity of the British Cabinet. God send us better times!

Yours most sincerely, CLANCARTY.

P.S. You will probably have to procure another seat in Parliament for Fitzgerald. It is confidently said that O'Connell will oust him for the county of Clare; that all the landlords are for the former, all the tenants for the latter. Will this open the eyes of the Ministry? I have little hope.

29*th.*—In conversation with Arbuthnot, it appeared that the Duke of Wellington had told him of my recommending a dissolution of Parliament (in which Arbuthnot agreed), and also how I had told him of my declining to put to him the question desired by the Duke of Cumberland, respecting his speech in the debate on the Roman Catholic question, on the 10th June, for which he was obliged to me: Peel had desired the Duke to explain the next day; and the Duke was going down to do so, but Arbuthnot had prevented him, though he wished the phrases objected to had not been used.

Lord Melville, Herries, and all agreed that O'Connell's present proceedings could not be tolerated, and that the interference of the priests must be put down. The question is by what means.

30*th.*—I wrote to Lord Farnborough about the unjustifiable withholding of many valuable portions of

the King's library, long since given to the nation: the King's librarians at Kensington retaining many of the rarest and most curious for his Majesty's private use. The Duke of Clarence has laid hold of the charts, maps, and geographical books for the Admiralty.

Thursday, July 3rd.—At the House of Lords we received the news of the Clare election. O'Connell, Roman Catholic, elected against Vesey Fitzgerald, the former Member, who, though he had always voted *for* the Roman Catholic claims, was thrown out by the priests and 40*s.* freeholders, under direction of the Roman Catholic Association, for belonging to the Administration of the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel.

FROM DR. PHILPOTTS.

Stanhope, Durham, June 30th.

My Lord,—I thank your Lordship heartily for your kindness in remembering me in the distribution of copies of your speech in the late debate. Like all that have proceeded from the same source, it is cogent, luminous, *pregnant*, and conclusive.

Still I fear that there remains but small hope of being long able to resist the measure *in toto*, and that the best manner of effecting the change will soon be the only consideration left. Happily the violence of the Irish comes in good time to convince the most thoughtless that conditions of a really stringent nature must be imposed.

What are the feelings of the surviving members of the several administrations since March 1825, when the Association was put down by Act of Parliament? How can they answer it to their own conscience that, by their shameful neglect, they have permitted that Act of the Legislature to be an object of mockery, and have suffered the turbulent spirit of the Irish to go to such a height as almost defies the power of law to subdue it?

Will Parliament be permitted to separate without anything being done? Apparently it is so intended, and we seem to have little other security left for the prevention of insurrection in Ireland but that which is afforded by the personal cowardice of the leaders.

This experiment of O'Connell's is well timed to secure the passing of a Bill to restrain the elective franchise. That measure appears to be far more likely to be a practical barrier

against the encroachments of the enemy than all the other expedients which have been projected. A legal acknowledgment of their bishops would, in my poor judgment, be a very high price for any control we could obtain over them or the priesthood.

Has your Lordship read Dr. Doyle's letter to the Duke of Wellington? It is, I think, an interesting document, as it shows two things. First, that the writer is alarmed by the democratic character of recent proceedings. Secondly, that the Bishops are determined to try every means of establishing their own despotism over the priests, and independence of Rome. It is, I believe, quite certain that Rome is jealous of them; perhaps, therefore, one of the best modes of managing them might be to acquire an influence in the nomination of them at Rome by means of a resident Minister there, empowered to treat formally only on political concerns. To comply with Dr. Doyle's suggestion of making the Irish hierarchy thoroughly independent, would be, I conceive, the most unpolitic step that could be taken. Those Bishops are, on principle, and by every motive of interest, the enemies of the Protestant constitution; against their permanent hostility, therefore, we are bound to provide. The Laity, violent as they now are, do not appear to me likely to be half so formidable in the long run. Of these there is a hope, be it great or small, that, if admitted to a community of civil privileges, they may fall into the ordinary course of Parliamentary ambition, and may not trouble themselves much with the interest of their Church.

But to give a reasonable ground of hope even in respect of these, it is absolutely necessary that some provisions be made which shall prevent any large portion of them from coming soon into the Legislature. The only chance of men of their persuasion being harmless is the absence of everything like a prospect of their Church being able to acquire an ascendency.

Upon the whole, there is, I venture to think, a season of trial coming on the Government and the Legislature which will make larger demands on the wisdom of both than we have yet seen. The tone of the Duke of Wellington's speech seemed to me, who could judge of it only from a newspaper, more sound and considerate than we have been accustomed of late to hear from that bench. May you, and the few who are like you, be spared by Providence to assist in the great work! . . . . . .

Your most faithful servant, Henry Philpotts.

4th. — Another meeting was held of Peers and Commoners for the support of the Protestant cause in Par-

liament. They met at Lord Longford's, who told me that they had agreed to establish a Protestant Club, to meet and dine together on the first Wednesday in every month during the sitting of Parliament.

5th.—Lord Brownlow came to know my opinion about the Protestant Club, towards which he is favourably inclined. I encouraged him in his inclination, but to his proposition of *my* belonging to it, I answered that in consideration of the office I had formerly filled (of Speaker) I should decline belonging to any such club. Lord Shaftesbury also (as now Chairman of the House of Lords) would for analogous reasons decline; but such a measure might nevertheless be useful.

6th.—Received a note from Croker upon the subject of O'Connell's supposed disability to sit in Parliament for the county of Clare, without taking the oaths of supremacy and allegiance before the Lord Steward's Commissioners, as well as those at the table. Upon referring to the Statute 41 George III. c. 52, § 3, there appeared to be no doubt of the same disability as attaches upon representatives for places in Great Britain, attaching also upon representatives for places in Ireland claiming to sit in the Parliament of the United Kingdom. Called on Croker, who seemed satisfied with my construction of the Act; but talked also of calling upon O'Connell to take his seat (compulsorily), and then, upon his declining to take the oaths, to declare his seat void, and issue a new writ, &c. &c.; to all which I gave no assent.

Met Sir Charles Flint, who told me that the above question was now under consideration of Sir Thomas Tomlins, who is to report upon it to Lord Francis L. Gower to-morrow.

A difference of opinion between the Duke of Wellington and Peel is apprehended as to *any* relaxation in favour of the Roman Catholics; the latter having declared against concession.

Later in the day Bankes called. I told him all that

had passed with Croker, and he concurred in my opinion.

MR. CROKER'S LETTER.

[Private:] Admiralty, July 6th.

My dear Lord,—Your Lordship brought in the 41 George III. c. 52, and perhaps you will recollect enough of the intention of Parliament at the time to be able to decide a doubt which has arisen on it.

The fourth article of the Act of Union provides:— 1st. That *until an Act shall have passed the United Parliament* providing what Irish offices shall exclude from the House of Commons, no more than twenty Irish placemen shall sit.

2nd. It provides that *till* the United Parliament shall otherwise legislate, the oaths, &c., now taken in Great Britain shall be taken in the Parliament of the United Kingdom.

In consequence of *one* or *both* of these provisions, your Lordship brought in the 41 George III. c. 52, which consists of *two* parts. The *first* part (or three first sections of the Act) refers to the Act of Union generally, and states that it is expedient *fully to declare* what persons shall be incapable of sitting or voting in the United Parliament. The second part, commencing with section 4, recites, with a preamble, that part of the 4th article of the Act of Union which relates to Irish placemen, and legislates on that point.

The question that arises is, whether the three first clauses of this Act refer to *all* incapabilities, including not taking oaths, &c.; and thus supply the new legislation promised or held out by the second part of the 4th article, which says that, UNTIL the United Parliament shall otherwise provide, the British oaths, &c., shall be taken; or whether the 41 George III. c. 52 relates altogether to places and placemen, and leaves the question of oaths and qualifications of that nature still under the second part of the 4th article of the Act of Union.

The difference between the two constructions (not much in *fact*, though considerable in *form*) is this: if the 41 George III. relates *only* to places and placemen, the United Parliament still continues under the British law by the second part of the 4th article of the Act of Union. If the 41 George III. relates to *all* qualifications and *all* disabilities (as the words seem to imply), *then* Irish members should sit under the Irish, and British members under the British, law antecedent to the Union. Now these antecedent laws prescribe identically the same oaths, &c.,

to be taken at the table; but the Irish members did not take any previous oaths before the Lord Steward.

I must doubt whether (since the 1st W. & M.) these oaths before the Lord Steward have not been abrogated even in Great Britain, and have continued to be taken by custom, and not by law; but this is not part of the question at present. It is certain they were not required from Irish members before the Union; and if the 41 George III. c. 52 be a complete and *full* declaration of the law on the subject, they do not affect members of the United Parliament serving for Ireland.

I flatter myself that I need make no apology for appealing on this nice question to the person who, being not only the author of the Act in question, but the best general authority on Parliamentary law, will be able, if any one can, to clear up this doubt.

Most faithfully yours, J. W. CROKER.

FROM ARCHBISHOP MAGEE.

Ballyarthur, Arklow, July 3rd.

My dear Lord,— . . . . . What the effects of the rejection of the Popish claims have been your Lordship has already perceived from the insane declamations of the Association demagogues, and the still more insane attempts of the leading demagogue to thrust himself into Parliament. It is perhaps fortunate that matters are coming to a crisis. If recent and threatened proceedings are peaceably borne, it is full time for the Government to abdicate. Lord Anglesey himself, although hitherto so great a favourite, is now no better than the Duke of Wellington, or Mr. Peel. He has lost the favour of the great leader, and will, I trust, be unable to regain it.

Lawless, after O'Connell is elected for Clare, starts for Galway; and Shiel is to offer himself for some other Popish county. The Popish Protestants are henceforward to be turned adrift in all the counties, and the power of the priesthood is to be everywhere openly dominant. Such is to be the course of things so soon as O'Connell's point of law is established. . . . .

Yours most faithfully, W. DUBLIN.

FROM LORD ARDEN.

Lehat Castle, near Mallow, July 14th.

My dear Lord,— . . . . . When people on this side the water correspond with their friends in England, they are very apt to write as if they were warranted in giving a *general* description and account of the state and condition of Ireland,

from what falls under the limited sphere of their own observation; and this, I believe, leads to much error and mistake.

In the district all around me *here*, as far as I can judge from all I hear and see, there is perfect peace and quiet. It is a busy season of the year to be sure, but I believe there is at this time generally employment for all who do not prefer idleness to labour. . . . . .

You would think it strange if I did not allude to the agitation now prevailing in Ennis about the election for the county of Clare; but, happily, it is far from hence; and I rather wish that I was near enough to you to hear from you whether Mr. O'Connell has any foundation for his discovery that there is no legal impediment to his sitting and voting in the House of Commons. He and his coadjutors kept up a continual ferment among such of the farmers and others as came into immediate contact with the priests, and have their imaginations worked upon to think that some unknown benefit is to arise from what is called Emancipation; but, as for the common people (hereabouts at least), I believe they care not one farthing about it, and would prefer an additional shilling in their pockets to all that emancipation can do for them. . . . . .

Very faithfully yours, ARDEN.

10*th*.—Wilmot Horton came to me upon his proposed securities, by excluding Roman Catholics from voting on Church questions. Lord Eldon has joined the new club; and has named it, not the Protestant, but "the Brunswick Constitutional Club," to meet, but not dine together.

13*th*.—Wrote to the Speaker, referring to O'Neil's Indemnity Act, 52 George III. c. 33, as decisive against O'Connell's pretensions to sit for an Irish county, without taking the oaths according to the English Acts. Received his answer agreeing, and enclosing a note of the case of Rochdale, a Quaker, elected, and declining to take the oaths in the House, Jan. 1698.

14*th*.—House of Lords. Lord Holland asked if there was to be any vote of credit proposed; and the Duke of Wellington saying "No," he gave notice of moving for information on Wednesday next, respecting the policy of this country towards Greece and Portugal. Mr. Lamb, our envoy, has arrived from Lisbon.

18*th.*—House of Lords. Lord Wharncliffe put questions to the Duke of Wellington about any intention of putting on a higher duty on the importation of foreign wool. Answered in the negative.

Lord Wharncliffe's Game Bill was thrown out by 94 to 63.

16*th.*—Lord Holland's motion respecting our foreign policy as to Greece, &c., and Portugal, took up the whole evening.

17*th.*—Left London for Kidbrooke, and remained there till February, 1829.

22*nd.*—Lord Amherst arrived from India.

In September the Duke of Clarence was removed from his office of Lord High Admiral, and Lord Melville appointed First Lord of the Admiralty.

The cause of the Duke of Clarence's removal was an illegal assumption of power by His Royal Highness in sending orders to the Admiralty, whilst he was at sea; and sending a ship of war to take soundings off the coast of Denmark. This was told me by Lord Camden, as stated by his son Lord Brecknock, who, in conjunction with the rest of the Lord High Admiral's council, tendered his resignation, as declining to be responsible for such acts.

In October, the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland issued a proclamation to put a stop to Mr. Lawless's public progress, exciting the Roman Catholics through the northern counties. O'Connell issues a similar proclamation for the southern counties.

The Russians took Varna, and shortly afterwards withdrew from the Danube, and closed the campaign.

On the 24th of October a Kentish county meeting was held at Pennenden Heath, to petition against further concession to the Roman Catholics, at which it was computed that 60,000 persons were present.

I enclosed to the Duke of Wellington a letter, which I had received from Dr. Hamilton, containing a long account of Stonyhurst; and received from him the following answer:—

Apethorpe, Oct. 4th, 1828.

My dear Lord,— I return the papers which you were so kind as to enclose me, which I had perused with the greatest interest. I cannot understand how it happened that the Government allowed such an establishment to be formed in the country. Surely there must be some law to enable them to prevent its establishment originally, and to observe, check, and control its future progress. Ever yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

Friday, November 7th.— As I understand from various quarters that His Majesty's Government are preparing some legislative measure for settling, so far as on them depends, the state of the Roman Catholics within the British dominions, I am desirous of publicly recording my long-settled opinions on this subject, by printing the speeches which I have delivered in Parliament, formerly in the House of Commons, and latterly in the House of Lords, whenever the claims of the Roman Catholics have been brought forward.

And I do so at this time, the rather that my views, and the grounds upon which they rest, may be placed before the country in general, previous to any Parliamentary proceedings; and especially that they may receive the calm consideration of those who are to frame the intended measure.

I wish also to contribute at this crisis my share towards awakening the public attention to the magnitude and consequences of any arrangement which may be proposed, by collecting into a small compass all the chief arguments and evidences which belong to this great constitutional question.

The following letter has just been received by Lord Carberry:—

Sir,— Unless you now come forward to support the Catholics this meeting of Parliament in opposition to the long-nosed Duke, who the devil sweep, your house will be burnt about your ear's before the end of the year. Yours,

ROCK.

In November the little Queen of Portugal, Donna Maria de Gloria, arrived from the Brazils, and went to reside at Laleham; she was received (privately) by the King at Windsor Castle before the end of the year.

FROM DR. PHILPOTTS.

Deanery, Chester, Nov. 16th.

My Lord,—. . . . . To your Lordship's inquiry I can truly answer that I do not know that His Majesty's Ministers are employed as you have heard. If I knew anything worth communicating, there is no one to whom I should be more eager to communicate it than to your Lordship, for there is no one from whose counsel I should be more sure of deriving advantage than from yours.

I have long been convinced that, of two evils, that of remaining in the present state of constant and increasing agitation, or of conceding Parliament and office (under such measures of precaution as might be devised), the latter is the less mischievous and dangerous. My opinion tended this way before the repeal of the Test Act, but that repeal, and, more especially, the manner in which it was brought about, have very strongly confirmed me in my views.

The truth is that I consider the Roman Catholics to be already possessed of great power of working mischief, so great that I ask myself whether it may not be more likely to be reduced than strengthened by a modified measure of concession, if, indeed, their power over the representation of Ireland could be (as I think it ought to be) extinguished, without any further extension of political privileges to them.

I should most strenuously contend for the simple act of disqualifying the small derivative freeholds in Ireland, and should as strenuously contend against accompanying the act with any further concession.

But if the House of Commons will not (as I am asssured, on what appears to me authority very likely to be well informed, that it certainly will not) consent to any measure of restraint or disqualification unaccompanied by concession, why then, I cannot but think it is better and safer to concede now, than to wait for a time when concession will not be made with equal security.

I have, as I have before stated to your Lordship, a perfect horror of the result of a general election in the present state of

the elective franchise in Ireland. The effect must be, as your Lordship justly observes, a struggle of a stronger kind than I can contemplate with composure. Your Lordship thinks it better to let matters come to that struggle, and you are much more likely to be right than I am, still I am anxious to prevent, or rather see prevented, such an issue.

"Sum paulo infirmior, unus multorum, ignosces."

Of one thing I am quite certain,—and here I am sure I shall have the concurrence of your Lordship,—that the conduct of the Irish Government has been such as at once to rob concession of all grace, and resistance of much of its power. That the Duke of Wellington cannot approve of such proceedings it is impossible to doubt; the only thing inexplicable to ordinary minds, is that he should tolerate them. I conclude that his difficulties in *England* as well as in Ireland must be very great. Would that he had some one in the House of Commons who could do justice to his views, whether graced by eloquence or not.

Besides the elective franchise there is another particular which weighs much with me. The Roman Catholics have at present half the House of Commons with them, and almost half the temporal Lords. This most important portion of their present strength would, I think, be taken from them by concession, accompanied by efficient (though I admit not adequate) securities. What securities, in truth, would be really adequate? Now, with this diminished strength, and with the small number of Members whom they could return to Parliament, I should consider them incalculably less formidable, than with their present power untouched, with our present liberal legislators absolutely committed to their cause, and with eighty nominally Protestant, but really Deist, nominees in the House of Commons.

This is the sum of my poor speculations on this matter.

Your Lordship's most faithful servant, H. Philpotts.

FROM LORD SIDMOUTH.

[Private.] Richmond Park, Nov. 18th.

My dear Lord,— . . . . I differ entirely from Lord Camden's opinion, that a disposition to concession to the Roman Catholic claims is gaining ground in this country: on the contrary, I am convinced that an immense and undiminished majority of the people is decidedly adverse to any further concession. There may be such changes of opinion as he states;

but I am fully persuaded they are balanced by changes of an opposite description. I have seen a letter from a very respectable person to a friend of mine, in which he says, "You know I have been a zealous advocate of the Roman Catholic claims; I have now ceased to be so; and such a change is not, in this part of England, confined to myself."

Lord Bexley's admirable address has, I am confident, produced a most beneficial effect. The Duke of Wellington, with whom I passed a day at Strathfieldsaye just before my return home, spoke of it in terms of commendation. This I deemed a good symptom; but, though we had a long and most interesting and confidential conversation, not a word was said by the Duke on the subject of the Catholics; and I asked no questions. I cannot, or rather I am unwilling to believe, that there is any wavering or shadow of turning in his mind. Still "Ipsa silentia terrent," and apprehensions must exist, and suspicions remain alive while Dawson remains in the Cabinet.*

. . . . . .

Ever sincerely yours, SIDMOUTH.

FROM LORD REDESDALE.

Batsford, Nov. 25th, 1828.

My dear Lord,—As I presume that we shall have the Emancipation question agitated as soon as Parliament shall meet, it seems to be important to obtain precise information as to the state of things in Ireland as early as possible. I remember a paper which you had obtained, containing a statement of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, when you were officially there. According to my recollection the religious houses then established there were somewhat above four score; that they have since increased is unquestionable. Clongowes, I apprehend, is a subsequent establishment.

In Spain, Cordova is said to have fifteen churches and forty convents; and the misery of the country has been attributed to this abundance of religious houses. In sound policy, are not religious houses manifestly injurious to the country? And is it

* Mr. Dawson, however (who had never been in the Cabinet), had been already dismissed from his office of Under-Secretary of State (?) on account of a speech which he had made, August 12th, at Londonderry, in which he recommended "looking at the Catholic question with an intention of settling it." He was a brother-in-law of Mr. Peel, and such language coming from one so nearly connected with the leader of the House of Commons, and one who was himself in office, created such excitement that he was immediately removed. See *Alison* (second series), c. xxi. sec. 125.

emancipation to extend to the allowance of such establishments without restraint? I have understood that every Roman Catholic parish in Ireland has at present a parish priest and a coadjutor. If to these are added the conventual establishments, and the begging friars, what an army is already formed in the country of persons devoted to celibacy, and therefore not having the common interests of social man! The advocates of emancipation do not seem to have bestowed a thought on this subject: and yet is not the present miserable state of Spain attributed, even by Roman Catholics, to this immense body of useless population, receiving tribute from all the laity to maintain them in idleness, or in domineering over the Government of the country? Is not the state of Portugal very similar? and are not its present distractions owing principally to the influence and power vested in these religious persons, to whom reform in the Government appears destruction? Can it be doubted that the increase of religious establishments in Roman Catholic Ireland has been produced at the expense of the people, who have been compelled, by superstition, out of their poverty to make others rich?

. . . . Is no restraint to be imposed on the attainment by the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland of that power which has ruined Spain and Portugal by the enormity of their religious establishments; enormous not only from their wealth, but from their absorption of so large a portion of the population as the slaves of the Church, and the drones of the country? It is true that in Ireland the population has not been diminished by the causes which have tended to depopulate Spain; but the reason has been given, because the clergy, monks, and friars of the Roman Catholic Church are there maintained by a poll-tax. To increase the population, therefore, is the interest of those who live by this tax; but, if the parochial clergy are to be maintained by the State and the religious houses by donations of land, will not the consequences be the same in Ireland as in Spain?

. . . We are told, unless you concede Roman Catholic Emancipation the Irish Roman Catholics will rebel. At whose instigation? At the instigation of their priests. Having obtained this emancipation, will not the priests desire the Establishment also? And can it be supposed that, having obtained the one by threats of rebellion, they will not use the same means to obtain the other? Will not the political power of the priest be increased? And if the Establishment should be demanded, how can it then be denied? If the threat of re-

bellion should compel emancipation, the same threat must compel the surrender of the Establishment.

Our only safety is in the cry of "No surrender."

I do not like clubs, nor do I like the leaders of the Brunswick in England, but I am convinced that stout opposition to emancipation is our only safety.

Most truly yours, REDESDALE.

Thursday, December 4th. — Lord Liverpool died.

In Ireland the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Armagh, Dr. Curtis, writes a letter to the Duke of Wellington, on which the Duke answers that "a settlement of the Roman Catholic question is at present impossible."* Dr. Curtis publishes the Duke's letter; but not his own original letter. He then writes a reply to the Duke, which he sends to Lord Anglesey, who writes a letter to Dr. Curtis (which is published) objecting to the Duke of Wellington's policy.

The letter of Lord Anglesey is dated December 23rd. He is recalled on the 30th. Lord F. L. Gower disapproves of Lord Anglesey's letter, and remains in his office of Chief Secretary.

FROM LORD SKELMERSDALE.

Lathom House, Dec. 3rd.

My dear Lord, . . . The subject of the Roman Catholic claims is most momentous, and deserves the closest attention; but though no great statesman myself, I confess that I am not at all surprised at the present state of things, and have looked to nothing else than a struggle, if not now, when the next question (namely that of Tithes and Church property) should arise, whenever the question of Parliament should be carried. It is absurd to imagine that the Catholic clergy can be satisfied at

* The Duke attributed the "impossibility," in a great degree, to the agitation existing in Ireland on the subject; and added, "If we could bury it" (the question) "in oblivion for a short time, and employ that time diligently in the consideration of its difficulties on all sides (for they are very great), I should not despair of seeing a satisfactory result." And Lord Anglesey, commenting to Dr. Curtis on this advice of the Duke's, to desist from agitation, recommended them rather "not to lose sight of the question for a moment, but to disarm the opposers of emancipation by their own unwearied perseverance."— *Yonge's Life of Wellington*, vol. iii. pp. 171, 172.

the gentry having some seats in the House of Commons, unless they turn them to some account. And yet, if it were not that Lords Longford, Enniskillen, Courtown and others would be involved, it would serve the Duke of Devonshire, Lords Lansdowne, Fitzwilliam, and others right; to leave them to the consequences which would arise from Ireland making an attempt to be a separate Roman Catholic kingdom or republic, as the case may be.

The establishment of Brunswick Clubs in that country I look upon as measure of defence, called for by the conduct of the Association: in this country they are perhaps less necessary, unless they can be carried with a high hand, as seems to have been the case in Kerry.

In Lancashire the minds of the people are unfavourable to the Roman Catholics, and would be shown to be so, whenever the occasion might call for it. But in common intercourse of life we are so much thrown into communication with them, that it would go far to break up our society, if a county Brunswick Club were to be established. . . . .

The great towns will, perhaps, follow the example of Manchester *, but I imagine that the county at large will take no part, either for or against the question. . . . .

Yours very truly, SKELMERSDALE.

FROM LORD BEXLEY.

Foot's Cray, Dec. 8th.

My dear Lord, ... I confess I look with apprehension to the idea of disfranchising the forty shilling freeholders, unless as *part* of an arrangement in which the *Roman Catholics generally concurred.* I should be sorry to give them such a pretence for violence, as the taking away from 150,000 men a right which they had enjoyed for five and thirty years, because they are disposed to exercise it in a way disagreeable to us, but liable to no legal objection. We should remember that the great cause of mischief has been the imprudence and misconduct of the Irish proprietors, and that they have a sure though distant remedy in their own hands, by granting in future leases for years, determinable for lives (as is practised in the West of England), instead of lives certain. The extension of the franchise at all to Roman Catholics is, I think, much to be

* Where a petition was being numerously signed in favour of emancipation.

regretted, and will embarrass the question much when we consider the case of England.

Faithfully yours, Bexley.

FROM LORD SKELMERSDALE.

Lathom House, Dec. 27th.

My dear Lord, — I thank you very much for directing a copy of your speeches on the Roman Catholic question to be sent to my house.

I agree with you in all you say, and more particularly in your preliminary observations to your speeches; but I fear that, in the present temper of Ireland, much that you and I should like to see done will be difficult to carry into execution. It will, however, I have no doubt, be tried, and a show of firmness and vigour, of which for the last few years there has been but little, will do much good and bring the refractory Irish to their senses, especially when they find that Mr. O'Connell cannot take his seat in the House of Commons.

The reports of the Duke of Wellington's plans in favour of the Catholics have subsided, and I should hope from that, that whatever he may have originally intended, he has found any measure of relief to be impracticable. If so he will honestly avow it.

I should like to have your opinion as to the probability of the East Retford question being carried through the House of Lords, and of the borough being opened to the Hundred of Bassetlaw. . . . . Lord Eldon's sentiments will have great weight, but I know not what they are, nor those of the House of Lords in general; but there certainly is a great difference between the cases of Retford and Penryn; the bribery in the former case being general, unconcealed, and acknowledged, whereas in the latter it was confined to a certain set.

This country is going on pretty well, though there is still some distress near Burnley and the manufacturing borders of Yorkshire, and the land-owners there have heavy calls on their pockets in the shape of poor rate, but in general they have not much to complain of.

Yours very truly, Skelmersdale.

CHAP. LXXX.

1829.

LETTER FROM DR. PHILPOTTS ON CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION. — CONVERSATIONS WITH HIM, AND WITH LORD SIDMOUTH, ETC. — OPENING OF PARLIAMENT. — INTENDED RELIEF OF THE ROMAN CATHOLICS. — MR. PEEL'S SPEECH IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS. — CONVERSATION WITH LORD ELDON. — SPEECH OF LORD COLCHESTER. — FEELINGS OF THE KING. — OXFORD ELECTION. — CONVERSATION OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON WITH DR. PHILPOTTS. — THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE'S AUDIENCE OF THE KING. — LORD KENYON'S AUDIENCE. — DUEL BETWEEN THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON AND LORD WINCHELSEA. — ANXIETY OF THE KING. — ROMAN CATHOLIC RELIEF BILL PASSED BY THE LORDS.

THE Duke of Northumberland is appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

FROM DR. PHILPOTTS.

Deanery, Chester, Jan. 7th, 1829.

My Lord,—On the matters in which your Lordship does me the honour to ask my opinion, or rather my conjecture, I scarcely know what to say or to think. That the Duke of Wellington would not be caught in so very shallow a trap, as to correspond with a doting old Popish Prelate, if he had any wish that what he wrote should remain unknown to the world, is, I conceive, quite plain. The letter of Lord Anglesey seems only a silly and culpable declaration of that hostility which is understood to have long been hardly concealed. I am glad that that letter has been followed by the recall, without waiting for the retirement, of its writer. This symptom of rigour could hardly have been withheld.

But for the more important inquiry, respecting the "something;" the *satisfactory remedy*; the *when* and *if*. I gather from these queer words that the writer thinks his remedy cannot be honourably, or at least hopefully, proposed to Parliament, while the Papists retain their attitude of defiance; and yet that there is not energy enough in those who ought to lead the

House of Commons, to put down by legitimate and constitutional enactments the disgraceful proceedings of the mock Parliament in Dublin.

Such is my poor guess. I am on the point of setting out for London in a few days; but it is hardly likely that I shall fall in the way of any one who can give me information worth being communicated to your Lordship; but I will venture to trouble your Lordship with a letter, if there shall be sufficient materials to justify me.

Your Lordship's most faithful, H. PHILPOTTS.

FROM THE SAME.

British Hotel, Jan. 12th, 1829.

My Lord,—As your Lordship will probably see in the Court Circular my name mentioned as a visitor yesterday of the Premier, you may probably connect the circumstance with the rumours which you mentioned to me several weeks ago. Your Lordship will, however, I am confident, be too considerate to wish me either to affirm or deny the connection, and will forgive me if I venture to request that you will regard as confidential any intimation which may have passed from me on this subject. I think that I need not assure your Lordship that there is no one who is regarded by me as more entitled to any communication I may ever be at liberty to make than yourself. Perhaps after all your Lordship will only smile at my supposing it possible that you should attach any importance to the circumstance of my having occasion to call at any house, even though that house should be the Prime Minister's.

Let me now say what I did not hear in Downing Street, but what I most fully believe: first, that there is a perfect reconciliation between the Duke of Clarence and the Duke of Wellington; that His Royal Highness speaks highly of the Minister, and says that the only difference between them was in the construction of a patent, in which each had a right to his own opinion. This is very satisfactory, and not the less so because his royal brother of Sussex declared this summer at Raby that it was impossible for either the Duke of Clarence or himself to forgive the treatment which the former had experienced from the Ministers.

I hear that Lord Anglesey's recall was subsequent to, and in consequence of, his letter to Dr. Curtis; that there had previously been some considerable difference between the English and Irish Governments respecting the case of Mr. O'Gorman

Mahon; that Lord F. Gower had concurred in opinion with the Lord-Lieutenant, and was disposed to make common cause with him; but, on the appearance of the letter, the Secretary felt that his principal was so glaringly *in the wrong*, that he himself could not but retain his post, lest his resignation should be construed into approval of Lord Anglesey's conduct in this important particular.

I have thus communicated the only particles of intelligence which I have heard worth relating. I was informed of them by no member of the Cabinet, but I believe them. It is unlikely that your Lordship would think it at all worth while to cite so humble an authority as my name, but I feel it due to the individual who mentioned these things to me (he is in high office, out of the Cabinet) to request that my name be not given as having communicated matters which, after all, are likely enough to be known to your Lordship through other channels.

Your Lordship's most faithful, Henry Philpotts.

Wednesday, February 4th. — Returned to London.

Sir Robert Inglis came to tell me of the apprehended determination of his Majesty's Ministers to concede seats in Parliament, and upon the judicial bench, to the Roman Catholics, putting down the Roman Catholic Association, and disfranchising the forty-shilling freeholders.

Lord Rolle sent me his proxy through the hands of the Duke of Wellington. I sent it with my own to Lord Redesdale, who agreed to hold them.

*5th.** — Received visits successively from Lord Farnborough, Lord Arden, Lord Sheffield, Bankes, Dean Philpotts, the Duke of Newcastle, and Lord Sidmouth, with each of whom I had a separate conversation upon the King's speech, and the expected debate on the opening of the session this day.

Lord Farnborough thought the Duke of Wellington much impaired in health, and in a very disturbed state of mind, as it seemed by his manner of talking upon various matters of business.

All my visitors, except Dr. Philpotts, were for "ab-

* Parliament met this day.

solute exclusion of the Roman Catholics from Parliament," as a part of the Duke of Wellington's expected concessions. The Duke of Newcastle undertook to ascertain that fact from the Duke of Wellington in this evening's debate, and Bankes to do the same in the House of Commons.

The Duke of Wellington desired to see Lord Sidmouth yesterday before the dinner of ceremony, and explained what he called the difficulties of Government; viz. that as Ireland was now circumstanced, no appointment could be made which would vacate a seat in Parliament without reviving the Clare disturbances; and offered no better reason for making the concessions.

Lord Arden, who for twenty-six years had dined with the first Minister on these occasions, wrote a detailed excuse for declining the present invitation; as he could not accept his hospitalities one day, and vote against his measures the next day, which he apprehended he might find it necessary to do.

Peel, it appears, resigned last week, in a letter stating to the King his concurrence with his colleagues in the necessity of the measures proposed by them, but that he could not be the instrument for carrying them into effect; to which the King replied that, as Mr. Peel concurred in the necessity of the measures, it was his Majesty's desire that he should give his assistance, &c. &c.

The Dean of Chester reminded me that he had always had some modified concessions in view, and stated *his own* views (not those of any other person) to be at this time: 1st. To put down the Roman Catholic Association. 2nd. To disfranchise the forty-shilling freeholders, thereby diminishing the extent of the influence exercised by the Roman Catholic priesthood. 3rd. To prohibit all assertion of ecclesiastical jurisdiction by the Roman Catholic Clergy, and their use of the ecclesiastical titles of Bishop, Dean, &c., on pain of banishment. 4th. To prohibit any Roman Catholic priest from acting as such without the King's license.

5th: That all members of Parliament, Roman Catholics and others, shall sign a declaration in the terms of the Coronation oath, that they will maintain the Protestant religion and church as by law established.

House of Lords. The Ministers declared that they were no longer a divided Government, but had all concurred in the measures recommended by the speech; and in the details which were to be brought forward in the form of a Bill.

The Duke of Wellington did not deny that Parliament was included in the intended concessions.

In the House of Commons Mr. Peel made his recantation, or rather his avowed surrender of his former objections to Roman Catholic Emancipation, upon an assumed necessity for conceding now that power, legislative and executive, which he had hitherto always asserted to be inconsistent with the safety of the Constitution. He was strongly pressed on this charge of inconsistency or want of courage, by Bankes, Sir Robert Inglis, and others.

6th. — A petition against concession was voted in the University of Oxford yesterday, by 164 to 48; and a letter was received from Peel tendering his resignation of his seat as member for the University.

I wrote the Dean of Christ Church in answer to his letter informing me of these events, recommending him to put some other person in nomination whose opinions should concur with the principles insisted upon by the University in its petition; viz. exclusion from Parliament and from the Privy Council.

7th. — Lord Eldon called: a visit of kind inquiry, hearing that I was ill. Talked of the mysterious concealment of the plan now proposed by the Government, even so late as the Duke of Wellington's letter to Dr. Curtis; his own early apprehensions of the Duke of Wellington's opinions and bias, from the language he held to Lord Eldon when he formed his government. Lord Eldon ridiculed the idea of not being able to form a Protestant Administration out of 1000 members of

the two houses of Parliament: and still more, Lord Bathurst's mode of forming a united Cabinet, by surrendering his own opinions of twenty-five years: and the like of Peel, who ought to have resigned his office, and ought not now to be elected for the University of Oxford. He expressed his opinion that the best course now for the Protestants in Parliament was to obtain as soon as possible a full statement of the intended measures of relief, &c., and then to obtain as long an interval of delay as possible for and during the discussion.

Lord Shaftesbury came and talked over Roman Catholic matters. 1st. Animadverting upon the *surprise* with which the country was taken, especially after the Duke of Wellington's letter to Dr. Curtis in December last. 2ndly. Stating the good which would result from putting down the Roman Catholic Association; raising the forty-shilling freeholds to 5*l.*, placing the Roman Catholic priests under Royal appointment; taking possession of and control over Maynooth, and sending away all the monastic orders. 3rdly. Apprehending the mischief of admitting the Roman Catholics into Parliament, even with Wilmot Horton's "paralytic" security of their not voting upon Church questions: and even with any oath for their not prejudicing the Protestant established religion and church. He started also the hazardous question of the title to the throne, if religious opinions were not to be considered as a bar; and went away little content upon the latter part of these measures; viz. the admission to Parliament.

8*th.* — Bankes called. He told me that Lord Westmoreland had refused the Privy Seal, upon the ground of his objections to the proposed Roman Catholic measures. He told me also that a meeting of Anti-Romanists had been held by Lord Farnham, and that another would be held to-morrow by Lord Chandos. The Government had endeavoured to prevail upon George Bankes to stay in for a short time; but he was

steady and would not. He agreed that the call throughout the country should be for a dissolution.

Lord Aylesbury called to offer Charles, or either of my sons a seat in Parliament for Marlborough, in the room of his own eldest son, from whom he differs in politics, especially on the Roman Catholic question; and I related to him (without names) what had occurred in Lord Plymouth's case: and so the proposal ended with his thanks, and my regrets.*

10*th*. — Received visits from Lord Redesdale and the Duke of Newcastle upon a proposed motion for an account of monastic institutions in England. From Lord Manners, who had rather absent himself than vote against the Duke of Wellington's measures, but will not vote *for* them. From the Bishop of Exeter, with an account of Peel's resignation, and his possible successor at Oxford, &c. &c.

In the House of Lords, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London declared against any further concession.

In the House of Commons, a Bill for the Suppression of the Roman Catholic Association was brought in by Mr. Peel.

11*th*. — Dean of Christ Church called. He thinks Peel will be re-elected by the Radicals, Whigs, and Moderates. He will not himself propose the re-election of Peel; but no other candidate is started, or likely to be.

Bankes came from the meeting at Lord Chandos's, which is to continue its meetings and watch the progress of the Roman Catholic business.

Lord Sidmouth called. The Clives and Lord Powis all go with the Government, so does Lord Beresford, for concessions to the Roman Catholics, being told by the Duke of Wellington that if he does not he must give up the Ordnance.

* Lord Plymouth had recently made a similar offer of a seat for East Grinstead, which had been declined by Captain Abbot on the ground of his expecting employment in his profession, and by his younger brother, on private and personal grounds.

12*th.* — Sir John Nicholl called, disapproving the measures of Government upon the Roman Catholic business, but disposed to acquiesce, and vindicating Peel's conduct, or excusing it.

13*th.* — The Duke of Wellington's list gives him at present only "an expected majority of 4" in the House of Lords. William Bankes saw the list in C. Greville's hands.

14*th.* — Saw a printed circular from Oxford, dated 13th instant, and signed by nine Heads of Houses and many public officers, Tutors, Fellows of Colleges, &c. (none of Christ Church), in all seventy-four names, resolving to take the necessary measures for electing a proper representative for Oxford in the room of Mr. Peel, whom they deem "unfit to be re-elected."

Other accounts of the Duke of Wellington's list makes his expected majority twenty-five. Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt says it is reckoned at twenty-two.

15*th.* — The Duke of Cumberland arrived last night from the Continent, and is gone to-day to Windsor.

Lord Feversham related to me the particulars of Ampleforth College. It is near Oswaldkirk, in Yorkshire, and is a Roman Catholic seminary. About fifteen years ago it was a small, three-windowed cottage, with three or four acres of land. The buildings now cover a space equal to that of York House. The students are about forty; the land 400 or 500 acres. Two years ago they gave 20,000*l.* for an estate three miles distant, near Ryland Abbey. They give out that they are Benedictines, but have lately had a teacher from Stonyhurst, and are reputed Jesuits. Their last militia return was of seven priests within age of service, and there are others upon the establishment. They have three votes for the office of Register of the East Riding. The purchase-money of their last purchased estate is said to have come from Douay.

16*th.* — Sir Robert Inglis called to say that he is put in nomination for the University of Oxford.

House of Lords. I presented Anti-Catholic peti-

tions from the Archbishop and Clergy of the diocese of Dublin, and from a parish in Yorkshire for Lord Skelmersdale.

On presenting the first petition I took the opportunity of declaring that "the unexpected sanction to the consideration of the Roman Catholic claims had in no degree altered my opinions or principles, and that I could not surrender or sacrifice them to the fears of his Majesty's Ministers, or to their apprehensions of danger from the discontented and disturbed Roman Catholics of Ireland," &c. A debate ensued, in which the Duke of Wellington peremptorily refused to answer my questions, "whether the whole of the proposed measures were to be included in one Bill, as well the concessions as what were called the guards and securities; or whether these were to be made matter of distinct Bills; and whether any, and which of them, were to originate in the House of Lords or in the other House of Parliament?" Lord Holland and Lord Eldon also spoke.

18*th.* — General rumours that the Duke of Cumberland has gone over to the Duke of Wellington and the Roman Catholic side of the question.

19*th.* — Lord Abergavenny called. Very angry, but very despondíng about the Roman Catholic question.

House of Lords. Many petitions for and against the Roman Catholic claims. The Duke of Sussex spoke for them; the Duke of Cumberland against them. The Duke of Wellington opened the second reading of the Bill for Suppressing the Roman Catholic Association.

23*rd.* — Sir Robert Inglis called to say that a friend had come to him in the Windsor uniform straight from Windsor, to say that the King had spoken in the highest terms of the Duke of Cumberland's speech; and had at the same time mentioned his pledge to his Ministers, "*unless* my people," &c.; adding, "but will the Duke stay with me?" speaking slightingly of Peel. Sir Robert Inglis asked his friend if he was at liberty to mention this to any body? "Certainly." Sir Ro-

bert: "May I mention it to Lord Colchester?" "It is the very person I wished you to tell it to."

Sir Robert left me to go to Lord Chandos by my advice, and call a meeting of his friends, and stir up the country: not to *petition*, but to *address the King* for a dissolution.

Sir Robert Inglis will let the communication of his Windsor friend be used by the public papers, though so as not to be brought home.

The person is one to whom the King is in the habit of talking.

I wrote to James Buller, Clerk of the Privy Council, requesting to know the dates of the several proceedings and the nature of the final decision upon a petition from Demerara, at the first hearing of which I had been present, July 7th, 1827. But Mr. Buller declined making the communication, "it not having been our practice to communicate the proceedings in any matter which has occupied the attention of the Lords of the Council to any except those Privy Councillors who have given their attendance at the several meetings in which the matter has been discussed; and on looking over the minutes I do not find that your Lordship attended any meetings on the petition, &c., after the first."

27*th.* — Archbishop of Canterbury called. Agreed with me in my objections to Dr. Philpott's "security plans."

Close of the Poll at Oxford, yesterday (first day):—

Inglis. . .	312	Peel. . . .	268

To-day (second day):—

Inglis. . .	651	Peel. . . .	532

28*th.* — Dr. Philpotts called, fresh from Oxford, acknowledging the great triumph of the opposers of concession. A long conversation ensued — *inter alia*. 1st. He acknowledged that when the Duke of Wellington went to Durham in the autumn of 1827 (not being then in the Cabinet), he had discoursed with Dr. Philpotts on Roman Catholic affairs, and had at that

time a great disposition to proceed by Concordat. That Dr. Philpotts had shortly afterwards drawn out his own views in writing, and sent them to the Duke of Wellington; and it appeared by the Duke's speeches at the close of the session of 1828, when Minister, that he then declared against all concordats, which was at least consonant to the opinions communicated to him by Dr. Philpotts. 2ndly. He reserves to himself the opportunity of now vindicating his own consistency in print, if the measures of Government should not be such as he chooses to be considered as conformable to his own opinions.

Lord Bexley came upon a proposition to us to become members of the London and Westminster Protestant Club, and we agreed in declining it, on the ground that our names were unnecessary, as we have published our opinions, though it may be useful for others who have not given any such public testimony, to show their sentiments and give effect to them in that way.

News of the termination of the Oxford election in favour of Sir Robert Inglis. Cheers for Lord Eldon in Convocation. Hisses for the King. Hisses and groans for Peel. Mr. Seymour, private chaplain to the King, went to Oxford and voted against Peel.

Close of the Poll: —	Inglis	755
	Peel	609
	Majority . . .	146

Sunday, March 1st.—The Duke of Newcastle called, and had a long conversation. The King will not support his Ministers in their proposed measures if his people will stand by him. The Duke of Cumberland talks to him, and the King likes to be talked to in the same strain. The effect must be to gain time for addresses. The Duke of Wellington is labouring to keep the King to the concessions proposed, and to get the Duke of Cumberland out of the country; but he will not go, and the King will not suffer him to be away

from Windsor.* The common report is that the Duke of Wellington is furious about the Oxford election. M.P.s, divided between their friends and their constituents, begin to think that they shall not finally be put to the difficulty of choosing between them.

4*th.*—Lord Bexley called to consult upon presenting to the King at an audience, in his right as a Peer, a Kentish address praying him to dissolve his Parliament. He is requested to do so conjointly with Lord Winchelsea. He determined upon consulting Lord Sidmouth and Lord Eldon as to the propriety of the proceeding.

The meeting held to-day at Lord Chandos's, left it to Bankes to call for an explanation to-day in the House of Commons of the intended course of proceedings.

Lord Winchelsea came about his motion for to-morrow, for a return of Roman Catholic religious houses in Great Britain and Ireland, titular bishops, and parochial and secular clergy, &c.

5*th.*—House of Commons. Mr. Peel opened his Roman Catholic plans in a speech of four hours. Debate adjourned.

6*th.*—Bankes, Wilbraham, Egerton, &c., called upon last night's debate. All agreed that Peel's speech last night, though well delivered, made out a very weak case for his change of conduct as a statesman; and that the plan opened amounted to unqualified concession, with no pretence of security except the oath, which had been proved to be of no binding force if released by the priest.

Division at three in the morning:—

For going into the Committee. . . .	348
Against	160
Majority	188

* "In fact, two days after this conversation the King made such scruples to any alteration in the Oath of Supremacy, that the Duke and his colleagues actually resigned their offices, though the King, by express, replaced them the same evening."—*Life of the Duke of Wellington*, vol. ii. pp. 182, 183.

7th.—Lord Sidmouth called. With him I had a full talk about the right and mode of a Peer asking a private audience of the King, for the purpose of presenting an address to the King to dissolve his Parliament. We agreed that the Peer should ask it individually for himself, *and go singly. More than one* have *no* right to approach the King at the same time, else a whole minority of Peers might go in a body and besiege the King under pretence of asking an audience. And the *way* of asking it is not through the Secretary of State, but through some officer of the King's household, Lord Chamberlain, or Lord in Waiting, and the like. This was what the Duke of Newcastle did in 1827.

8th. — The Dean of Chester called to discuss the Roman Catholic Bill in its present shape, and the necessity (if any) for further printing on the subject, which he seemed disinclined to, as his only considerable objection to the proposed Bill is, that the *oath* (disclaiming any "intention to disturb," &c., the Protestant Church and religion) was *only taken by Roman Catholics*, whereas he thought it should be taken by *all M.P.'s.*; but, as he had fought that battle in private consultation with the Duke of Wellington, and did not prevail there, he could not hope to prevail as a pamphleteer against a Cabinet decision. He took credit for having advised the Duke of Wellington not to meddle with the ecclesiastical concerns of the Roman Catholic Church; but to leave them to themselves as *dissenters*, and not acknowledge, but, on the contrary, *deny* their ecclesiastical jurisdiction by prohibiting the use of ecclesiastical titles, &c.

He dwelt more on the forty-shilling freeholders than seemed to me to be required with reference to the general admission of Roman Catholics to Parliament.

The Duke in his conversation with Dr. Philpotts had said: "I know very well, that if I looked only to my own popularity and power, I have only to put myself at the head of the Protestants, &c. &c., whereas

now, when I have done what the Whigs want, they may as well be employed to make a Government as myself; but I have a *duty* to perform, and God direct me in the right way!"

Dr. Philpotts has had no communication with Peel at any time, but has repeatedly delivered written statements to the Duke of Wellington upon the points which have been under consideration. He considers the promised exclusion of the Jesuits as very proper to be *said;* but concealed Jesuits never can be excluded, as they are allowed to wear lay habits, &c.

The Whigs had endeavoured to open a direct communication with the Duke of Wellington, as they did with Canning, but he positively rejected it. They then, through a friendly channel, declared that they could not agree to a disfranchisement of the forty-shilling freeholders, but were told that was indispensable to the peace of Ireland, and would be insisted on.

It is expected that, of the thirty bishops, twenty-six English, four Irish, eleven will vote for the Emancipation, and nineteen against it

9th. — The Rev. Spencer Knox, son of the Bishop of Derry, called to talk over the present state of the Roman Catholic question.

The Primate of Ireland (Beresford) is on his road from Dublin, and will this week present the petition of his clergy against the present measure, and declare his own resistance to it. Of the Irish Bishops fourteen out of twenty-two (and perhaps seventeen) will address the King, and present themselves in a body to deprecate the passing of it. Mr. Knox thinks this measure will not tranquillise, but exasperate both parties in Ireland. The raising of the forty-shilling freeholds to 10*l.* will, he thinks, deprive the Roman Catholic priests of much of their power. Lord Northland, Mr. Knox's uncle, is a great emancipator; but not many days ago two Irish Roman Catholics were disputing, in Lord Northland's market town, which of them had the better title to Lord Northland's estates, which they claimed

as being descended from the proprietors at the time of the rebellion for which the estates were confiscated.

12*th.* — Bankes called. The Duke of Newcastle is gone down to Windsor to-day for an audience. Bankes reckons the two Roman Catholic Bills may last in the House of Commons till the end of the first week in April. On the question of the audience of peers, Lord Eldon thinks no peer *can of right* carry an address or petition to the King in his closet, but only tender advice. Levées are the proper opportunities for all the King's subjects to approach his person with addresses, petitions, &c., and application should be made to the Lord Chamberlain or Lord in Waiting to know when it would be his Majesty's pleasure to hold one for the purpose of receiving those now waiting, and being urgent in point of time, &c.

13*th.* — Mr. Knox called. Three of the Irish Archbishops (Cashel, Dr. Lawrence, declining) are coming over with an address signed by sixteen of their body to be presented to the King. The Primate attends the House of Lords to-day to declare his sentiments. The apprehension is, that next year the Roman Catholic priests will stir up the people to clamour for a share in the Revenues of the Church or some successions to vacant benefices where the Roman Catholic population prevails.

14*th.* — Lord Kenyon has just arrived in London. The King will receive peers with addresses.

William Bankes has accepted Lord Aylesbury's seat for Marlborough.

The Duke of Newcastle called to relate his audience at Windsor on Wednesday last. The King received him at half-past five, immediately upon his requesting an audience by a note to the Lord in Waiting, which was answered by Sir Frederick Watson, the King's private Secretary. The Duke's request was, "for leave to present addresses, and afterwards an audience."

The King received him graciously, walked into the

room without a stick, and kept him for an hour and a half, to hear all he had to say. The addresses were left with the King, also many papers on the subject of the present state of affairs. The King professed to hear all, but not to give opinions. Yet, in the course of the time, intimated enough to show that there were still hopes of stopping the measure.

The professed object of the Duke was to assure his Majesty of support, in case he desired other than what he had, &c. The King desired it might be known that he was ready to receive addresses from the hands of any peer, and to give audience upon due notice, and he would appoint a time for the purpose. Lord Eldon thinks it may be most useful that he should follow with his addresses, after the many others now ready shall have been presented.

I asked the Duke if he thought there was nobody "behind the arras," within hearing of what passed. He said he was sure there *was;* he heard a noise near the door, which made him turn round towards it.

The King remarked that the Ministers had for their supporters the Whigs and Whig Radicals.

The Duke represented the importance of his Majesty's sentiments being known *before* the Bill came up to the House of Lords, that those most devoted to his Majesty might not be misled into the supposition that, by giving the Roman Catholic Bill their support, they were acting in conformity to his especial wishes.

The King spoke in praise of the Duke of Richmond; not so of Lord Winchelsea.

15*th.*—Dr. Philpotts called, on leaving town; talked over Roman Catholic matters. He wishes the oath in the Bill had been equally to be taken by Roman Catholics and Protestants. He thinks the danger of admitting Roman Catholics into Parliament is more that of strengthening the Anti-Church party, than of strengthening Popery. He wishes the assumption of ecclesiastical titles by Roman Catholic Bishops had

been prohibited also to all who in print attribute these titles to them.

He mentioned an instance of a gentleman who had dined at Stonyhurst on a grand day. Sixty covers handsomely laid; and, after dinner, the President said, "Gentlemen, charge your glasses all standing; His Holiness." And next, but *without* the same ceremony, "the King."

At the table of Dr. Fowler, Bishop of Ossory, a large party dining, and one of them the Roman Catholic Bishop of the same see, all the Roman Catholic guests addressed their Roman Catholic Bishop as "My Lord Bishop," and Bishop Fowler as *Dr.* Fowler, at his own table.

16*th.*—Sir Richard Vyvyan called, coming from the meeting at Lord Chandos's. He proposes to call a county meeting in Cornwall to address the King to dismiss his Ministers and dissolve the Parliament.

17*th.*—House of Commons. Adjourned debate on the second reading of the Roman Catholic Relief Bill: Mr. Sadler, the new member for Newark, made an excellent speech against the Bill.

18*th.*—House of Commons. Adjourned debate and division.

For the Bill	353
Against it	173
Majority	180

18*th*, 19*th*, 20*th.*—Too unwell to see anybody.

21*st.*—Lord Kenyon called; left word that he had been at Windsor, and was returned from thence "in good spirits." He had presented addresses to the King.

Sir Murray Maxwell called to tell of the duel fought this morning between the Duke of Wellington and Lord Winchelsea; the Duke having challenged Lord Winchelsea for words used in a newspaper letter *,

* The expressions at which the Duke took offence were, "That late political events had convinced him [Lord Winchelsea] that the whole transac-

assigning his reasons for withdrawing his name from the King's College subscription, originally patronised and established by and under the sanction of the Duke of Wellington.

The Duke of Wellington fired first, and his ball passed through the skirts of Lord Winchelsea's coat; then Lord Winchelsea fired his pistol in the air. Lord Falmouth read a paper, in which were words of regret and apology after Lord Winchelsea had fired off his pistol in the air. The place of the duel was Battersea Fields. Sir Henry Hardinge was second to the Duke of Wellington, and Lord Falmouth second to Lord Winchelsea. The Duke of Wellington proceeded immediately afterwards to Windsor.

25*th*.—Sent five petitions from Scotland against the Roman Catholic Relief Bill to the Duke of Gordon, who agreed to present them.

29*th*.—The Speaker confirmed the report that the Roman Catholic Bill is to be forced through the House of Lords before the Easter holidays. He expects the Chancellor's promised Bill for regulating the Court of Chancery, and also for the disfranchisement of East Retford, to occupy the remainder of the session; also a dissolution of Parliament in the autumn, to give the Roman Catholics the benefit of the election of Roman Catholic members.

Note.—The Speaker has not opened his lips in any of the debates on the Roman Catholic Bill.

The Archbishop of Dublin came by appointment. The Duke of Wellington has shoved off the address of the Irish fifteen Bishops till next Saturday, that is, after the second reading of the Bill in the House of Lords. The Roman Catholic clergy object to the pro-

tion [the establishment of King's College] was intended as a blind to the Protestant and High Church party; that the noble Duke, who had for some time previous to that period determined upon breaking in upon the constitution of 1688, might the more effectually, under the cloak of some intended show of zeal for the Protestant religion, carry on his insidious design for the infringement of our liberties, and the introduction of Popery into every department of the State." — *Yonge's Life of Wellington*, vol. ii. p. 185.

posed oath, that they will do nothing to weaken *or* disturb the Protestant Church, &c. He thinks the forty-shilling frauds will be very much practised with the 10*l.* freeholds, and that they will be equally under the Roman Catholic priests. Philpotts had corresponded with him, as well as with me, about the Coronation Oath.

30*th.* — The Duke of Newcastle called, after a meeting at Lord Falmouth's, where it was decided against the Duke's proposition of moving for a call, and of moving the postponement of the second reading of the Bill till Monday, so as to drive the Bill over the holidays; and it was resolved to move for putting off the second reading till Tuesday next. Such was Lord Eldon's advice.

Yesterday Lady Hertford gave a dinner to the Duke of Cumberland. In conversation she enlarged much upon the King's character as contrasted with that of the Duke of York; that the King was a very clever man, but always governed by the last person who spoke to him, and wanted that which was the Duke of York's great characteristic — common sense.

The Windsor news (from Lord Eldon) is that the King is in great anxiety and dissatisfaction with the present state of the Roman Catholic measures, as a departure from all his professed principles on the subject.

House of Lords. Lord Farnborough, in presenting a petition, declared himself opposed to the Bill.

Yesterday the House of Commons read the Roman Catholic Bill a third time, by 320 against 142; majority, 178.

Thursday, April 2nd. — House of Lords. Second reading of the Roman Catholic Relief Bill. Lord Redesdale took my proxy.

3*rd.* — House of Lords. Adjourned debate on Roman Catholic question. Adjourned again, at two in the morning, till to-morrow at one in the afternoon.

4*th.* — House of Lords met at one. Lord Tenter-

den made an able speech against the Bill. Lord Grey contra.

Division: For the Bill, 217; Against it, 112: Majority 105.

The Irish Archbishops and Bishops went to-day with their address to the King to Windsor.

The best speeches in the debate were —

For the Bill, those of the Duke of Wellington, Lord Grey, and Lord Plunkett.

Against it, those of the Archbishops of Canterbury and Armagh, Lord Eldon, and Lord Tenterden.

6*th*. — The Duke of Newcastle came to settle the wording of his protest against the second reading of the Bill.

Upon the Duke of Wellington's recent duel with Lord Winchelsea, Sir Henry Halford had cited to me, but could not recollect from whom (nor could Bankes), the answer ascribed to Augustus when challenged to single combat by Antony in Egypt —

> "Quærat certamen, cui nil, nisi vita, superstes,
> Subdita cui cedit Roma *cavere* mouu est."

10*th*. — Lord Feversham called to discuss the situation and temper of the Roman Catholics in his part of Yorkshire. By his account there are now at Ampleforth sixty-three students and twenty-seven professors, with a large establishment of servants of all kinds.

House of Lords. The Roman Catholic Relief Bill read a third time and passed by 213 to 109. The Roman Catholic Relief Bill, so called! which puts an end to the Protestant Parliament; and virtually also to the Protestant monarchy of Great Britain, in so far as it permits all the duties of the kingly office to be executed by Roman Catholic Ministers.

The Forty-Shilling Freeholders' Disfranchisement Bill was also read a third time and passed. The Duke of Wellington, in the conclusion of the debate said, "he expected the higher orders would, after this measure, take an interest in appeasing and tranquillising the

country; but if not, he should come down to Parliament and ask for further powers."

Two protests were afterwards entered against the Roman Catholic Relief Bill. The first, very long and detailed, by Lord Eldon, signed by himself and thirty-two Peers. The second, shorter and more conclusive, by Lord Romney, signed by himself and three Peers.

Against the Forty-Shilling Freeholders' Disfranchisement Bill a spirited protest was entered by the Duke of Richmond, signed by himself and two others.

The King, speaking of his own situation of late, said to somebody, "Oh, the Duke of Wellington is King of England, O'Connell is King of Ireland, and I suppose I am only considered as Dean of Windsor."

FROM ARCHBISHOP MAGEE.

Dublin, April 11th, 1829.

My dear Lord, — I was much concerned to be obliged to leave London without seeing your Lordship. I wished particularly to communicate to your Lordship our reception at Windsor, which was extremely gratifying. His Majesty's reply to our Address (which he attended to, in the reading of it by me, with the most emphatic attention) was warm, affecting, and cordial. He declared the strongest attachment to Protestant principles, expressed his astonishment at the suddenness of the change that had taken place on the subject of the Roman Catholic demands, spoke of the deep sufferings he had endured and was enduring upon the subject, lamented the dearth of talent that was at present manifested among public men, reckoned over some members in the Lords on whom he could place full dependence (among whom were Lords Eldon, Redesdale, Manners, and your Lordship), but having done that, he professed himself totally incapable of naming any of the Commons. One star, indeed, he said, had lately arisen (I understood him to mean Sadler), but the dearth was still lamentable. He assured us of the warm interest he felt in our behalf; and having spoken in this strain (not, however, committing himself as to any line he intended to take) for above half an hour, he dismissed us in a manner the most cordial. The Primate (your Lordship is probably aware) was prevented from attending by

the necessity of his being in the House of Lords at the vote on the second reading of the Bill.

We arrived in Windsor at two o'clock, informed the Lord in Waiting of the arrival of the deputation, received for answer that the King would be at liberty to receive us at three. We went to the Castle at that hour, and, after a collation, were admitted to the King's presence, in about half an hour, by Lord Strathaven, the Lord in Waiting.

Your Lordship, as usual, has not forgotten our interest, by your communication respecting the application for aid to the Board of Firstfruits. I have forwarded it to the Primate, and expect he will act upon it. Hoping soon to hear of your Lordship's release from the thraldom of confinement,

I have the honour to be, &c., W. Dublin.

15*th.* — Bankes called, and talked over Parliamentary and other matters. Tindal* wishes for the Rolls; vice Leach, to retire.

Lord Sidmouth called, and related some curious conversation at Lord Manners's yesterday, with the Duke of Cumberland and Lady Hertford, about the King's conduct and dupery in the late Roman Catholic measures.

18*th.* — The Speaker came and sat with me. The Duke of Wellington has written to the Duke of Gordon, Lord Lowther, and Sir John Beckett, that "he had laid their respective resignations before the King; but that his Majesty declined to receive them;" and that "he, the Duke of Wellington, hoped he should still have their confidence and support as before."

He had written also to George Bankes.

Lord Skelmersdale called, and related his half-hour audience of the King at Windsor, when he carried an address on Saturday last, the same day as Lord Farnham, Lord Churchill, and Lord Rolle went with theirs. The King appointed them at one, but kept them waiting an hour and a half. When Lord Skelmersdale went in, he found the King walking about his

* The late Sir Nicholas Tindal, the eminent Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

room, and when Lord Skelmersdale presented his address, the King said, "Put it down, take a chair, and let us have a talk." He then complained of his situation; that he had no knowledge of what was intended until the speech for the opening of Parliament was discussed in his presence; that he had no resource; that no other Administration could be formed. And he added that, "as he was recommended to go to some German baths for his legs, then they might take his brother William (the Duke of Clarence), who would make them a good Roman Catholic King. And then they would only have to send for Dr. Murray and Dr. Doyle to educate the Princess Victoria," &c. &c.

He then continued, "that he had not much increased the number of the House of Lords; that he had had great satisfaction in adding Lord Skelmersdale to the list; but that he did not expect so many of them would take the part they had done."

26*th*. — Lord Sheffield called and sat with me some time. The Government are uneasy at the prospect of the East Retford question, upon which Huskisson split last year; and are prodigiously civil to the Tories who opposed them on the Roman Catholic question, hoping nevertheless for their support on all other Government measures.

The Opposition announce that they are no supporters of the present Administration.

INDEX.

Abbot. See Colchester.
Abbot, Hon. Philip, iii. 539. Offered a seat in Parliament, 598.
Abbot, Mrs., ii. 610, 615; iii. 631.
Abbott, Lord C. J., iii. 439. Made Lord Tenterden, 489, 553, 556, 611.
Abercrombie, Gen. T., takes the Mauritius, ii. 321.
Abercrombie, Sir R., i. 188. Wins the battle of Alexandria, 267.
Abercromby, Mr., ii. 464; iii. 314.
Aberdeen, Lord, iii. 508, 509. Chancellor of Duchy of Lancaster, 539.
Abergavenny, Lord, iii. 600. Secretary for Foreign Affairs, 567.
Abernethy, Mr., i. 40.
Abingdon, election for, i. 55.
Abingdon, Lord, ii. 539; iii. 508.
Acclario, Sig., iii. 187, 189.
Achmuty, Sir S., at Buenos Ayres, ii. 131.
Acland, Sir Thomas, ii. 602; iii. 162.
A'Court, Lady, iii. 155.
A'Court, Sir W., iii. 148, 155, 158, 160, 161, 169, 174, 176. Letter from, 181, 186, 189, 200. Made a Peer, 533, 573.
Adair, Mr., afterwards Sir R., ii. 327.
Adair, Serg., i. 8, 30, 51, 53, 55, 68, 69, 104; ii. 242.
Adam, Mr., defends Duke of York, ii. 172, 422, 428; iii. 521.
Adams, Mr., iii. 431.
Addington, Dr., i. 247.
Addington, Mr. Henry. See Sidmouth.
Addington, Mr. Hiley, i. 122, 237, 532; ii. 8, 12, 44, 265, 296, 480, 498.
Agar, Abp. (of Dublin), i. 292.
Agar, Capt., ii. 266.
Alava, Gen. (Spanish), iii. 310.
Alexander, Chief Baron, iii. 308.
Alexander, Emperor, ii. 481. Arrives in England, 501. Visits City, House of Commons, &c., 502, 503; iii. 153, 206. Dies, 406.
Alexander, Mr. ii. 2, 39.
Alexandria, Battle of, i. 267.
Alley, Mr., i. 354.
Almon, i. 16.
Althorpe, Lord. Motion in Duke of York's case; ii. 176, 334, 537, 546, 575. See Spencer.
Althorpe, Lord (his son), iii. 527. See Spencer.
Ambray, M. de, ii. 556.
Ambrogio, S., iii. 200.
Amelia, Princess, illness of, ii. 280. Dies, 287.
Amherst, Lady, ii. 612; iii. 412, 422, 430, 444.
Amherst, Lord, Ambassador to China, ii. 562, 610, 613; iii. 14. Letter from, 316, 409, 422, 431, 478, 521. Returns from India, 583, 593.
Amherst, Mr. J., iii. 439.
Andréossi, Gen. (French), returns to France, i. 419.
Andrews, Dr., Dean of Canterbury, ii. 219.
Anglesey, Marquis of, loses his leg at Waterloo, ii. 549. Made K.G., iii. 37, 163, 386, 493, 540, 551, 581, 589, 593.
Angoulême, Duc de, iii. 271.
Angoulême, Duchess de, ii. 337, 521, 553; iii. 253.
Anjou, Duchesse d', iii. 245, 246.
Annesley, Lord, i. 526.
Annesley, Mr., i. 15, 62, 526.
Annesley, Mr. R., i. 282, 289.
Anson, Gen., ii. 238. 458.
Anstruther, Mr., i. 117.
Appony, Count, iii. 205.
Apsley, Lord, ii. 557.
Arbuthnot, Mr., i. 396; ii. 478, 557; iii. 72, 270, 326, 404, 567, 576.
Archer, Mr., ii. 590.
Arden, Lord, i. 121, 217, 234, 253; ii. 104, 298, 610.
Arden, Lord (the younger), ii. 419. Executor to Queen Charlotte; iii. 64, 180, 328, 336, 398, 581, 595.
Arden, Sir P., made a Peer, i. 229.
Arnot, Mr., iii. 431.
Asgill, Sir C., i. 439, 497.
Ashby, case of, and White, ii. 267.
Ashley, Lord, iii. 544.
Ashley, Mr., 463.
Asserotto. See iii. 89.
Atcheson, Mr. Chairman of the Pitt Club, ii. 464.
Athol, Duke of, his sale of the Isle of Man, ii 6, 11, 15; iii. 272.
Atkins, Sir R., iii. 68.
Atterbury, Bp., ii. 525.
Ava, King of, iii. 317.

Auckland, Lord; his pamphlet, i. 2, 38, 55, 104, 105, 141, 143, 161, 168, 198, 243. Letter from, 550, 554, 558; ii. 9, 21, 48, 73. Letter from, 79, 87, 99, 108, 131, 133, 177, 210, 225, 273, 344, 346, 382, 465, 473.
Augereau, Gen., gives Emmett a passport, i. 445.
Augusta, Princess, i. 44, 526. Sees the King, ii. 319, 610.
Austen, Sir J., ii. 240.
Austen, William, iii. 112.
Austria, Emperor of, abdicates the title of Emperor of Germany, ii. 77.
Austrians gain advantages over the French, i. 6.
Avonmore, Lord, i. 29, 299.
Aylesbury, Marquis of, iii. 598.
Aylmer, Mr. ii. 593.

Baber, Mr., ii. 542.
Bagot, Mr., Under-Secretary of State, ii. 136.
Baillie, Dr., i. 40; ii. 9, 75. The King's illness in 1810, 281 *et seq.*, 614.
Baker, Mr., i. 109, 157, 231, 252, 285.
Balbi, M., iii. 105.
Balcarras, Lord, Governor of Jamaica, i. 46, note.
Balfour, Dr., ii. 586.
Ballasteros, Gen. (Spanish), ii. 409.
Bank of England, condition of, 89, 90.
Bankes, Mr. G. ii. 607; iii. 541, 597, 613.
Bankes, Mr. H., i. 71. Editor of the "*Anti-Jacobin*, 121, 142, 173, 175. Speaks against Lord Melville, ii. 8. Motion against Reversions, 110. Motion on Property tax, 153. Motion on Duke of York's case, 172, 231, 245, 276, 317, 378, 419, 438. Supports Tierney on Sinking Fund, 443, 480. Letters from, 484. Defends the Speaker, 496. Motion on Corn Laws, 498, 535, 539, 545. Letter from, 563, 573, 578. On Elgin Marbles, 579, 603, 607, 613. Letter from, iii. 26, 51, 52, 69, 76, 84, 94, 101, 115, 124, 134, 146, 213, 216, 234, 241, 248, 253, 255, 260, 262. Meeting at his house, 281, 343, 409, 442, 540, 579, 595, 597, 598, 603, 606.
Bankes, Sir Joseph (President Royal Society), i. 40. Letter to Mr. Abbot, 370· 487; ii. 3, 5, 9, 14, 64, 75.
Bankes, W., ii. 460; iii. 261, 441, 599, 606,
Barham, Lord, First Lord of Admiralty, i. 557; ii. 10, 11; iii. 386.
Barham, Mr., i. 433. Supports abolition of Slave trade, 517.
Baring, Mr., ii. 177. On the Bullion Committee, 329; iii. 570.
Barlow, Mr, i. 200
Barlow, Professor, iii. 321.
Barnes, the Rev. F., iii. 5.
Barré, Col., i. 22.
Barrington, Bishop (of Durham), i. 204, 232; ii. 352, 368, 378.
Barrington, Mr., iii. 379.
Barrow, Dr. Isaac, ii. 525.
Barrow, Mr., of the Admiralty, ii. 349; iii. 305, 324, 393.
Barton, Sir G., recalled from India; ii. 64.
Bathurst, Lord, ii. 403, 603; iii. 272, 319, 353, 391, 429, 464, 470, 482, 497, 548, 564, 597.
Bathurst, Mr. Bragge, i. 223, 247, 270, 421, 507, 532; ii. 83, 97. On Duke of York, 173. Canning's high opinion of, 180. Offered a seat in the Cabinet, 218, 230, 300, 328, 371, 454, 456, 478. Supports the Speaker, 496, 539; iii. 201, 270, 271, 354.
Batt, Mr., i. 244.
Bavaria, King of, iii. 405.
Beaufort, Duke of, stands for the Chancellorship of Oxford, ii. 223, 328.
Beauharnais, Eugène, iii. 194.
Beaumont, Sir G., iii. 435.
Beche, Dr., i. 558.
Beckett, Mr., iii. 294, 540, 613.
Beckwith, Col., i. 491; ii. 4.
Bedford, Duke of, i. 4, 7, 17, 18; ii. 226, 310; iii. 239, 304, 370.
Beecher, Mr. W. iii. 329.
Beechy, Capt. R.N., iii. 345.
Bell, Dr., ii. 393, 416, 518.
Bellarmine, Cardinal, iii. 448.
Bellegarde, Gen. (Austrian), iii. 152.
Bellingham, Mr., murders Mr. Perceval, 379 *et seq.*
Belsham, Mr., his History of George III., i. 41.
Benfield, Mr. P., i. 27.
Bennett, Capt., iii. 9.
Bennett, Hon. Mr., ii. 499.
Bennett, Mr., ii. 480.
Benson, Mr., moves repeal of Leather tax, ii. 446.
Bentham, Gen., Inspector of Navy, i. 40, 147. Examined before Finance Committee, 155, 201, 216, 222. His plan of arming merchant vessels, 469, 515; ii. 13, 450.
Bentham, Mr. Jeremy, i. 18; iii. 259.
Bentinck, Lady W., iii. 120.
Bentinck, Lord W., going Ambassador to Sicily, ii. 326, 368, 452; iii. 110, 114, 120, 221, 483. Appointed Governor General, 521, 534.
Beresford (Archbishop), Lord John, iii. 605.
Beresford, Bishop (of Kilmore), i. 281, 292.
Beresford, Commissioner, i. 282. Letter from, 371.
Beresford, Lord, defeats the French at Albuera, ii. 333, 334. Made a Peer, 497, 604; iii. 231, 403, 457, 569, 598.

Beresford, Lord S., iii. 460.
Beresford, Sir John, iii. 476.
Bergamo. See iii. 145, 226.
Berkeley, Admiral Sir G., made K.B., ii. 417.
Berkeley, Lord, of Stratton, i. 48.
Bernadotte, Gen., i. 244, 374.
Bernier, Dr., ii. 542; iii. 332.
Berri, Duc de, assassinated, iii. 114, 253.
Berry, Miss, iii. 215, 338.
Berthier, Marshal, ii. 521; iii. 106.
Berthollet, M., ii. 521.
Bertie, Admiral, takes the Mauritius, ii. 321.
Bertolacci. See iii. 132.
Bessières, Gen. (Spanish), iii. 396.
Betty, Master, i. 545.
Bexley, Lord, his pamphlet, i. 41, 166, 173, 208, 212. Secretary to the Treasury, 231, 267. His views on the Irish Corn trade, 333, 384, 419, 521, 528, 532. Letter from, 534, 552; ii. 15, 64. His Finance resolutions, 198. Is offered Chancellorship of the Exchequer, 212, 218. On the Bullion Committee, 329, 371. Chancellor of Exchequer, 382, 397, 399. Letter from, 402, 416, 419, 427. Plan for the Sinking Fund, 439, 450, 474, 478, 481, 485. Supports the Speaker, 496. Wishes to stand for Oxford, 497, 523, 527. Letter from, 532, 539, 546, 563, 569, 601, 602, 608, 609; iii. 8, 21, 67, 259, 270, 293, 327, 336, 466, 482, 493, 512, 532, 587, 587, 591, 602.
Bianchi, Gen. (Austrian), iii. 152.
Bianchini, Sig., iii. 230.
Biddulph, Mr. M., ii. 91.
Binning, Lord, ii. 179. Made an English Peer; iii. 246, 521.
Birch, Capt., his case; iii. 122 *et seq.*
Bird, Col., iii. 284.
Bird, Mr. i. 173.
Blacas, Count, iii. 225.
Blackburne, Mr., iii. 325.
Blacker, Mr., iii. 325.
Blagdon, Sir C., iii. 324.
Blair, Dr. Hugh, objects to the Population Bill, i. 213. Letter from, 218.
Blake, Gen., ii. 343. Taken prisoner at Valentia, 363.
Blake, Mr., iii. 285, 296, 371.
Blandford, Marquis of, i. 10.
Blomfield, Bishop, iii. 325, 374. Letter from, 387, 519, 554.
Blondel. See iii. 117.
Blucher, Prince, resists the French at Colberg, ii. 329, 460. Beats Buonaparte at Brienne, 468, 478, 480, 481. Arrives in England, 501. At Ligny, 547 *et seq.* Thanks of the House of Commons to, 549, 552; iii. 404.
Bodoni. See iii. 230.
Boller, Mr. James, iii. 601.
Bolton, Mr., coining money for East India Company, i. 87, 478.

Bond, Mr., one of Mr. Addington's party, i. 532; ii. 8, 12, 34, 27, 101.
Bordeaux, Duc de, born, iii. 168.
Borel, M., iii. 194.
Boringdon, Lord, ii. 374.
Borrelli, Sig., iii. 129. 169.
Boswell, Sir A., iii. 251.
Bourbon, Duc de, i. 117.
Bouillon, Prince de, letter from, i. 378.
Bourne, Mr. S., i. 222, 487, 509; ii. 519; iii. 37, 44, 69, 369, 379. Home Secretary, 489.
Boyd, Mr., i. 27; iii. 313.
Brady, Mr., his history, iii. 57.
Bramah, Mr., his plan of moving trees, ii. 441.
Bramstone, Mr., Roman Catholic Priest, ii. 589.
Brand, Mr., ii. 114. Motion condemning the conduct of the King on the Roman Catholic question, 119, 242, 277, 378.
Brantome, quoted, ii. 133.
Bray, Mr., Secretary to British Museum, ii. 39.
Brecknock, Lord, iii. 538.
Bridport, Lord, i. 134; ii. 523.
Bristol, Earl of, ii. 28; iii. 348, 438.
Brock, Gen., his success in Canada, ii. 402.
Brockbank, Mr., iii. 272.
Broderick, Archbishop (of Cashel), i. 291; iii. 349.
Brodie, Mr., iii. 294.
Brogden, Mr., iii. 72.
Broglie, Duc de, iii. 480.
Brougham, Mr. H., ii. 372, 511. Attacks the Prince Regent, 570. Moves Committee on Education, 576, 589, 601, 604, 607. His violent language, iii. 10, 69, 72, 113, 134, 162, 165. Attacks Canning, 279, 327, 333. Speech at Liverpool, 517, 536, 540.
Brougham, Mr. John, iii. 182.
Brown, Col., ii. 178.
Browne, Mr. Dennis, i. 258. Moves to exclude strangers from the House, 125.
Browne, Mr. Hawkins, i. 74.
Browne, Col., murdered, i. 439.
Browne, Mr., the Engineer, iii. 348.
Browne, Mr., i. 165.
Brownlow, Lord, iii. 579.
Brownrigg, Col., letters from, i. 379.
Bruce, Mr., i. 164, 165.
Bruce, Mr. Crawford, and La Valette's escape, ii. 567.
Bruix, Adm. (French), i. 379.
Brunel, Mr., the Engineer, iii. 348.
Brunswick, Duchess of, writes to the King in behalf of her daughter, ii. 81, 120. Her dread of Buonaparte, 128, 306, 324. Dies, 433.
Brunswick, Duke of, his advice to his daughter, i. 37. His retreat, 48; ii. 81. His annuity, 274. Killed at Quatre Bras, 547.

Bubna, Gen. (Austrian), iii. 152.
Buccleugh, Duchess of, ii. 568.
Buccleugh, Duke of, i. 225; ii. 54.
Buche, Mr., iii. 313.
Buckingham, Marquis of, i. 123, 135, 244, 262; ii. 47, 309. Made a Duke, iii. 200. Applies to go to India, 261, 406, 467, 469.
Buckingham, Mr. J. S., iii. 343, 361, 387, 432.
Buckinghamshire. See Hobart.
Buller, Judge, i. 153, 155.
Bundoola, Gen. (Burmese), iii. 411.
Buonaparte (Emperor); his letter to the King, i. 196, 394, 396, 400, 401. His behaviour to Mascoff, 427. Reviews the Boulogne flotilla, 471, 495. Letter to the King, 535. Puts himself at the head of the Confederation of the Rhine, ii. 77. Defeated in Poland, 90. Gains the battle of Friedland, 124. His Continental system, 134. Gains the battle of Eckmuhl and loses that of Essling, 185. Enters Vienna, 193. Enters Moscow, 402. Unable to withdraw from Smolensko, 412. Returns to Paris, 414. Fights battle of Lutzen, 445. Of Bautzen, 449. Of Leipsic, 454, 465, 480, 481. Goes to Elba, 482, 497. His opinion of the allied sovereigns, 503, 530. Escapes from Elba, 532 *et seq.* Defeated at Waterloo, 548 *et seq.* Taken prisoner, 553. His plans in Flanders, &c., 557. His habits, 578; iii. 106, 129. His Concordat, 195. At Parma, 228. His death, 231, 234, 403.
Buonaparte (King of Rome), iii. 106.
Buonaparte, Joseph, ii. 404, 452, 482.
Buonaparte, Lucien, arrives in England, ii. 298; iii. 132.
Burdett, Sir F., i. 104, 164, 166, 179, 211, 434, 470. Motion on droits of Admiralty, ii. 139. Complains of Lord Ellenborough, 150. On Duke of York, 172, 178. His intemperate speech, 186, 193. His scheme of Reform, 198, 238. Publishes a libel on the House of Commons and is committed, 241 *et seq.* Motion against Capt. Lake, 245. His letter, 247. Brings action against the Speaker, 275, 290, 296, 322, 333, 335, 351, 374, 400, 413, 433. Motion on Regency, 438. Defends Lord Cochrane, 512, 533. Opposes the war, 545, 546, 574, 601, 604, 613; iii. 10, 69, 104, 120, 143, 145, 251, 273, 371, 465, 565.
Burdon, Mr., i 109.
Burgess, Dr., made Bishop of Salisbury, iii. 382.
Burghersh, Lord, ii. 468; iii. 271.
Burke, Mr. E., his letter to the Duke of Bedford, i. 36. His early career, 37. His economical Reform, 557. His views on the Catholic question, ii. 2. His views of party, 407.

Burke, E., Jun., writes to the King of France, i. 38.
Burland, Mr., i. 463.
Burnard, Sir H., ii. 159.
Burrell, Sir C., ii. 384.
Burt, Revd. Mr., marries the Prince of Wales to Mrs. Fitzherbert, i. 68.
Burton, Mr. F., i. 15, 41, 62; letter from, 161, 181; becoming blind, 230; ii. 357, 476; iii. 95, 144, 180.
Bute, Marquis of, i. 261.
Bute, Marquis of (his successor), iii. 383.
Butler, Mr, ii. 376, 589. Letter from, 590.
Butterworth, Mr., letter from, ii. 468, 589; iii. 9, 22, 310, 357.
Buxton, Sir R., i. 231, 240.
Byng, Mr., iii. 331.
Byng, Sir John, iii. 127.
Byron, Lady, iii. 257.
Byron, Lord, iii. 101, 251. Dies, 325.
Byron, Lord, Capt. R.N., iii. 345.

Cabraso, M., iii. 118.
Cadoval, Duque de, iii. 569.
Calabria, Duke of, iii. 167.
Calder, Sir R., defeats the French, ii. 21.
Caley, Mr., ii. 611; iii. 40, 65.
Calthorp, Lord, iii. 436.
Calvert, Sir H., iii. 320.
Cambias, M., iii. 118.
Cambridge, Duke of, votes for acquittal of Lord Melville, ii. 68; iii. 43.
Camden, Lord, i. 225, 345, 354. Secretary of State, 514, 517; ii. 158. Useless in the Cabinet, 180. His share in the quarrel between Lord Castlereagh and Canning, 207 *et seq.*; 221, 292, 317, 320, 325; iii. 325, 326, 386, 491, 493, 583.
Camelford, Lord, i. 70.
Campbell, Col., his conversation with Buonaparte, ii. 496.
Campbell, Lord F., i. 64, 196.
Campbell, Mr. W. F., iii. 561.
Campbell, Sir A., iii. 411, 423, 431, 446.
Campochiaro, Duca di, iii. 154, 173, 176, 182.
Camporese, Signor, iii. 197.
Canal Bills rejected, i. 87.
Canning, Miss, made a Viscountess, iii. 533.
Canning, Mr., i. 13, 170. Speech on the Union, 171. Pitt's regard for him, 225. Resigns, 245. Makes overtures to Addington, 275. Opposes him, 413. Influences Pitt, 418, 420, 423, 431, 487, 505, 514. Treasurer of the Navy, 518. Attacks Lord Hawkesbury, 529, 530, 534. Addington's resentment against, 538, 541, 544, 546, 548. Defends Lord Melville, ii. 8, 42, 60. Moves amendment to the address, 84. Wished for as a colleague by Lord Grenville, 100. Foreign Secretary, 107, 119. Discontented, 123, 136. Attacked by Tierney, 139. Takes the Speaker's part against Tierney, 145. Op-

poses, Catholic petitions 150, 162. Disapproves of the convention of Cintra, 163, 164. On Duke of York's case, 168, 173. His opinion of the weakness of the Government, 179, 185. Quarrel with Lord Castlereagh, 202 *et seq.* Letter from, 204. His views as to future arrangements, 209 *et seq.* Correspondence with Perceval, &c., 220 *et seq.*; 228. Speech on Walcheren expedition, 243. On Sir F. Burdett's case, 271. Votes with Opposition, 276, 287, 296. Desirous to represent Oxford University, 328, 374, 380. Consulted by Lord Wellesley on the formation of a ministry, 384 *et seq.* Also by Lord Moira, 386. Motion in favour of Roman Catholics, 390. Is reconciled to Lord Castlereagh, 396. Overtures to, from Lord Liverpool, 396, 400, 410, 412. He is invited to lead the Opposition, 417, 422. His views about the affair of the Princess of Wales, 4, 33, 437. Letter from, 439. Supports Tierney on Sinking Fund, 443, 444, 447, 453, 478. Defends the Speaker, 496. Going to Lisbon 520. Becomes President of the Board of Control, 582, 601. Named as Candidate for Oxford, iii. 6, 7, 104, 126, 133, 147. Avoids mixing up with the Queen's trial, 162, 201, 240. Going to India as Governor-General, 250. Succeeds Lord Castlereagh as Foreign Secretary, 256, 260, 272, 273. Attacked by Brougham, 279, 284, 295, 312, 343, 348. Recognises S. American republics, 351. His influence with Lord Liverpool, 360, 390, 417. In Paris, 442. Disliked by the King, 463. Brings in Corn law, 465, 466, 469, 471, 474, 476. Prime Minister, 482, 490, 491, 500, 501, 504. On disfranchisement of Penryn, 512, 516, 519. Dies, 523, 562.

Canova, Signor, ii. 564.

Canterbury, Archbishop of, pall-bearer at Pitt's funeral, ii. 40, 357, 449.

Capo d'Istria, Count, iii. 225.

Carascosa. See iii. 181, 184, 200, 211.

Carberry, Lord, iii. 334, 376.

Carbonara, Conte, iii. 130.

Carew, Mr. R. P., i. 142, 152, 158, 173, 206.

Carey, Bishop, iii. 277, 312.

Carey, Dr., ii. 393.

Carey, Mrs., ii. 167.

Cariati, Prince, iii. 173.

Carignano, Prince de, iii. 190, 210.

Carleton, Lord, i. 252.

Carlisle, Lord, i. 233. Intrigues to effect a change in the Ministry, 255.

Carlo Felice, King of Sardinia, iii. 232.

Carnarvon, Lord, iii. 371, 546.

Carne, Dr., iii. 7.

Carrington, Lord, i. 212.

Cartwright, Mr., i. 544; ii. 177, 276, 479, 601.

Carysfort, Lord, Ambassador to Russia, i. 396.

Castelcicala, Prince, iii. 158, 168.

Castlereagh, Lady, ii 553.

Castlereagh, Lord, i. 226, 234, 238, 248. His motion on martial law in Ireland, 251, 255, 257, 258. His disinterestedness, 259, 261, 265, 267, 286, 339, 348, 353, 367. Letter from, 381. His able speech, 385, 386, 388, 394, 417, 419. Speech on renewal of the war, 427, 428, 433, 464, 466, 471, 480, 490, 497, 508. At Board of Control, 514, 530. Speech on Spanish papers, 540. Defends Lord Melville, ii. 8, 26. Motion in honour of Nelson, 32, 41, 42. Speech on Wyndham's war plans, 49, 51, 84. Opposes Lord H. Petty's finance, 92. Moves amendment on Mutiny Bill, 98. War Secretary, 107, 127, 128. Opposes Catholic petitions, 150. Acts for Lord Liverpool, 162. Approves of the Convention of Cintra, 163, 164, 169. On Indian patronage, 169, 173, 178, 180. Attacked by Mr. Maddocks, 181. Against Mr. Curwen's Bill, 187. Expected to go as ambassador to Spain, 198. Quarrel with Canning, 202 *et seq.* Letter from, 213, 221, 228. Speech on Walcheren expedition, 241, 276, 287, 296. On the Bullion Committee, 329. Favourable to Roman Catholics, 366, 371, 379. Announces intention to revoke orders in Council, 388, 393. Insists on the lead in the House of Commons, 396, 400, 410, 412, 417, 418, 426, 431, 433. Speech on Indian affairs, 442, 446. Defends the Speaker, 456 *et seq.*; 460. Arrives from the Continent, 500. Unwell, 503. On Lord Cochrane, 512. Going to Ghent, 519, 531. On Congress at Vienna, 534, 539, 542. His letter to Murat, 544. Motion on the war, 545, 547, 553, 567. Speech on treaty of Paris, 569. On Civil List, 575, 576, 580, 602, 604, 608, 612; iii. 1, 43, 69, 73, 95, 110, 154, 158, 160, 162, 171, 192, 201, 240. Death, 256, 471, 488.

Catharine, Empress, her policy, i. 66. Her death, 80.

Cathcart, Lord, i. 462, 477; ii. 416.

Caulfield, Bishop, i. 389.

Cavendish, Lord G., i. 95, 157; ii. 353. Motion against war, 545, 572.

Cavendish, Mr., ii. 373.

Cawdor, Lord, iii. 283.

Cawthorne, Col., i. 55. Expelled the House of Commons, ii. 88.

Cecil, Lord, iii. 54.

Chalmers, Mr. ii. 590.

Chambre, Sir A., made a Judge, i. 186.

Chandos, Marquis of, iii. 597, 601.

Chantrey, Sir F., iii. 337, 379.

Chapman, Mr., i. 371.
Charles Emmanuel of Sardinia, his abdication, &c., iii. 90.
Charles X. (of France), ii. 337, 533. His influence with Louis, 553. Succeeds, iii. 338.
Charlotte, Princess, birth of, i. 25. Disputes about her education, 529. At Lord Melville's trial, ii. 58, 183. To be married to the Prince of Orange, 198. Her neglected education, 376, 411. Her strong opinions, 416, 418. Her education, &c., 419 *et seq.*, 435. Proposed marriage to Prince of Orange, 474. Quits Warwick House, 510, 568. Marriage, 570. Dies, iii. 26.
Charlotte, Queen, takes the Prince of Wales's part, i. 526. At variance with the king, 528. Address presented to, in the king's last illness, ii. 305. Letter to the Prince of Wales, 314, 418. Her conduct respecting the Princess Charlotte, 422 *et seq.* Insulted at the Regent's *fête*, 519. Her *fête*, 520, 568, 576. Her kindness to the Speaker, 610. Dies, iii. 63.
Charlton, Capt., R.N., iii. 331.
Chatham, Lady, ii. 338.
Chatham, Lord, i. 139. 188. 200. 225. Is offered the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland, 243, 246. His declaration about Pitt, 425, 553. Chief mourner at Pitt's funeral, ii. 40, 163, 180. Expected to be Prime Minister, 185. To go to Walcheren, 198, 199, 214. Abandons the Walcheren expedition, 222. Examined by House of Commons, 235. His narrative, 236, 237. Dies, 280.
Chatterton, i. 29.
Chesterfield, Lord, i. 244.
Chichester, Lady, ii. 337.
Chichester, Lord, ii. 337; iii. 543.
Chinnery, Mr. i. 173, 201.
Cholmondeley, Lord, offers to sell Houghton to the Duke of Wellington, ii. 350.
Church, Gen., iii. 165, 206. Letter from, 211.
Churchill, Lord, iii. 613.
Cicero, i. 45.
Circello, Marchese, iii. 213.
Clancarty, Lord, ii. 168, 178; iii. 529, 575.
Clanricarde, Marquis of, iii. 343, 500, 549.
Clanwilliam, Lord, iii. 263, 533.
Clare, Lord, speech on Irish Martial Law Bill, i. 262, 268. Obstinacy of, 279. His conduct in respect of Maynooth, 292. Conversation with Lord Hardwicke, 337. Letter to Lord Hardwicke, 339.
Clarence, Duchess of, iii. 462.
Clarence, Duke of, votes against Lord Melville, i. 229; ii. 68, 295 *et seq.* Proposes to several ladies, 347, 411; iii. 43. 142, 315. Increased income, 462. His political views, 469, 476, Lord High Admiral, 482, 492, 495, 518, 523, 577, 583, 593.
Clarendon, Lord (1st), ii. 525.
Clarina, Lord, iii. 165.
Clarke, Mr., an Irish manufacturer, i. 443.
Clarke, Mrs. M. A., ii. 166, 176.
Clavering, Gen., committed for prevarication, ii. 177.
Clementson, Mr., ii. 245.
Clifden, Lord, letters from, i. 103, 106, 109, 159, 186. Resigns his seat for Heytesbury, 286; iii. 358, 551, 573.
Cliff, Mr., ii. 9.
Clifford, Lady De, resigns office of governess to Princess Charlotte, ii. 58, 416.
Clifford, Lord, iii. 551, 573.
Cline, Mr., attending Fox, ii. 48.
Clinton, Gen., ii. 409, 575.
Clive, Lord, ii. 306, 412, 554.
Clooney, Mr., one of Emmett's accomplices, i. 450.
Clooney, Mr., iii. 557.
Cobbett, Mr. W., his newspaper, i. 443, 518; ii. 182, 240. Convicted of sedition, 279; iii. 284.
Cochrane, Lord, motions on abuses in the navy, ii. 126. Destroys the French fleet, 178. On Sir F. Burdett's case, 264, 265, 278, 351, 451. His case, 504. Expelled the House of Commons, 509. Letter from, 531, 534 *et seq.*, 550; 574, 601.
Cochrane, Mr. T., i. 152.
Cockburn, Admiral Sir G., in America, ii. 520.
Cockerel, Mr., ii. 348.
Codrington, Sir E., iii. 531.
Coke, Mr. Parker, i. 103, 367.
Coke, Sir E., iii. 54.
Colborne, Mr. R., ii. 187.
Colchester, Lord, *passim.* Letters from, to Mr. Addington, i. 320. To Colonel Littlehales, 321. To Mr. Addington, 327, 382. To Mr. Yorke, 388. To Lord Pelham, 408. His casting vote in Lord Melville's case, 548. Is returned for Oxford, ii. 78. Letters from, on concessions to Catholics, 95. Invited to be Secretary of State, 201. His reply, 202. His speech on the Regency, 315. Receives letter from Princess of Wales, 427. Thanks Sir S. Cotton, 440. Speaks on Catholic question, 441. His speech to the Regent, 453 *et seq.* His Speech to Duke of Wellington, 506. Ill, and resigns Speakership, 608 *et seq.* Is created a Peer, iii. 1.
Colchester, Lord (second), midshipman in the Alceste, ii. 562. Letter from, iii. 13, 17, 215, 315, 518. Offered a seat in Parliament, 598.

Cole, Captain, R.N., takes the Isle of Banda, ii. 321.
Cole, Sir Lowry, made K.B., ii. 417, 537, 543, 575.
Collard, M. Royer, iii. 482.
Collingwood, Lord, receives a pension, ii. 33. Watching the Toulon fleet, ii. 234.
Colman, Mr., ii. 245 *et seq.*, 323.
Colpoys, Admiral, Port-Admiral at Portsmouth, i. 472.
Colquhoun, Mr., i. 135.
Colvill, Lord, iii. 386.
Colville, Mr., Governor of the Bank of Ireland, i. 447
Combe, Alderman, ii. 274.
Combe, Mr., concerned in purchase of marbles, ii. 399, 413, 450.
Comnena, Anna, ii. 540.
Compton, Lord, ii. 454.
Compton, Mr. Speaker, ii. 487.
Conant, Mr., ii. 432.
Condé, Prince of, ii. 80.
Connellan, Mr. Thady, ii. 519.
Conolly, Lady Ann, i. 94.
Consalvi, Cardinal, iii. 174, 176, 185, 192, 193, 197, 226, 257.
Consigli, M. de, iii. 176.
Constant, M. Benjamin, iii. 24.
Constantine, Arch-Duke (Russian), iii. 406, 408.
Conyngham, Lady, iii. 291, 297, 421, 539.
Conyngham, Lady E., iii. 277.
Conyngham, Marquis of, iii. 476.
Cooke, Dr. (moderator of Ulster Synod), iii. 374.
Cooke, Mr., Under-Secretary for Ireland, i. 265, 279. Lord Castlereagh's private secretary, ii. 223.
Cooper, Mr., ii. 567.
Cooper, Sir Astley, iii. 421.
Coote, Sir E., ii. 237.
Copenhagen, battle of, i. 265, 386.
Copleston, Bishop, iii. 599.
Copley, Sir John (Solicitor-General), iii. 71. Made Attorney-General, 306, 406, 434, 441, 469. Made Lord Chancellor, 489, 492, 519, 584, 548, 565, 568, 573.
Coppinger, Dr., iii. 365.
Cork, Lord, iii. 203.
Corneille, Mr., ii. 367, 449, 461.
Cornewall, Mr. (Speaker), ii. 213.
Cornwall, Sir G., i. 494.
Cornwallis, Admiral, in command off Brest, i. 470, 472, 474.
Cornwallis, Lord, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, i. 160, 225, 251, 252, 268. Union engagements, 272. His plan for the defence of Ireland, 277. Supports Lord Hardwicke, 279, 291, 339. Our plenipotentiary at Amiens, 360, 382, 394, 396, 398, 428, 443, 466. Accepts the command of an army to resist invasion, 471, 511; ii. 26. Death and monument to, 35. His conduct in Ireland, 160; iii. 346.
Corresponding Society, seditious meeting of, i. 118.
Corry, Mr. I., i. 233. Irish Chancellor of the Exchequer, 238, 265. Speaker for Irish Election Bill, 273, 282. Letter from, 375—378, 384, 523, 549; ii. 59, 346.
Cotton, Sir S. (afterwards Lord Combermere), ii. 236. Thanked by the Speaker, 440. Made a Peer, 497. Takes the command of the cavalry after Waterloo, 549. Letter from, 560, 603. Takes Bhurtpore, iii. 431.
Cottrell, Sir S., i. 200.
Courtenay, Lord, iii. 329.
Courtenay, Mr. Peregrine, his pamphlet, i. 477.
Courtenay, Mr. W., i. 477, 496; iii. 365, 409, 417.
Cowper, Mr., Clerk of House of Lords, i. 57, 75, 112, 200, 430, 499; ii. 305, 365.
Cox, Brigadier, Governor of Almeida, ii. 279.
Cox, Mr., ii. 4.
Coxe, Archdeacon, iii. 448.
Crawford, Colonel, on possibility of French invasion, i. 429, 461. General, speech on Walcheren expedition, ii. 242. Killed at Ciudad Rodrigo, 371.
Crawfurd, Sir J., i. 396.
Creevy, Mr., convicted of libel, ii. 442, 451; iii. 143, 217.
Crewe, Lord, iii. 237.
Crigan, Bishop of Sodor and Man, i. 485.
Croker, Mr., Surveyor of Port of Dublin, i. 282, 289. Letter from, 434. Pamphlet by, ii. 139. On Duke of York, 173, 240, 604; iii. 74, 272, 416, 485, 579, 580.
Cromwell, Oliver, his system in Ireland, i. 161.
Cumberland, Duke of, provision for him, i. 194, 484, 521, 533. Opposes the Roman Catholic claims, 559. Votes for acquittal of Lord Melville, ii. 68, 158. Foskett's petition against, 266, 337, 401. Charged with interfering in the Weymouth election, 443. His marriage, 549, 562; iii. 43. Reported to be dead, 463, 557, 570, 571, 599, 600, 602, 610, 613.
Curran, Mr. J. P., his letter to Lord Hardwicke, i. 457.
Currie, Mr., iii. 320.
Curtis, Sir W., iii. 52.
Curtis, Archbishop (Roman Catholic) of Armagh, iii. 374, 589, 593.
Curwen, Mr., i. 11, 41. Bill to prevent the sale of seats, 181, 186, 187, 197; iii. 87.
Cust, Sir J., ii. 263.

CUTHBERT.

Cuthbert, Mr., ii. 351.
Czartoriski, Princess, iii. 246.

Dacosta, Mr., iii. 337.
Dacre, Lord, iii. 180, 251.
Dalrymple, General, iii. 111.
Dalrymple, Mr., i. 209.
Dalrymple, Sir Henry, ii. 159.
Dalton, Rev. Mr. (Roman Catholic), iii. 455.
Daly, Mr. Bower, i. 354.
Damer, Mrs., iii. 144.
Dampier, Bishop (of Ely), ii. 365.
Dance, Mr., i. 207.
Dare, General, i. 188.
Darlington, Lord, iii. 499.
Darnley, Lord, motion against ministers, i. 232. Motion on the state of the nation, 262; iii. 384, 385, 418, 425, 559.
Dartmouth, Lord, i. 515; iii. 38.
Daru, Cardinal, iii. 130.
Davies, a ringleader in the mutiny, i. 111.
Davies, Mr. D., his pamphlet, i. 20.
Davies, Sir John, ii. 322.
Davis, Mr., his altercation with Mr. Whitbread, ii. 529.
Davison, Mr., a trustee of Lord Nelson's estate, ii. 91.
Davy, Lady, iii. 239, 540.
Davy, Sir Humphrey, ii. 238; iii. 12, 239, 309, 315.
Dawson, Mr. G., iii. 587.
Dawson, Mrs., i. 274, 600.
Dealtry, Mr., i. 200.
Decazes, Duc, iii. 64, 94.
Delany, Mr. Malachi, i. 445.
Delarue, M., iii. 141.
Delaware, Lord, iii. 513.
Delhi, King of, iii. 478.
Denham, Mr. (the traveller), iii. 306, 374, 393.
Denman, Mr., iii. 527.
Denmark, Prince of, iii. 209.
Dent, Mr., i. 497.
Dessolles, M. de, iii. 64.
Devonshire, Duchess of, iii. 167.
Devonshire, Duke of, brings Tierney into Parliament, ii. 144; iii. 290, 470, 491.
Dick, Mr. Quintin, ii. 182.
Dickenson, Mr., seconds the address, i. 210.
Dillon, Mr., account of the Threshers (in Ireland), ii. 121.
Dodd, Mr., i. 179.
Dolben, Sir W., i. 11; ii. 17, 45.
Donelly, Lord, i. 526.
Donoughmore, Lord, his attack on the Prince Regent, ii. 377, 469, 527, 593; iii. 76, 370, 385.
Dorchester, Lord, proposed for the Irish command, i. 267.
Dordelin, Admiral (French), i. 370.
Dorset (Duke of), Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, i. 467. His successor, iii. 485.

EDWARDS.

Douglas, Lady, ii. 431, 433.
Douglas, Lieutenant, R.N., i. 407.
Douglas, Mr. S. See Glenbervie.
Douglas, Sir Howard, iii. 276.
Douglas, Sir J., ii. 432, 433.
Dowdeswell, Mr., ii. 566.
Downshire, Marquis of, ii. 370.
Doyle, Dr. (Roman Catholic), iii. 263, 325, 373, 379, 578.
Doyle, Sir John, made K.B., ii. 417.
Drake, Mr., envoy to Naples, i. 397. At Munich, 495, 496.
Drennan, Dr., ii. 538.
Dromgoole, Dr., ii. 469.
Drummond, General, on America, ii. 521.
Drummond, Mr., the banker, i. 86.
Drummond, Mr., envoy to the Porte, i. 396; ii. 322.
Drummond, Mr. Henry, iii. 23.
Drummond, Sir W., iii. 192.
Dryden, Mr. John, ii. 525.
Dublin, Archbishop of, i. 360, 361.
Duff, Captain, R. N., i. 405.
Duff, Sir J., i. 291, 322. At Cadiz, ii. 528.
Duigenan, Dr., i. 260, 485, 527, 536. Speech on Catholic question, ii. 2, 119, 149.
Dumont, Mlle., iii. 164.
Dumouriez, General (French), Lord Miranda under his command, ii. 65.
Dunboyne, Lord, his will, i. 337.
Duncannon, Lord, iii. 278, 486.
Duncombe, Mr. W., iv. 406. Made a Peer, 436.
Dundas. See Lord Melville.
Dundas, C., proposed as Speaker, i. 233; and again, 285; iii. 261.
Dundas, Mr. R., letter from, i. 218, 548; ii. 6, 147.
Dundas, Mr. W., i. 501. Secretary at War, 515. Attacks Fox, 557; ii. 5, 212.
Dundas, Sir D., appointed Commander in Chief, ii. 176. Examined on the expedition to the Scheldt, 231; iii 403.
Dunn, Rev. M. (Roman Catholic), ii. 599.
Dunne, General, i. 439.
Dunning, Mr. (Lord Ashburton), his views on the Catholic question, ii. 2.
Duroc, General (French), i. 469; ii. 239. Killed at Bautzen, 450; iii. 230.
Dursley, Lord (Colonel Berkeley), ii. 277, 306.
Dymocke, Mr., iii. 60.
Dyson, Mr., ii. 629.

Ebrington, Lord, iii. 120.
Eden, Sir M., i. 100.
Edward I., his policy, iii. 41, 65, &c.
Edward III., Parliaments in his reign, iii. 49.
Edward IV., his tomb opened, i. 209.
Edwards, Mr. Bryan, his history of the West Indies, i. 47, 70, 95.
Edwards, Mr. P., i. 176.

Egerton, Mr. W., iii. 603.
Egremont, Lord, ii. 539; iii. 163.
Eldon, Lord (at first Sir J. Scott), i. 29, 49, 82, 195, 222, 224. Becomes Chancellor, 229, 244, 245, 274. Speech on Peace of Amiens, 393, 431, 438, 463, 487. Remonstrates with Prince of Wales, 501. Accused by Addington of behaving unfairly to him, 519; ii. 95. Action against Lord Grenville's ministry, 102. Sees the King, 104. The King indifferent to, 214. Letter to Perceval, 219. His opinion on Parliamentary warrants, 251. Goes to judge of the King's health, 282 *et seq.*, 293, 295, 309, 357, 385. Opposed to all concession to the Roman Catholics, 403, 420, 425. Letter to, from Princess of Wales, 428. Letter from, iii. 11, 281, 289, 311, 313, 315, 322, 366, 368, 372, 387. Disliked by Lady Conyngham, 421, 470, 477, 482, 490, 497, 510, 515, 519, 544, 554, 555, 556, 568, 571, 582, 596, 600, 603, 606, 610.
Elford, Colonel, i. 189.
Elgin, Lord, his marbles, ii. 322, 326. Letter from, 330, 348, 534, 546.
Eliot, Lord, dies, i. 482, 502.
Elizabeth, Princess, i. 243; ii. 354, 411, 610; iii. 38.
Elkinton, Mr., i. 371.
Ellenborough, Lord, i. 37. Proposed for Attorney-General, 225, 229, 249, 431, 491. As Chancellor, sits in the cabinet, ii. 32. Refuses the Great Seal, 34. A commissioner to enquire into the conduct of the Princess of Wales, 67. Votes against Lord Melville, 68. Expects the dissolution of the ministry, 98. Not in all Lord Grenville's confidence, 103. Attacked by Sir F. Burdett, 150, 341, 421, 425, 532, 568, 574; iii. 107, 274, 368.
Ellenborough (second Lord), iii. 277, 280, 385, 492, 508, 512, 536, 539, 541.
Ellis, Mr. Agar, iii. 500.
Ellis, Mr. C., makes a motion on the slave trade, i. 95.
Ellis, Mr. G, iii. 272.
Elliott, Governor, in the West Indies, ii. 401.
Elliott, Mr., i. 256. On Peace of Amiens, 385; ii. 540. Dies, iii. 63.
Elrington, Bishop, iii. 418.
Emmett, Dr., dies, i. 448.
Emmett, Mr. Robert, his insurrection, i. 444, 445, 446. Letter from, 454; to Mr. Wickham, 458, 460.
Emmett, Mr. T. A., i. 445, 449, 460.
Enghien, Duc d', i. 117.
Enniskillen, Lord, iii. 180, 571.
Entraigues, Comte d', ii. 403.
Erolles, General d', ii. 409.
Errol, Lord, iii. 515.
Erskine, Dr., ii. 596.
Erskine, Lord, counsel for Stone, i. 8. His eloquence, 24, 94. Counsel for Lord Thanet, &c., 156, 387. Objects to joining the Grenvilles, 481. Becomes Lord Chancellor, ii. 33, 50. A commissioner to enquire into the conduct of the Princess of Wales, 67. Votes against Lord Melville, 68, 83. His Bill to prevent cruelty to animals, 197, 198, 240. Visits Emperor of Russia, 501; iii. 13. 162, 209. Dies, 306.
Erskine, Mr. J., ii. 542.
Erskine, Sir W., objects to fortifying London, i. 462; ii. 235.
Esmonde, Mr., a Jesuit, ii. 499, 573.
Essex, Lord, his attack on Queen Elizabeth, i. 510.
Estates, Real, Bill, i. 57.
Euston, Lord, ii. 69.
Everard (Roman Catholic Archbishop), ii. 611; iii. 384.
Exeter, Marquis of, iii. 491.
Exmouth, Lord, in command off Ferrol, i. 470. Letter from, ii. 397, 404. Thanked by House of Commons, 601.
Eyles, Captain R. N. i. 406. Letter from 407.
Eyre, C. J., i. 139, 140, 154.

Fagel, M., letter from, ii. 551; iii. 309.
Falck, M., iii. 309.
Falmouth, Lord, iii. 52, 467, 471, 568, 591, 609.
Farnborough, Lord, i. 47, 183, 184, 262. As one of Pitt's party, 415, 416, 538; ii. 55, 214. Proposes the purchase of the Elgin marbles, 327. Letter from, 331, 378; iii. 435, 436, 438, 594, 610.
Farnham, Lord, iii. 406, 597.
Farquhar, Sir W., attending Pitt, i. 209.
Farquharson, Mr., ii. 240.
Fawkes, Guy, iii. 311.
Fazakerley, Mr., ii. 569; iii. 234.
Fea, Sig., iii. 198.
Ferdinand VII., ii. 523.
Ferguson, Mr. C., apprehended for sedition, i. 117. Tried, 156, 178.
Ferguson, Sir A., i. 73.
Ferguson, Sir R., iii. 251.
Ferrajo, Cardinal, iii. 164.
Feversham, Lord, iii. 599, 611.
Ficquelmont, M., iii. 159.
Fife, Lord, iii. 216.
Filangieri, Sig., iii. 150, 183, 200.
Finch, General, at Copenhagen, ii. 139.
Fingall, Lord, i. 338, 339, 344, 469, 475, 488, 541; ii. 225; iii. 268.
Finlayson, Mr., ii. 287.
Fisher, Mr., i. 258.
Fishguard, landing of the French at, i. 87.
Fitzgerald, Lord E., apprehended, i. 160.

FITZGERALD.

Fitzgerald, Lord R., i. 396.
Fitzgerald, Mr., 158.
Fitzgerald, Mr. Maurice. iii. 491.
Fitzgerald, Mr. Vesey, iii. 569, 577.
Fitzgerald, Mr. W., ii. 443.
Fitzgerald, Mrs., made a Peeress. iii. 436.
Fitzherbert, Mrs., marries the Prince of Wales, i. 68, 526, 531. Anxious about Miss Seymour, ii. 69.
Fitzpatrick, General, moves an address in favour of La Fayette, i. 79.
Fitzwilliam, Earl, i. 94, 173. Opposition meets at his house, 251, 507. Eager to be Prime Minister, 307, 366. Dismissed from the Lord-Lieutenancy of Yorkshire, iii. 92.
Flahault, General, iii. 25.
Flahault, Mdme. de, iii. 25.
Fletcher, Judge, his charge, ii. 521.
Flint, Sir C., letter from, ii. 587; iii. 353, 471, 485, 569, 579.
Florestano Pepé, iii. 156.
Floyd, General, i. 277.
Folkestone, Lord, ii. 44, 90. Condemns the Duke of York, 172, 178, 183, 241. Moves amendment to Mr. S. Wortley's motion, 387.
Forbes, Admiral, i. 45.
Forbes, Mr., of Callender, i. 48.
Ford, Mr. Rundle, i. 147.
Fordyce, Mr., i. 551; ii. 92.
Foskett, Captain, petition against Duke of Cumberland, 246.
Foster, Mr., ii. 61, 179. Made Lord Oriel, 270, 280, 294, 295, 299, 362, 389, 488, 519; ii. 3, 7, 14, 142, 147, 491.
Foster, Mr. Leslie, iii. 369.
Fowler, Bishop (of Ossory), iii. 607.
Fowler, Mr., i. 369.
Fox, Dr., iii. 559.
Fox, General, in command at Dublin, i. 440, 464, 487, 490, 491.
Fox, Mr., moves an amendment to the Address, i. 3—4. His speech on the Treason Bill, 14. His character, 17—23. His bust in Russia, 18. Supports the abolition of the Slave trade, 34, 35, 57. Returned for Westminster, 59. Makes a bad speech, i. 67. Opposes the increase of the army, 69. Opposes some of Pitt's financial measures, 72. Speaks on the budget, 77. Moves a vote of censure, 78, 88, 94, 100. Moves the repeal of the Treason Act, 104. Supports Mr. Grey's reform, 105. Secedes from Parliament, 123. Speech on assessed taxes, 133. On Slave trade, 147, 172, 193. Advocates treating with Buonaparte, 217, 251. Speech on H. Tooke's case, 254. Supports Mr. Grey, 262, 384. Praise of Peace of Amiens, 385. In Paris, 395. Supports the Minister, 412, 419. Speech on the renewal of the war, 422, 423.

GARDNER.

Motion on Russian mediation, 424. On negotiation with France, 427, 434. Motion for a military council, 462, 463, 468, 477, 478. Inclined to join the Grenvilles, 481, 484, 487. Motion for committee on defence, 496, 500. Opposes thanks to Lord Wellesley, 504, 508. Speech against Slave trade, 517. Opposes Pitt's Army Bill, 518. Wished by Pitt to join the Ministry, 529, 536. Presents the Catholic petition, 544, 548, 553. His conduct about the Roman Catholics, 558; ii. 2, 10, 27. Opposes the payment of Pitt's debts, 31. Becomes Foreign Secretary, 33, 34. His expressions against the Union, 39. In ill-health, 48. Speaks on Wyndham's war plans, 49. His opinion of foreign politics, 51, 60. Defends our connection in the foreign affairs, 64. His opinions on literature, &c., 70, 72. His dangerous illness, 74. Dies, 78. His opinion of British authors, 525. On Roman Catholic question, 487.
France, Mr., i. 210.
Franklin, Dr. B., his signing the Treaty of Paris, i. 20, 71.
Fremantle, Sir J., iii. 87.
Fricker, Lieutenant, R.N., i. 407.
Frimont, General (Austrian), iii. 152, 203, 207.
Fouché, M., i. 398, 404. Made Minister of the Interior by Louis XVIII., ii. 551.
Francis, Sir P., i. 545; ii. 41. Intrigues to go to India, 74.
Franck, Dr., iii. 229.
Franklin, Captain, iii. 305, 345, 429.
Frederick II. of Prussia, ii. 414.
Frere, Mr. H., to go to Madrid as envoy, i. 396.
Fuller, Captain, R.N., iii. 91.
Fuller, Mr., ii. 237.

Gage, Lord, iii. 569.
Gaisford, Rev. Dr., iii. 6.
Galaffi, Sig., iii. 97.
Galitzin, Prince, ii. 587.
Galli, Sig., iii. 165, 166, 189.
Gallo, Duc de, iii. 159, 173, 200.
Gallois, M., iii. 25.
Gambier, Admiral (afterwards Lord), commands in the Baltic, ii. 127. Tried for his conduct in the Basque Roads, 231.
Gannon, Mr., an Irish Roman Catholic priest, i. 446.
Gardner, Sir A. (afterwards Lord), candidate for Westminster, i. 59. As Lord Gardner, commanding on the west coast of Ireland, 376. Letters from, on the Cork mutiny, 404, 470; ii. 4.

GARLIKE.

Garlike, Mr., ii. 138.
Garnett (the Jesuit), iii. 311.
Garrow, Mr., ii. 260, 422.
Gartshore, Mr., i. 173.
Gascoyne, General, moves a call of the House, i. 231. Moves for a public funeral to Mr. Pitt, ii. 29.
Geary, Sir W., i. 167.
Gell, Sir W., iii. 192, 193, 338.
Geney, Comte de, iii. 123, 143.
Genoa, Archbishop of, iii. 136.
George I., his Queen never in England, iii. 220, 519.
George II., iii. 519.
George III. insulted by the mob, i. 2. Praises Mr. Abbot's speech, 14, 58. Approves of his plan for the promulgation of the statutes, 113. Subscribes to the Voluntary Contribution Fund, 134. Reviews L. H. Volunteers, 180, 200. Is shot at in the Park, 205. His feelings on religious toleration, 223. His language about Mr. Abbot, 235. Ill, 243. Imputes his illness to Pitt, 256. His views on many points, 269. Conversation on state of Europe, 272, 273. Feelings on Peace of Amiens, 391. His feelings on the negotiations with Pitt, 431, 438. His plan for resisting French invasion, 470. Ill, 479. His antipathy to Fox, 506. Writes to Addington, 508. His joy at Mr. Pitt's return to office, 511, 516, 521. His joy at the reconciliation of Pitt and Addington, 538; ii. 5, 13; His sight affected, 14. Negotiations about the new ministry on Pitt's death, 35. Averse to concessions to Catholics, 93, 97, 113. Letter to Lord Sidmouth, 114, 117. On the forms of the House, 136. Dislikes the prospect of a change of ministry, 185. His feelings on the dissolution of the Duke of Portland's ministry, 211. His views of a new ministry, 216, 217. Letter about 30th of January, 227. Deranged by the illness of the Princess Amelia, 280. Talks Latin in his paroxysms, 308. His interest in the improvements at Windsor, 319. Worse, 343. His opinions on the Princess Charlotte's education, 423, 581. Dies, iii. 111, 509.
George IV. (as Prince of Wales), i. 3. His behaviour at the birth of his daughter, 25. At the Queen's parties, 37. Marries Mrs. Fitzherbert, 68. Present at debates, 38. Wishes to be sent to Ireland, 94, 207, 243, 247. His situation recommended to the consideration of Parliament, 414. Solicits military employment, 462. Abstains from politics, 481. Espouses Pitt's side against Addington, 499. Jealous of Duke of York, 501, 517, 526. Disputes with the King, 527, 528. Claims the education of the Princess Charlotte, 529.

GLENBERVIE.

531. His opinion on Lord Melville's case, 557; ii. 32. Causes Erskine's appointment as Chancellor, 36, 58. In bad health, 179. In debt, 92. Letter to Lord Moira, 115, 137. Eager in the cause of Spain, 163. Neutrality in the Duke of York's case, 169. Conduct on the King's illness in 1810, 299, 305 *et seq.* His answer to the addresses of Parliament, 306. Influenced by the Duke of York to retain Perceval, 314. Letter from, 315. Accepts the Regency, 317. Approves of the conduct of Perceval, &c., 321. Civility to the Duchess of Brunswick, 325. At the Royal Academy, 326. Fête at Carlton House, 336, 339. Cordiality to Perceval, 343. His feelings towards different statesmen, 347, 356. Assumes the state of the sovereign, 370, 405. Opens Parliament, 411, 418. Committee to consider his conduct to his wife, daughter, &c., 419 *et seq.* Presides at a dinner in honour of Sir Joshua Reynolds, 445. Visit to the city on the peace, 502. Goes in state to St. Paul's, 570. His fête in honour of the Duke of Wellington, 579. Ill, 581. Opens Parliament, 599. Insulted by the mob, 600. Gives up a portion of the Civil List, 601. Succeeds to the throne, iii. 112. Ill, 115. His conduct about the Queen, 135. Going abroad, 219. Detained, 233. Gives his library to the British Museum, 291. Letter to Peel, 297. Interferes with the Dean of Christchurch's patronage, 320. His opinion of his ministers, 330, 336. Ill, 383, 394, 395, 409, 421. His consistency on Roman Catholic question, 438. Conversation with Duke of Newcastle, 472. Opinions about Canning, &c., 487. Letter to Archbishop of Canterbury, 496 His opinion of the Duke of Wellington's ministry, 539. Concordat with Rome as King of Hanover, 558. Receives Donna Maria, 585, 600, 607.
Gibbes, Mr., i. 139, 146.
Gibbs, General, killed, ii. 531.
Gibbs, Sir Vicary, i. 165. Solicitor-General, 542. Attorney-General, ii. 117. Speech on Duke of York's case, 172, 240. Letter from, 253.
Gifford, Mr., editor of the "Anti-Jacobin," i. 121.
Gifford, Sir R. (afterwards Lord), iii. 100, 116, 308, 310, 325, 416, 436. Dies, 442.
Gilbert, Mr., President of the Royal Society, ii. 277, 602; iii. 103.
Giorno, Sig., iii. 97.
Gisborne, Dr., attends the King, i. 243.
Glanville, Sergeant, i. 105.
Glenbervie, Lord, i. 75, 82, 158, 208, 235, 260, 518, 531, 553; ii. 18. Letter from, 348; iii. 23.

Gloucester, Duke of, i. 184, 188. Married, 601; iii. 143, 529.
Gneisenau, General (Prussian), ii. 555.
Goltz, Count, iii. 227.
Goodenough, Dr., iii. 7.
Gordon, Captain, R.N., takes Alexandria, ii. 520.
Gordon, Colonel, ii. 168, 228.
Gordon, Duke of, i. 553. His successor, iii. 609.
Gordon, Mr., iii. 313.
Gordon, Sir W., letter from, ii. 520; iii. 438.
Gore, Lieutenant, R.N., i. 407.
Gormanstown, Lord, iii. 370.
Gosford, Lord, iii. 369.
Gough, Mr., his topographical collection, i. 494.
Goulburn, Mr. H., Irish Secretary, iii. 239, 285, 406, 441, 467. Chancellor of the Exchequer, 539.
Gould, Captain, R.N., i. 405.
Gourlay, Mr., iii. 333.
Gower, Lord, ii. 230.
Gower, Lord F. Leveson, iii. 567, 569, 579, 589, 594.
Gower, Lord G. L., i. 164, 245. Opposes Addington, 413, 420. Letter to Canning, 147, 398, 479. Made a Peer, 551. Ambassador to Paris, iii. 271, 280.
Grady, Mr., iii. 73.
Grafton, Duke of, i. 40, 96.
Graham, General, defeats Victor at Barossa; ii. 322, 482. Made Lord Lynedoch, 497.
Graham, Sir J., ii. 323.
Grant, Mr., Chairman of the East India Company, ii. 197.
Grant, Mr. C., ii. 454; iii. 80, 384, 533. Resigns with Mr. Huskisson, 566.
Grant, Mr. R., iii. 262.
Grant, Mr. (afterwards Sir W.), i. 10, 13, 22. Master of the Rolls, 228. Proposes Mr. Abbot as Speaker, 285, 421. His speech on Lord Melville's case, ii. 8, 76, 102. On Duke of York, 172. The King willing to make him Lord Chancellor, 214, 242, 273, 302. His opinions in committee on Prince Charlotte's education, &c., 424. Resigns, iii. 29.
Grantham, Lord, ii. 543, 545.
Grattan, Mr. H., i. 94. Speech on Catholic question, ii. 2, 118. His eloquence fallen off, 119. Pamphlet attributed to, 139. Speech on Catholic petition, 150. Speech on Walcheren expedition, 243, 276, 277. On Roman Catholic question, 333, 366, 377, 406, 410, 417, 437, 438, 447, 469, 499, 527, 536, 543. Supports the war, 545, 576; iii. 60, 73, 135. Dies, 141.
Graves, Dr., i. 527.
Greenwood, Mr., i. 213.
Grenfell, Mr., ii. 497.
Grenville, Lord, i. 4, 21. His signing instructions, 29, 112, 134. Moves the Union in the House of Peers, 176. Letter to France, 196, 213, 215, 224. States Pitt's resignation, and its cause, 232, 234. Condition of the Exchequer, 240, 244, 254. Asks a pension for Lady Grenville, 255, 386, 391. Speech on the peace, 393, 416, 418, 424, 468. His party make overtures to Fox, 481, 504. Aiding Pitt to form a ministry, 507. Refuses to join it, 507, 558; ii. 9. Tries to check Fox's opposition to motions in honour of Pitt, 31. Commanded to form a ministry, 32, 33. Canvasses for the Chancellorship of Oxford, 45, 50. A commissioner to inquire into the conduct of the Princess of Wales, 67, 69, 78. Letter from, 81. His opinions of Lord Wellesley, 86, 97, 100. Letter from, 102. One to the King, 103. Resigns, 105. His statement of the views of the Roman Catholic Bishops, 159. At variance with Whitbread, 177. Does not preserve authority over his party, 180. Yields the lead to Lord Grey, 156, 203. 210, 214, 216. Becomes Chancellor of Oxford, 223. Letter from, 224. Letter to Lord Fingall, 226, 257, 273. On the King's illness and regency, 293 *et seq.* His conduct as Auditor of the Exchequer, 300. Hears from the Prince that Perceval is to continue Minister, 315. Distrusted by the Prince, 347. Overtures to, 369, 384, 385, 390, 409. Draws address on slave trade, 497. Audience of Emperor of Russia, 501, 603; iii. 37, 94, 95, 101, 117. Does not wish office, 240, 257. Attacked by paralysis, 272.
Grenville, Mr. T., candidate for Oxford University, i. 198. His violent conduct, 244, 263. Will not oppose Mr. Abbot as Speaker, 412, 426. Opposes Fox, 478, 495, 520; ii. 74, 83, 181, 203, 240.
Greville, Mr., ii. 239.
Greville, Mr. C., iii. 362.
Grey, Mr., one of Emmet's accomplices, i. 450.
Grey, Mr., afterwards Earl, i. 6, 8, 11, 23. His motion for peace, 30, 32, 35. Attacks Mr. Pitt, 56. Speaks on the budget, 76, 90. Attacks Mr. Pitt, 102. Motion for Reform, 104. His opposition to the Union, 193, 203, 211. Altercation with Wilberforce, 212. Rarely attends Parliament, 217. Moves amendment to address, 223. 231, 248. Motion on the state of the nation, 262, 419. Views on the renewal of the war, 421, 488, 518. Speech on Spanish papers, 540. Begins the attack on Lord Melville, 543, 546, 551; ii. 8. Motion for an address against prerogative, 11, 30. First Lord of Admiralty, 35, 64, 72 (as Lord Howick), 84, 86. His opinion of Lord Wellesley's case, 86, 88.

Speech on slave trade, 92, 93. Letter from, 94. Moves concessions to Catholics, 96, 97, 98. Resigns, 105. Explains the cause, 111, 114. Angry at the dissolution of Parliament, 123, 125. Conversation with Emperor of Russia, 139. Condemns Tierney's conduct to the Speaker, 144. At variance with Whitbread, 177, 180, 186. Refuses union with Perceval, 203, 210. Not impracticable, 214, 216. Approves of the Plymouth breakwater, 285. On King's illness and Regency, 294 *et seq.* On the Prince's answer to Parliament, 307, 314. In favour with the Prince, 347. Overtures to, 369, 384. His excessive demands, 385. Audience of Emperor of Russia, 501; iii. 79, 101, 103, 117, 169, 284, 327, 328, 426, 486, 499, 509, 515, 516, 546, 565, 611.

Grey, Sir C., declines the command in Ireland, 264. Made a Peer, 273.

Grey de Wilton, Lord, i. 209.

Griffith, Mr., iii. 187.

Griffiths, Admiral, ii. 521.

Grindall, Captain, R.N., i. 406.

Grosvenor, General, i. 100. Thanked for his services at Copenhagen, ii. 138.

Grosvenor, Lord, i. 173; ii. 153; iii. 237. 492.

Groves, Rev. Mr., iii. 27.

Guildford, Lord, i. 21.

Guildford, Lord (the son), motion on the war, i. 57; iii. 107, 191.

Guiscard, Roger, ii. 540.

Guise, Sir W., ii. 340.

Gurney, Mr. (short-hand writer), ii. 278; iii. 332.

Gwydir, Lord, ii. 22, 23, 412; iii. 138, 336.

Gwynne, Nell, i. 143.

Hale, Lord, i. 5, 169.

Halford, Sir H., attending on the King in 1810, ii. 281 *et seq.*, 354; iii. 509, 540, 611.

Halifax, Lord, i. 192.

Hall, Captain Basil, R.N., iii. 16.

Hall, Dr., Dean of Christchurch, iii. 6, 320.

Hallam, Mr. H., iii. 56, 65.

Hallowell, Admiral, on the Spanish coast, ii. 405.

Hamilton, Captain, R.N., iii. 396.

Hamilton, Dr. Hans, iii. 323. Letter from, 355, 358, 366, 377, 399, 416, 421, 449, 454, 459.

Hamilton, Lady Ann, ii. 423.

Hamilton, Lord A., motion about East Indian affairs, ii. 51. His attack on Lord Castlereagh, 178, 276. Defends Lord Cochrane, 512; iii. 145, 200.

Hamilton, Mr., an accomplice of Emmett's, i. 447, 449, 460, 461.

Hamilton, Mr., negotiating about the Elgin marbles, ii. 534; iii. 193.

Hamilton, Mr. Sackville, i. 282, 367.

Hammersley, Mr., ii. 579.

Hammond, Sir A., i. 201, 208.

Hanover, King of, Concordat with the Pope, iii. 373.

Hansard, Mr., iii. 53.

Harcourt, Archbishop Vernon (of York), iii. 373.

Hardenberg, Prince, iii. 206.

Hardinge, Sir H., iii. 539. Secretary at War, 567, 609.

Hardwicke, Lady, letter from, i. 440.

Hardwicke, Lord (the first Lord), ii. 42.

Hardwicke, Lord, i. 112, 213. Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 230. Favourable to Catholic emancipation, 240, 242, 261, 265, 270, 279, 304. His "counter-statement," 307. His instructions to Colonel Littlehales, 314. Letter to Mr. Addington, 322. 331. Letter to Mr. Marsden, 335. Conversation with Lord Clare, 337. 388. Letter from, 438, 441, 473, 474. 487, 490, 517. Disapproves of Mr. Foster's bills, ii. 7, 193, 215, 341. Letter from, 520, 566; iii. 303.

Harewood, Lord, iii. 180, 490, 499, 508.

Harris, Captain, ii. 481.

Harris, General, ii. 46.

Harrison, Mr., i. 111.

Harrowby, Lord, i. 520, 530. His proposition for augmentation of small livings, ii. 187, 390. Favourable to Roman Catholics, 403, 426, 456, 538; iii. 119, 180, 293, 321, 327, 362, 363, 373, 396, 475, 496, 509, 529.

Hart, Sir A., Vice-Chancellor; iii. 489, 527.

Harvey, Admiral, takes Trinidad, i. 56.

Hastings, Lord, his speech on Pitt's resignation, i. 233. His influence with the Prince, 247, 499. Acts as the Prince's friend, 530. Master-General of Ordnance, ii. 33, 37. Conduct on Sir F. Burdett's case, 249, 255, 259 *et seq.*, 336. Refuses the Garter, 370, 384, 385, 435. Thanked by House of Commons, 601. Letter from, iii. 30, 236, 240, 295, 317, 332.

Hastings, Mr. Warren, his impeachment, ii. 52, 338. Examined before the House of Commons, 442.

Hatchell, Mr., ii. 522.

Hathaway, Ann, i. 27.

Hatsell, Mr., i. 39, 78, 83, 115, 123, 175, 176. Advises Sir J. Mitford to aim at the Speakership, 227, 508, 530, 551; ii. 487; iii. 54, 88, 106, 125, 135, 161.

Hawarden, Lord, iii. 544.

Hawkesbury. See Liverpool.

Hawkins, Sir C., prosecuted for bribery ii. 122.

HAWKINS.

Hawkins, Mr., ii. 540.
Hayes, Mrs., iii. 413.
Hayes, Rev. Mr. (Roman Catholic), iii. 284.
Hayman, Miss, ii. 376.
Heard, Sir I., his opinion of Ireland's MSS., i. 27; ii. 40.
Heathcote, Sir Gilbert, supports Whitbread's motion for peace, ii. 412.
Heber, Mr. R., a rival candidate with Mr. Abbot for Oxford, ii. 78, 375; iii. 234.
Heberden, Dr., attending the King in 1810, ii. 281 *et seq.*
Henry III., his Parliaments, iii. 49.
Henry IV., his death; ii. 540.
Henry VIII., ii. 548.
Herbert, Mr., ii. 242.
Heron, Sir R., i. 155.
Herries, Colonel, i. 136.
Herries, Mr. C. J., Secretary to Vansittart, ii. 219; iii. 270, 405, 525, 529, 531, 533, 548.
Hertford, Lady, iii. 610.
Hertford, Lord, ii. 355.
Hervey, Lord, iii. 261.
Hibbert, Alderman, i. 180.
Hill, Captain, ii. 557.
Hill, Hon. Mr., iii. 113, 120, 263.
Hill, Lord, ii. 402. Made a Peer, 497; iii. 231, 403, 529.
Hill, Sir G., ii. 577.
Hippesley, Sir J. C., i. 200, 518. On the Catholic question, ii. 276, 443, 444, 484, 544, 545, 573, 576, 578. Letter from, 583, 592; iii. 70.
Ho, Chinese Prince, iii. 14.
Hobart, Lord, Home Secretary, i. 234, 266, 271, 366, 433, 527. Becomes Lord Buckinghamshire, 533. One of Addington's party, 535, 545. Objects to Lord Barham, 551. Resigns, ii. 14, 34, 35, 371; iii. 37.
Hobhouse, Mr., i. 151, 173, 215, 240; iii. 68, 96, 100, 125, 134, 217.
Hohenlohe, Prince, iii. 315.
Hohnhorst, M., envoy from the Duke of Brunswick, ii. 81.
Holdernesse, Lord, i. 29; ii. 414.
Holkar, war with, i. 530; iii. 32, 478.
Holland, Lord, his speech on Pitt's resignation, i. 233. Votes against Lord Melville, ii. 68, 226, 294. Desirous to be Prime Minister, 307. Visits Emperor of Russia, 501; iii. 25, 77, 169, 291, 311, 327, 335, 365, 379, 385, 389, 486, 499, 525, 545, 553, 554, 582, 600.
Holmes, Mr. W., iii. 76, 527.
Holt, Lord Chief Justice, ii. 42.
Home, Dr., ii. 9.
Honeywood, Sir J., i. 100.
Hood, Lord, Queen Caroline's steward, iii. 202.
Hood, Lord, i. 7, 229.
Hook, Mr. Theodore, iii. 252.

ITURBIDE.

Hooker, Dr. R. (author of "Ecclesiastical Polity"), ii. 525.
Hope, Captain, R.N., ii. 527.
Hope, Colonel, letter from, i. 376.
Hope, Sir A., iii. 35, 68.
Hope, Sir G., iii. 38.
Hope, Sir John, expected to go as second in command to Walcheren; ii. 198, 340, 496.
Hope, Sir W., iii. 495.
Horraben, Mr., Roman Catholic priest, ii. 590.
Horne, Rev. Hartwell, iii. 447.
Horner, Mr. F., ii. 306. On the Bullion Committee, 329. On Slave trade, 505. On Murat's conduct, 541. Dies, 605.
Horton, Mr. Wilmot, iii. 486, 567, 582, 597.
Houghton, Major, i. 381.
Howard, Lord (of Effingham), iii. 233.
Howard, Mr. H., ii. 306.
Howe, Lord, Admiral of the Fleet, i. 45. Refuses the Irish command, 267.
Howe, Lord (his successor), iii. 575.
Howley, Bishop, iii. 284, 433, 496, 508.
Huet, General, i. 446.
Hull, Captain (American), ii. 402.
Hull, General, ii. 402.
Humbert, General (French), i. 379, 446. 449.
Humboldt, Baron, iii. 197.
Hume, Mr. J., iii. 217, 412, 421, 424.
Hunt, Mr. H., iii. 68, 82, 93, 113.
Hunter's Museum, i. 40, 494.
Huntley, Lord, ii. 235, 243; iii. 253.
Huskisson, Mr., i. 170, 229; ii. 75, 111. Favours Mr. Curwen's Bill, 187. Retires with Canning, 211. On the Bullion Committee, 329, 398, 519, 524; iii. 246, 270, 352, 467, 475, 515, 531, 533, 536, 545. Resigns on East Retford question, 566.
Hussey, Dr., i. 348, 356, 358.
Hussey, Mr., i. 72, 121.
Hutchinson, Captain, ii. 567.
Hutchinson, General, i. 384.
Hutchinson, Lord, ii. 75.
Hutchinson, Mr., i. 437, 463.

Ibrahim Pacha, iii. 531.
Ilchester, Lady, in attendance on Princess Charlotte, ii. 511.
Impey, Sir E., ii. 52.
Inglis, Sir R. H., iii. 434, 496, 498, 594, 599, 601.
Ireland, Dean, iii. 417.
Ireland, Mr., his Shakspeare forgeries, i. 26.
Irving, Mr., Inspector of Customs, i. 96, 109, 115, 179, 184; iii. 570.
Irwin, Mr., i. 354.
Ison, Comte de, iii. 89, 114.
Ison, Comtesse de, iii. 136.
Italensky, M., iii. 195, 198, 220.
Iturbide, General, iii. 444.

Ivernois, D', his pamphlet on "Assignats," i. 2, 51, 62, 198.
Ivory, Dr., Principal of Maynooth, i. 292.

Jackson, Colonel, iii. 313.
Jackson, Dr. Cyril, i. 198, 418, 423, 431, 462, 522; ii. 40, 58. Letter from, 146, 213, 475, 496, 525; iii. 4.
Jackson, Mr. F., M.P., i. 212. Letter from, 395. To go as envoy to America, 397.
Jackson, Rev. Mr., i. 29.
James II., iii. 257, 403.
Jay, Mr. (American Minister), outwitted Lord Grenville, ii. 409.
Jeffery, Mr., attacks Lord St. Vincent, ii. 60.
Jeffreys, Mr., i. 559.
Jekyll, Mr., i. 11, 24. His motion against Pitt, 38; ii. 38. One of the Prince's counsel, 422.
Jenkinson, Dr., made Bishop of St. David's, iii. 382, 503.
Jenkinson, Mr., i. 3, 84.
Jenkinson, Mr. Cecil, iii. 463, 543.
Jenner, Dr., ii. 127, 128.
Jenyns, Captain, ii. 170.
Jersey, Lady, i. 36, 37; iii. 540.
Jersey, Lady (jun.), iii. 219.
Jersey, Lord, iii. 540.
Jocelyn, Lord, ii. 351.
Jodrell, Mr., physician to the Nabob of Arcot, i. 478.
Jodrell, Mr., i. 41.
John, Archduke of Austria, ii. 554, 568.
John, King, his Parliaments, iii. 49.
Johnson, Judge (in Ireland), i. 518.
Johnston, Mr. Cochrane, his petition against the Duke of York, ii. 97, 423, 427, 430, 433. Expelled House of Commons, 509.
Jones, General, Governor of Cadiz, killed,
Johnstone, General, thought of for the command in Ireland, i. 268.
Johnstone, Mr., iii. 87.
Johnstone, Mr. G., opposes Mr. Curwen's Bill, ii. 187.
ii. 177.
Jones, John Gale, author of a libellous pamphlet, ii. 235; iii. 68.
Jones, Mr. J., i. 171, 204. Motion on the Spanish Convention, 262.
Jones, Mr., M.P., ii. 604.
Jones, Rev. Mr., ii. 582.
Josephine, Empress, iii. 239.
Jourdain, General, his defeat, i. 67. At Vittoria, ii. 452.
Junot, Marshal (French), ii. 335; iii. 230.

Kaye, Bishop, iii. 554.
Keats, Captain, R.N. (Sir R.), ii. 127, Examined as to the Scheldt expedition, 235.
Keith, Lord, i. 151, 384. In command in the Downs, 470. Dies, iii. 277
Kelly, Archbishop (Roman Catholic) of Tuam, iii. 381.
Kenmure, Earl of, restored, iii. 327.
Kenny, Dr., ii. 498, 584.
Kent, Duke of, provision for, i. 194, 253, 503. Votes against Lord Melville, ii. 68, 295. To be Master-General of Ordnance, 368, 502; iii. 43, 82. Dies, 110.
Kenyon, Lord Chief Justice, ii. 42.
Kenyon, Lord, i. 6, 30, 122, 154, 200, 221, 237. On the National Society, ii. 391; iii. 271, 302, 490, 496, 497, 509, 574, 606.
Keppel, General, made K.B., ii. 417.
Kildare, Bishop of, i. 326, 360. Letter from, 156; ii. 341; iii. 79, 293.
Kilwarden, Lord (Chief Justice in Ireland), i. 280, 292. His language about Maynooth, 335. Conversation with Mr. Abbot, 341, 343. Letter to Lord Hardwicke, 345. Murdered, 435, 464.
King, Admiral, ii. 497.
King, Captain, R.N., iii. 414.
King, Lord, iii. 327, 374, 468, 552, 553.
King, Mr. (American Minister), i. 210.
Kingston, Lord, iii. 418.
Kinnaird, Mr. ii. 17; iii. 101.
Kirwan, Mr., i. 283. His recommendation on mines, 298.
Knapp, Mr., i. 200.
Knatchbull, Sir E., iii. 134, 553.
Knight, Miss, governess of Princess Charlotte, ii. 511.
Knight, Mr. R. P., his library, i. 494; iii. 438.
Knighton, Sir W., iii. 320. His rudeness to the King, 347, 363, 487, 491. Promised Duchy of Lancaster, 527, 539.
Knox, Bishop (of Derry), ii. 472.
Knox, Mr. (agent to Maynooth), conversation with Mr. Abbot, i. 334, 337, 342.
Knox, Mr., Speaker, iii. 605.
Kotzebue, Captain (Russian), iii. 440.
Kydwake convicted, i. 56.

L'Allemand, General (French), ii. 534.
L'Anglas, i. 387.
Laborde, General (French), i. 379.
La Croix, M., French Minister, i. 76.
Lafond, M. (a French actor), i. 404.
La Fayette, i. 20, 79.
La Fontaine, M., iii. 184.
La Lippe, Count, thanked by House of Commons, ii, 236.
Lake, Captain, ii. 245.
Lake, General, i. 482. Lord, his victories in India, i. 495, 504; iii. 422.
Lamb, Mr. F., iii. 262.
Lamb, Mr. G., iii. 68.
Lamb, Mr. W. (afterwards Lord Melbourne), moves the address, ii. 83. Seconds Mr. Brand's motion, 119, 321. Op-

LAMBERT.

poses re-appointment of Duke of York, 335; iii. 74, 262, 489, 525, 582.
Lambert, Captain, R.N., taken prisoner by the Americans, ii. 441.
Lambruschini, Archbishop of Geneva, iii. 97.
Lambton, Mr., i. 11; ii. 531, 613. Made Lord Durham, iii. 533.
Lambton, Mrs., iii. 214.
Lane, Mr., i. 191.
Lanesborough, Earl of, iii. 416.
Langham, Archbishop of Canterbury, ii. 540.
Lansdowne, Marquis of (at first Lord H. Petty), i. 540. On Lord Melville's case, 548; ii. 8, 27. Chancellor of the Exchequer, 34, 48, 55. Auditors' Bill, 63, 83. Budget, 91, 94. Meeting at his house, 118. On fees on private bills, 125. Finance resolutions, 127. Statement about the Buenos Ayres expedition, 139, 142, 145. Supports Catholic petition, 150, 165, 184. Views of the Roman Catholic question, 226. Amendment on Regency Bill, 310; iii. 138, 253, 271, 274, 316, 321, 325, 326, 363, 370, 414, 425, 430, 459, 465, 470, 475, 486, 493, 508, 519, 520, 546, 552, 554, 565, 568, 572.
Lascelles, Lord, ii. 543, 545, 549; iii. 103, 104.
Lascelles, Mr., i. 412. Motion in honour of Mr. Pitt, ii. 80, 810.
Lauderdale, Lord, i. 7, 17, 22; ii. 68, 75. Goes to Paris as a special ambassador, 77; iii. 107, 138, 285. Letter from, 287, 291, 363, 393, 415, 466, 495. 508, 545, 540, 569.
Launy, M. de, i. 80.
Lavalette, M. de, ii. 560.
Law, Bishop (of Chester), ii. 510; iii. 568.
Law. See Ellenborough.
Lawless, Mr., iii. 377, 581.
Lawley, Sir R., i. 484.
Lawrence, Dr. (Archbishop), iii. 7, 263, 606.
Lawrence, Dr., i. 177. On peace of Amiens, 377. Opposes Addington, 412, 462; ii. 52.
Lawrence, Judge, i. 84, 113.
Lawrence, Mr. R., letter from, ii. 407.
Lawrence, Sir Thomas, iii. 296, 494.
Leach, Sir J., ii. 419. Chancellor to Prince of Wales, 568; iii. 115. Master of Rolls, 489, 496. Retires, 613.
Le Blanc, Mr. i. 165, 197; ii. 328.
Le Clerc, Madame, i. 403.
Leeds, Duchess of, governess to the Princess Charlotte, ii. 416, 512; iii. 337.
Leeds, Duke of, i. 1. Letter from, 5—17. Lord of the Scilly Isles, 32, 33, 61, 83. Correspondence with Mr. Abbot, 124—131.
Leeds, Duke of (his successor), iii. 491.

LIVERPOOL.

Lees, Mr., Secretary to Irish Post Office, i. 280.
Lees, Sir Harcourt, iii. 284.
Lefebvre, General (French), ii. 534.
Lefevre, Mr. Shaw. i. 189.
Legge, Mr. H., letter from, i. 391, 395; ii. 619. Letter from, iii. 37, 52, 82, 86, 116, 120, 133, 146, 162, 208, 240, 259.
Leicester, Lord, i. 272.
Leinster, Duke of, iii. 333.
Leith, General, made K.B., ii. 417.
Leo XII., Pope, iii. 298, 558.
Leoni, Sig., iii. 97.
Leopold, Prince, marries Princess Charlotte, ii. 570 *et seq.*; iii. 337.
Leopold, Prince (of Naples), iii. 166.
L'Estrange, Major, at Albuera, ii. 334.
Lethbridge, Sir T., ii. 241; iii. 251, 476.
Lewis, Mr., i. 98.
Lewis, Mr. Frankland, iii. 308, 426. 567.
Lewisham, Lord, President of Board of Control, i. 243.
Ley, Mr., i. 52, 73, 428, 482. Observations on Tierney's conduct, ii. 140; iii. 72.
Leycester, Mr., motion to impeach Lord Melville, ii. 12; iii. 86.
Leycester, Sir J., made Lord de Tabley, iii. 436.
Lichfield, Lord, i. 495.
Lichfield, Mr., ii. 326, 414, 417.
Lieven, Count, ii. 482, 502, 548.
Lieven, Countess, ii. 482.
Lilford, Lord, i. 297.
Lilford, Lord (his son), iii. 393.
Lille, Countess of (wife of Louis XVIII.), dies, ii. 290.
Lillington, Abbot of Westminster, ii. 540.
Limerick, Lord, letter from, i. 393; iii. 396
Lindsay, Bishop. See Kildare.
Linois, Admiral (French), taken prisoner, ii. 55.
Lisle, Mrs., ii. 432.
Liston, Sir R., to go as envoy to the Hague, i. 396.
Litta, Cardinal, ii. 576, 592.
Littlehales, Col., afterwards Sir E. Baker, i. 277, 280, 307. His instructions, 314. Letter from, 315, 318, 322, 387, 391, 394, 395, 443; iii. 285.
Littleton, Mr., ii. 620; iii. 95.
Liverpool, Lady, iii. 548; ii. 201.
Liverpool Lord (the father), i. 516.
Liverpool, Lord (at first Lord Hawkesbury), i. 45, 87. Speaks on the Slave trade, 95. Opposes Mr. Grey's Reform, 104. Speaks on the Union, 171, 177, 199, 209, 220. Proposes Sir J. Mitford as Speaker, 234, 250, 253. Question about his seat as third Secretary of State in House of Commons, 261. An able speech of, 385, 419,

420. Speech on Russian mediation, 424, 434, 480, 499, 508. Home Secretary, 514. Attacked by Canning, 529, 530. Interview with Addington, 532, 535, 545. Opposes Roman Catholic claims, 559. On Lord Melville's case, ii. 4, 7, 18, 30, 92. Sent for on the dissolution of Lord Grenville's ministry, 104. Favours Mr. Curwen's Bill, 187, 236, 285, 298, 307, 322, 341, 357. Prime Minister, 382, 385, 402. Opposed to all concessions to Roman Catholics, 403, 405, 422, 440, 463, 481, 503, 509, 524, 535. 546, 548. On Sinecures, 604. 615. 617. Letter from, 618; iii. 43, 51, 77, 138, 147, 169, 179. Gives up the bill against the Queen, 180, 214. Out of favour, 234, 236, 261, 274. Opinion on Roman Catholic question, 281. 284. 289, 290. 296. Letter from, 295, 310, 315, 316, 320, 321, 325. In declining health, 328. Recognises South American republics, 352, 353, 371, 393, 395, 414, 421, 425, 426, 429, 434, 441, 457, 458. Seized with paralysis, 463, 467. Canning's ascendency over him, 500, 519. Huskisson's ascendency over him, 535. Favourable to Free Trade, 537. Dies, 589.

Lloyd, Dr. (Bishop of Oxford), iii. 6.

Lœderer, General (Austrian), iii. 215.

Loison, General (French), ii. 335.

London, Bishop of, ii. 389. Letter from, 392.

Long. See Farnborough.

Long, Miss, ii. 347.

Long, Mr., one of Emmett's accomplices, i. 450.

Longford, Lord, iii. 579.

Longueville, Lord, his letter, i. 268.

Longworth, General, killed at Talavera, ii. 339.

Lorton, Lord, iii. 312, 313, 465.

Loughborough, Lord, i. 21, 29, 62, 145, 146, Letter from on his emoluments, 153, 222. Compared to Cardinal de Retz, 228. His speech on resigning, 232, 243, 249. Created Lord Rosslyn, 274, 391.

Louis XVIII., ii. 336, 337. Formal entry into London as King of France, 485, 533, 536 *et seq.*, 459. Opens the Chambers, 556, 561: iii. 227. Dies, 338.

Louvel, Mr., assassin of the Duc de Berri, iii. 139.

Lovaine, Lord, i. 515; ii. 305.

Lowther, Lord, ii. 77, 106; iii. 485, 567, 613.

Lowther, Sir W., i. 67.

Ludolf, Count, iii. 206.

Lushington, Dr., iii. 417.

Lushington, Mr., Governor of Madras, iii. 521.

Lushington, Mr., attack on Sir H. Popham, ii. 139, 164. To be Chairman of Ways and Means, 225.

Lushington, Sir Henry, iii. 161. Letter from, 187.

Lygon, Mr., ii. 430.

Lynch, Mr. Marcus, iii. 165.

Lyon, Captain, R.N., iii. 345.

Lyttleton, Mr., motion on change of ministry, ii. 120. 121.

Maberly, Mr., iii. 426.

Macarthy, Mr., iii. 333.

Macartney, Lord, i. 225, 531; ii. 562, 566; iii. 14.

Macaulay, Count, iii. 229.

Macchiavelli, i. 45.

Macdonald, Colonel, killed in Ava, iii. 424.

Macdonald, Lord Chief Baron, his opinions in favour of Lord Melville, ii. 68.

Macdonnell, Mr. Æ., iii. 347.

Macintosh, Captain, ii. 563

Mack, General (Austrian), surrenders Ulm, ii. 21; iii. 208.

Mackenzie, Mr. Stewart, iii. 546.

Mackintosh, Sir J., ii. 464. Draws address on Slave trade, 498. 575; iii. 104, 141. 213. 369, 527.

Macleod, General, his motion on the Maroon war, i. 46.

Maddocks, Mr., attacks Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Perceval, ii. 181.

Magee, Archbishop, ii. 471; iii. 263, 285, 602, 381, 390, 395, 403, 448, 465, 580, 509, 612.

Mahon, D'Arcy, iii. 21.

Mahon, Mr. O'Gorman, iii. 593.

Maitland, General, ii. 377, 443, 495, 576, 610.

Maitland, Sir T., iii. 153.

Malcolm, Sir John, iii. 333, Governor of Bombay, 521.

Malden, Lord, i. 52, 75.

Malmesbury, Lord, Ambassador in France, i. 76. 96. Reports the King's state, 244. Expected to take office, 531.

Malmesbury, Lord (second), iii. 391, 193, 420, 429, 512, 558.

Malone, Mr., i. 26, 29.

Malone, Mr. E., iii. 324.

Manby, Captain, R.N., accused of familiarity with the Princess of Wales, ii. 67, 378.

Manners, Lord, iii. 341, 416, 488, 593.

Manning, Mr., i. 47.

Mansel, Dr., made a Bishop, i. 474.

Mansel, N., iii. 24.

Mansfield, Lady, ii. 338.

Mansfield, Lord (Chief Justice), resigned his seat in the cabinet, iii. 43.

Mansfield, Lord, i. 55, 145; iii. 466, 472, 493, 496, 497, 508, 541, 566.

Mansfield, Sir J., (Chief-Justice), i. 507. Refuses Great Seal, 36; ii. 424.

Manvers, Lord, iii. 508.
Mar, Earl of, restored, iii. 327.
Marceau, General, his defeat, i. 67.
Marcoff, M., i. 428.
Maret, M. (Duc de Bassano), iii. 108.
Maria, Donna, ii. 585.
Maria Louisa, Archduchess, iii. 229.
Markham, Dr., i. 28.
Marlborough, First Duke of, iii. 395 403.
Marmont, Marshal, defeated at Salamanca, ii. 401, 481, 521; iii. 404.
Marryatt, Mr., ii. 242.
Mars, Mlle., ii. 556.
Marsden, Mr. A., i. 280. Letter to, 334. Conversation with Dr. Troy, 335, 344, 369, 439, 440, 443, 459; iii. 341.
Marsh, Bishop, ii. 255.
Marshall, Mr., Secretary to Mr. Abbot, i. 541.
Martin, Mr., i. 171, 257, 274; ii. 184, 240, 385.
Martin, Mr. Henry, iii. 110.
Martin, Mr. R. iii. 427.
Martin, Sir Byam, iii. 20.
Mary, Princess, i. 252. Married to Duke of Gloucester, i. 601; ii. 411.
Maryborough, Lord, ii. 69, 127, 234, 268, 321, 349, 369, 398, 504, 519, 538, 546, 548; iii. 201, 234, 296.
Mason, Mr. Shaw, iii. 379.
Massena, Marshal, takes Almeida, ii. 279. Repulsed at Busaco, 280. Retreats from the front of Torres Vedras, 295, 322, 344, 335; iii. 405.
Materoga, Senhor, arrives in England from Spain, ii. 151.
Matthews, Admiral, ii. 489.
Maxwell, Captain, R. N., iii. 16, 52, 354, 467, 547, 608.
Maynard, Serjeant, aided in framing statute 3 Car. II.
Maynooth College, i. 292.
Mazeres, Baron, ii. 565.
McCabe, Mr., i. 446, 449, 472.
McClelland, Mr. J., Irish Solicitor-General, i. 290, 456.
McDermott, Mr., i. 447.
McDonald, Marshal (French), ii. 521, 533; iii. 139.
McDonnell, Colonel, an Irish rebel, i. 445, 449.
McKenzie, General, killed at Talavera, ii. 339.
McMahon, Colonel, i. 480; ii. 376, 385, 418, 452.
McMahon, Mr., iii. 187.
McNevin, Dr., i. 447, 449, 460.
Mead, Dr., i. 25.
Meadows, Dr., attending the King, ii. 88 *et seq.*
Meadows, General, Commander-in-Chief in Ireland, i. 267, 283, 300, 377, 382.
Meath, Bishop of, i. 341. Letters from, 361, 367, 368, 404, 492.
Meath, Earl of, iii. 370.
Medina, Duque de, i. 19.
Meervelt, Count, Austrian Ambassador, ii. 476, 548.
Meervelt, Countess, ii. 542.
Mehemet Ali, iii. 405.
Mellish, Mr., iii. 121.
Melville, first Lord, i. 22. Opposes the abolition of the Slave Trade, 34, 64, 90, 139, 163, 172, 207. Speech on the French negotiation, 213, 252. Obtains a pension, 255. His intrigues, 259, 262, 274, 415, 417. 426, 431, 508, 530. Beginning of the attack on, 543. Resigns, 549. Is removed from the Privy Council, 556; his defence in House of Lords, ii. 4. In the House of Commons, 7, 8, 10. His trial, 53, 68. Likely to join Duke of Portland, 186. First Lord of Admiralty, 107. His sagacity, 159, 211. His correspondence with Perceval, 218. Dies, 334; iii. 307, 326, 519, 528.
Melville, Lord (the second), favourable to Roman Catholics, ii. 403, 454. Grant to, from East India Company, 545, 568; iii. 272, 310, 389, 425, 437, 493, 576, 583.
Melzi, M. de, i. 402.
Mendip, Lord, i. 84, 164. Dies, 285.
Menou, General (French), defeated by Abercrombie, i. 267.
Mercer, Miss, ii. 347, 511.
Methuen, Mr., his motion about Princess of Wales, ii. 499, 504.
Metternich, Prince, ii. 554.
Meyers, General, i. 377.
Middleton. See Barham.
Middleton, Dr., fined for libel, i. 16.
Mildmay, Sir H., i. 553; ii. 76.
Mildmay, Sir W., i. 164, 270.
Miguel, Don, iii. 533, 553.
Mill, Dr., iii. 260, 334.
Milman, Sir F., i. 248, 482.
Milner, Dr. (Dean of Carlisle), ii. 363.
Milner, Dr. (Roman Catholic), ii. chief of the Irish Roman Catholic bishops, 150, 526, 529; iii. 213, 278.
Milton, Lord, iii. 40, 193. Blames the Reappointment of the Duke of York, 333. 382. Moves amendment to Mr. S. Wortley's motion, 387, 545. On Treaty of Paris, 569, 604.
Milton, Mr. John, ii. 525.
Mina, General (Spanish), iii. 299.
Minichini, Sig., iii. 202.
Minto, Lord, likely to be sent to India, ii. 74. Thanked for the conquest of Java, &c., 355.
Miranda, General, his success at the Caraccas, ii. 64.
Mitchell, Admiral, i. 189, 404. Letter from, 405.

Mitchell, Sir A., ii. 413; iii. 415.
Mitchell, Sir John, ii. 620.
Mitford. See Redesdale.
Mitford, Mr. W. (the historian), iii. 308.
Moira. See Hastings.
Molyneux, Lord, iii. 257.
Monaco, Prince of, iii. 238.
Monckton, Mr., i. 42.
Monge, M., ii. 521.
Monro, Sir J., iii. 423.
Montagu, Mr., takes down Pitt's speeches in short-hand, i. 75.
Montague, Mr., ii. 386.
Monteith, Mr., iii. 426.
Montesquieu, i. 45.
Montgomery, Sir H., ii. 376.
Montmorenci, M. Mathieu de, iii. 240.
Montmorency, Duc de, iii. 426.
Montrose, Duke of, i. 109, 225; ii. 341, 342, 502, 600; iii. 291, 485. 567.
Moore (Archbishop of Canterbury), i. 483; iii. 326.
Moore, Mr. Thomas, iii. 184.
Moore, Sir John, ii. 164, 179.
Mordaunt, Sir C., ii. 403.
Moreau, General (French), his language about Austria, i. 401. Killed at Dresden, 454.
Morehead, Mr., Governor of Barbadoes, i. 146.
Morgan, Mr., i. 19, 20, 41.
Morillo, General (Spanish), iii. 299.
Mornington, Earl of, i. 13. See Wellesley.
Morpeth, Lord, moves the Address, i. 67. Supports Fox, 104, 173. Opposes Addington, 413, 495; ii. 41, 366, 452. His attack on the Speaker, 455 *et seq.*, 481 *et seq.*, 488.
Morris, Mr., American minister in England, i. 45, 48.
Morris, Mr. A., committed for breach of privilege, i. 77.
Morritt, Mr., iii. 126, 201.
Mortemar, Duc de, iii. 573.
Mortier, General, ii. 431.
Moylan, Bishop (Roman Catholic), i. 253.
Mulgrave, Lord, declines the command in Ireland, i. 265, 531; ii. 294, 334. Favourable to Roman Catholics, 603.
Muncaster, Lord, i. 44, 52. Letter from, 387.
Munster, Count, ii. 428, 436; iii. 363.
Murat, General, ii. 52. Buonaparte's opinion of, 530, 533. 541. Letter to, from Lord Castlereagh, 544, 546; iii. 147, 152, 157.
Murat, Madame, ii. 546.
Murphy, Mr. (Roman Catholic priest), i. 277.
Murray, Bishop, iii. 569.
Murray, Dr., ii. 594. Archbishop (Roman Catholic) of Dublin, iii. 374.
Murray, General, Governor of Barbadoes, iii. 379, 382.

Murray, Lord James, ii. 600.
Murray, Mr. (Roman Catholic priest), ii. 611.
Murray, Sir George, iii. 405, 516. Secretary of State for War, 567.
Musgrove, Sir R., i. 339.
Mutiny at Portsmouth, i. 101. At Cork, 404.

Nairn, Earl of, restored, iii. 327.
Napier, Col., Commissioner to examine the accounts of the Irish Board of Works, i. 282.
Naples, King of, abdicates, iii. 147.
Naples, King of (his successor), iii. 167, 170, 206. Dies, 360.
Neale, Sir H., takes Lenoir and his squadron, ii. 55; iii. 306.
Needham, General, i. 276.
Neilson, Mr., one of Emmett's accomplices, i. 460.
Nelson, Lady, receives a pension, ii. 33.
Nelson, Lord, his fleet in 1798, i. 159. Defeats the Danes, 265. His letters, 266. His pursuit of the French fleet, 555; ii. 5, 13, 15, 16. His victory at Trafalgar, and death, 21. His estate, 91.
Nepean, Mr. (afterwards Sir E.), i. 216, 222. Succeeds Mr. Wickham in Ireland, 474. Quarrels with Lord Hardwicke, 541; ii. 25, 64.
Netherlands, King of, iii. 309, 405.
Neuville, Hyde de, M., iii. 306.
Newbolt, Mr., i. 216.
Newcastle, Duke of, iii. 434, 452, 466, 470, 471, 490, 537, 541, 554, 571, 594, 598, 602, 606, 610.
Newenham, Mr., letter from, ii. 466.
Newport, Sir J., Chancellor of Exchequer in Ireland, ii. 39, 129, 361. Supports Lord Morpeth's attack on the Speaker, 496, 505, 527, 572; iii. 134, 279, 313, 471.
Ney, Marshal, ii. 466, 533, 560. Executed, 566.
Nichol, Mr. (afterwards Sir J.), i. 123, 248. Speech on Spanish papers, 540; ii. 317, 352. On the National Society, 391, 411, 610; iii. 75, 234, 399, 599.
Nicholas, Archduke of Russia, ii. 581.
Nicolo, Sig., iii. 178.
Niebuhr, M., iii. 194, 220. Letter from, 221. 248.
Niepurg, Count, iii. 228.
Noble, Mr., i. 354.
Noel, Lady, ii. 101.
Norbury, Lord, iii. 302.
Norfolk, Duke of, i. 5, 16, 246; iii. 326, 355, 365, 379.
Normanby, Lord, iii. 103.
Normanton, Lord (Lord Somerton created), ii. 38; iii. 323.

Norris, Mr., one of Emmett's party, i. 448.
Northland, Lord, iii. 665.
Northumberland, Duke of, Lord Lieutenant in Ireland, i. 38.
Northumberland, Duke of, iii. 383. Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 592.
Norton, Sir F., i. 65; ii. 213, 488.
Norwich, Bishop of (Bathurst), iii. 293.
Nottingham, Lord, aided in framing Stat. 13 Car. II.; ii. 526.
Novozilzoff, Prince, ii. 587.
Nugent, General (Neapolitan), iii. 148, 151,
Nugent, Lord, iii. 95, 280.

Oakes, General, Governor of Malta, ii. 399.
O'Brien, Miss, ii. 593.
O'Coigley, M., executed for treason, i. 157.
O'Connell, Mr. D., ii. 367, 449, 471, 593; iii. 249, 343, 354, 372, 381, 387, 399, 459, 574. Returned for Clare, 577, 591, 612.
O'Connor, Mr. A., tried for treason, i. 147, 460.
O'Connor, Mr. R., ii. 254.
O'Donnell, Dr. R. (Bishop of Derry), ii. 472.
Oldenburg, Duchess of, ii. 481, 502.
Oliver, Mr. J., Crosby's case, ii. 261.
Ompteda, Baron, iii. 195.
Ongley, Mr., wounded by a shot aimed at the King, i. 205.
Onslow, Lord, with the King, i. 2, 3. Tierney's motion against, 155.
Onslow, Sergeant, ii. 572. On interest of Money, 577.
Onslow, Speaker, i. 433; ii. 232, 487, 614.
Orange, Prince of, i. 114. Grant to, 434. ii. 198, 460. Proposed marriage to the Princess Charlotte, 474.
Orford, Lord, iii. 394.
Orléans, Duc de, i. 117.
Orléans, Duc de, (Louis Philippe), ii. 530, 533, 537.
Orléans, Duchesse de, ii. 537.
Orléans, Mademoiselle de, ii. 537.
Ormsdale, Lord (a Scotch Judge), ii. 16.
O'Sullivan, Rev. M., iii. 384.
Ossulston, Lord, ii. 478.
Otto, M., French plenipotentiary, i. 391; ii. 550.
Oubril, M. d', iii. 195.
Oudinot, Marshal (French), iii. 139.
Ouseley, Sir S., iii. 394.
Owen, Mr. (of Lanark), ii. 444.

Pacca, Cardinal, iii. 132, 193.
Page, Sir F., i. 283.
Paget, Sir E., distinguished at Oporto, ii. 234; iii. 403, 423.
Pakenham, General, killed, ii. 531.
Paley, Dr., proposed for a bishopric, i. 474.
Pallavicini, Sig., iii. 106, 130.
Palmer, Mr., his claim on the Post-Office, ii. 49 *et seq.*, 332.
Palmerston, Lord, iii. 407, 444; iii. 533, 539, 566, 567.
Palmieri, Abbate, iii. 138.
Pareto, Sig., iii. 109, 211.
Parisi, Sig., iii. 190.
Parke, Mr., English Consul at Rome, iii. 204.
Parker, Captain, R.N., ii. 55.
Parker, J., leader of the mutiny, i. 110. Hanged, 115.
Parnell, Sir H., ii. 451, 542, 545, 576, 579, 593, 604, 610; iii. 313, 477.
Parnell, Sir J., i. 262, 266. Dies, 334. Letter from, 366; ii. 187. On the Bullion Committee, 329.
Parr, Dr., iii. 144, 163.
Parry, Captain, R.N., iii. 272, 305, 345, 436.
Parsons, Dr. (Vice-Chancellor of Oxford), letters from, ii. 194, 195, 223.
Pasley, Admiral, i. 151.
Pasley, Colonel, iii. 444.
Pasquier, M., iii. 158, 175.
Pastorius (his prophecy), iii. 381.
Patten, Mr., i. 423. Motion for censure of Addington, 426.
Patten, W., an accomplice of Emmett's, i. 448, 450.
Paul, Emperor, murdered, i. 266.
Paull, Mr., motion attacking Lord Wellesley, ii. 12, 41, 44, 50, 52, 53, 63, 66, 74. His election petition, 102.
Payne, Admiral, i. 247, 249.
Pease, Mr., iii. 531.
Peel, Mr. (the elder), i. 173. As Sir R. Peel, 419.
Peel, Mr. (the younger), seconds the Address, ii. 230. Distinguished as Irish Secretary, 404, 458. Letter from, 469, 498. Letter from, 521, 536, 572. On Catholic question, 576, 588, 591. Succeeds Mr. Abbot at Oxford, 620, iii. 537. Letter from, iii. 38, 70, 71, 74, 79, 95, 202. Home Secretary, 239, 242, 257, 289. On Catholic question, 281, 285, 289, 297, 312. Letter from, on consolidation of statutes, 418. Goes to the King on Lord Liverpool's illness, 463. Willing to serve under Canning, 469, 475, 476. Resigns, 482. Explanation, 491, 503, 524. Conversation with, 526. Home Secretary, under the Duke of Wellington, 533, 548, 552, 555, 558, 569, 576, 579, 595, 598. Loses Oxford Election, 602.
Pelham, Lord, i. 275, 279, 283. Memoir given to Lord Hardwicke, 304. His views as to the management of Ireland, 317, 319, 322, 341, 347, 393.
Pelham, Mr., i. 96, 221, 225, 284, 249.

Chairman of Secret Committee, 264, 274, 358, 374, 421.
Pellew. See Exmouth.
Pemberton, Sir. F., ii. 263.
Pennington, Dr., i. 24, 67 247.
Pepé, Colonel, iii. 168.
Pepé, General (Neapolitan), iii. 152, 167, 176, 182, 190, 200, 207.
Pepys, Lord, i. 248; ii. 233.
Perceval, Lady, iii. 144.
Perceval, Mr., i. 83. Opposes the Quaker's Bill, 86, 114. Proposed for Solicitor-General, 225, 415. Solicitor-General, 423. Attorney-General, 514. ii. 78, 101. Confers with Lord Sidmouth, 104. Chancellor of the Exchequer, 107, 115. Opposes Mr. Brand's motion, 119. Writes to the King, 120, 123. Letter from, 134, 136. Takes the Speaker's part against Tierney, 145, 149. Letter from, 153, 163. On the Duke of York's case, 167, 171, 172, 176. Attacked by Mr. Maddocks, 181, 184. Against Mr. Curwen's Bill, 187. Letter from, 188, 197. Letters from, 200, 201. His account of Canning and Lord Castlereagh's quarrel, 207 *et seq.* Becomes Prime Minister, 218, 227, 228, 236, 238. Speech on Sir F. Burdett's case, 242, 245, *et seq.* 267, 274, 276. Letters from, 279, 280, 283. On the King's illness, 285. Regency, 290 *et seq.* Letter from, 304, 309. Letter to, from the Prince, 315. His answer, 316. Approves of purchasing the Elgin marbles, 327. On the Bullion Committee, 329, 339, 341. In favour with the Prince, 347, 351, 354. Letter from, 362, 365, 369. Is murdered, 379. His character, 381.
Perceval, Mr. S. (the younger), Teller of the Exchequer, ii. 419; iii. 95, 103, 107.
Percy, Lord, moves to abolish Slavery, ii. 101.
Petalicki, M. Casimir, iii. 245.
Petre, Lord, ii. 445, 484; iii. 259.
Petre, Mr. ii. 540; iii. 491.
Pett, Dr., iii. 6.
Petty. *See* Lansdowne.
Phelan, Rev. Mr., iii. 387.
Phillimore, Dr., iii. 38, 283.
Philpotts, Dr. H. (Bishop of Exeter), iii. 464, 466. Letter from, 468, 477, 486, 509, 546, 550, 553. Letter from, 577, 585, 592, 594, 601, 604.
Pichégru, General, i. 51, 462.
Picton, Sir T., made K.B., ii. 417, 458.
Pierrepoint, Mr., i. 122.
Piggott, Sir A., ii. 270, 274.
Pinkerton, Mr. (agent of Bible Society), ii. 586.
Pinto, Mr., his pamphlet, i. 62.
Pitcairn, Dr., i. 25.
Pitt, Mr., i. 3, 4. His budget of 1795, 13. His eloquence, 22. Opposes Whitbread's Wages Bill, 31. Supports the Abolition of the Slave trade, 34. Attacked by Jekyll, 38. His industry, 44. His first acquaintance with Mr. Abbot, 49, 53. Defends himself against Mr. Grey, 56, 67, 71. Opens the Budget, 76, 83, 88, 98. Opposes Mr. Grey's Reform, 104, 115, 122, 137, 146. His duel with Mr. Tierney, 155, 165. His speech on the Union, 172, 173, 181, 189. Opens Budget of 1800, 199. Examines plans for New London Bridge, 208. Ill, 209, 212, 223. His views on Catholic Emancipation, 224. His regard for Canning, 225. His high opinion of Mr. Abbot, 230. Quits office, 232. Praises Addington, 234, 240. Brings forward the Budget, though out of office, 242, 243, 248. Letter published in his name, 251. The King imputes his illness to him, 256, 257. His debts, 258. Speech on Grey's motion, 262, 263. His views on Irish government, 270. His manly conduct, 274, 384. Praises Peace of Amiens, 385, 392. His views about returning to office, 414, 415. Negotiations on the subject, 417—431. His views on the renewal of war, 421, 427. Supports Army of Reserve Bill, 430. On Income Tax, 433, 434. Approves increase of the army, 468, 477. Discontent with Addington, 481, 482, 484, 487. Attacks Addington, 496. His plan for an army of reserve, 497, 498. Resumes office, 507, 508. Speech on Slave trade, 517. Letter from, 524. Tries to reconcile the King and Prince of Wales, 528. His wish to be joined by Fox unpleasing to his friends, 529. Reconciled to Addington, 530. 535. Speech on Spanish papers, 540. His views on Lord Melville's case, 546, 560; ii. 1. Speech on Catholic question, 3, 10, 11. On the war of 1805, 20. His illness and death, 24 *et seq.*, 40. His language about Lord Melville, 62. His support of Miranda, 64, 65. His feelings to Lord Wellesley, 84. Statue of, 187. His pledge not to reopen the Roman Catholic question in the King's lifetime, 211, 377. On China, 566. 201. Had no *plan* for Roman Catholic emancipation, iii. 326. His statue, 379. Correspondence with George III., 509.
Pitt, Mr. Moreton, letter from, iii. 33.
Pitt, Mr. W. (the first Lord Chatham), iii. 505.
Pius VII., ii. 419, 529, 576; iii. 23, 130, 216.
Planta, Mr., i. 196. Letters from, ii. 349, 413, 564.
Platoff, the Hetman, ii. 501.
Plowden, Mr., i. 68.

Plumer, Sir J., i. 231. Counsel for Lord Melville, ii. 60. Becomes Master of the Rolls, iii. 29.
Plunkett, Mr. (aft. Lord), his speech on Emmet's trial, i. 456. Speech on the pledge required of Lord Grenville, &c., 119, 439, 449, 469, 481. Supports Lord Morpeth, 496, 517. Supports the war, 545, 594; iii. 74, 94, 95, 107, 214, 263, 273, 279, 313, 341, 384, 390—469. Made a Peer, 486, 527, 568, 611.
Plymouth, Lord, iii. 598.
Poerio, Sig., iii. 169.
Pole, Sir C., i. 555; ii. 177.
Ponsonby, Mr., i. 298.
Ponsonby, Mr. G., i. 251. Motion on Irish affairs, 266. Opposes Irish Place Bill, 272, 548; ii. 3. Chancellor of Ireland, 36. Leader of Opposition, 137, 139, 150, 164, 165, 173. Opposes Maddocks's motion, 186, 224, 242. View of Sir F. Burdett's case, 269, 274, 290, 314, 321. Supports ministers in the Duke of York's case, 335, 351, 354, 381, 317, 413, 434, 447, 478, 499, 531. Differs from Whitbread, 537. On American Treaty, 538. Opposes the war, 545, 577, 600, 602, 604, 609, 612. Dies, iii. 98.
Ponsonby, Mr. G. (Rourke's counsel), i. 457.
Pontenero, Prince, iii. 161.
Poor Law, i. 83; iii. 45.
Popham, Mr., i. 45.
Popham, Sir Home, leaves the Cape of Good Hope, ii. 73. Takes Buenos Ayres, which is again recaptured, 90. Arrested, 92, 127. Letter from, 130, 139.
Porchester, Lord, motion on Reversions Abolition, ii. 178, 193, 241.
Porter, Colonel, ii. 88.
Porteus, Bishop (of London), i. 221, 554.
Portland, Duke of, i. 111, 112, 113. Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, 173, 207. Behaviour on the change of ministry, 225, 243, 259. Objects to Lord Dorchester as Commander-in-Chief in Ireland, 267. His intriguing conduct, 271, 274, 279. His neglect of Lord Hardwicke, 322. 367, 424. Refuses office, 535. Active against Lord Grenville's ministry, ii. 102. Forms a cabinet, 104, 120, 179. Dissolution of his cabinet, 200, 207 *et seq.* Dies, 213, 221.
Portland, Duke of (his successor), iii. 255, 464. Privy Seal, 489.
Potemkin, Prince, i. 66.
Potter, Mr., i. 96.
Powis, Lord, his conduct in India approved, ii. 153; iii. 598.
Powys, Mr., i. 64, 65.
Poynder, Dr., letter from, ii. 585.
Poynter, Dr. (R. C. Bishop), ii. 545, 576, 589; iii. 283, 387.
Pozzo di Borgo, Count, iii. 164, 203, 219.
Prendergast, Mr., ii. 197.
Prevost, General, in America, ii. 521.
Price, Dr., ii. 565.
Princess Royal, her marriage, 104.
Privilege of Parliament, i. 16.
Promulgation, Committee on, moved by Mr. Abbot, i. 74, 113.
Prudhoe, Lord, iii. 386.
Prussia, King of, takes possession of Hanover, 37. Shuts his ports against us, 49, 460. Enters Paris, 481. Arrives in England, 501. Visits city, House of Commons, &c., 502, 503.
Puigblanc, Don Antonio, ii. 529.
Pulteney, Sir J., i. 527; ii. 49.
Pulteney, Sir W., objects to some of Pitt's financial measures, i. 72, 148, 167, 232.

Quakers' Bill, i. 856.
Quarantotti, Sig., ii. 493.
Quigley, Mr., an Irish traitor, i. 447, 449, 459.
Quin, Mr., iii. 73.
Quin, Rev. Mr. (R. C.), iii. 449.
Quiroga, General (Spanish), iii. 299.

Radcliffe, Dr., M.P., i. 26.
Radnor, Lord, i. 5. Speech on Pitt's resignation, i. 223.
Radnor, Lord (son of the above), iii. 392.
Radstock, Lord, letter from, ii. 446; iii. 337.
Rawdon, Sir W., iii. 444.
Record Committee, moved by Mr. Abbot, i. 198.
Reden, Baron de, iii. 186, 191, 210, 363.
Redesdale, Lord, i. 212, 217, 225, 227. Becomes Speaker, 228, 236. Becomes Chancellor of Ireland, 285, 419, 418. Letter from, 437, 464, 469, 475 485, 509, 522—525; 550. Letter from, ii. 79, 127, 158, 160, 214, 251, 361, 473, 522, 557, 584; iii. 3, 27, 40, 47, 55, 57, 64, 73, 78, 106, 162, 253, 256, 257, 264, 269, 281, 288, 296, 330, 308, 322, 325, 339, 387, 401, 417, 467, 525, 530, 535, 540, 546, 560, 586, 594, 598.
Redmond, Mr., i. 444, 451, 457.
Reeve, Mr., his pamphlet, i. 248.
Reeves, Mr., publishes a seditious pamphlet, i. 9, 10, 16.
Regium Donum, proposed increase of, i. 428.
Rendlesham, Lord, created, ii. 38.
Rennell, Dr., i. 164.
Rennie, Mr., i. 274, 283.
Review of Light Horse Volunteers, i. 114.
Reynell, Major, iii. 411.
Reynolds, Dr., attending the King, ii. 288 *et seq.*
Reynolds, Sir Joshua, dinner in honour of, ii. 445.
Riario, Sig., iii. 191.

RICARDO.

Ricardo, Mr., iii. 76, 107, 253.
Rice, Mr. Spring, iii. 392, 425, 486, 520.
Richards, Baron, i. 139, 176; ii. 375.
Richelieu, Duc de, ii. 555; iii. 64, 115, 159. Retires, 240. Dies, 252.
Richmond, Duke of, salary received as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, ii. 278, 404; iii. 546, 559, 607.
Ridley, Sir M. W., ii. 620.
Ricketts, Mr., Governor of Barbadoes, i. 146.
Rickman, Mr., iii. 53, 71, 74, 279, 443, 531.
Rivers, Lord, ii. 356.
Rives, M., iii. 331.
Robinson, Mr. F. (afterwards Lord Ripon), speech on Dissolution of Lord Grenville's ministry, ii. 121, 164. Is offered office by Perceval, 212, 527; iii. 38, 201, 270, 273. Made Lord Goderich, 493, 499, 512, 515, 529, 532. Resigns, 533, 540, 546, 548.
Robinson, Mr. M., i. 31.
Robinson, Sir C., iii. 241.
Roche, General, ii. 409.
Rochefort, Colonel, iii. 379.
Roden, Lord, iii. 467, 552.
Rolle, Mr., i. 13. As Lord Rolle, iii. 394, 557, 569, 594, 613.
Romilly, Sir S., i. 18. Solicitor-General, ii. 58. Begins to reform the Criminal law, 152. On Duke of York, 172. Bankrupt Bill, 177, 241, 242, 256, 267. Amendment of Criminal law, 267. Opposes Ministers on the King's illness, 290. 323. On Princess of Wales, 435, 443, 464, 497, 528, 577. Kills himself, iii. 63.
Romney, Lord, i. 33.
Romney, Lord (his successor), iii. 612.
Rose, Mr., iii. 320.
Rose, Mr. G., i. 82, 137, 148, 149, 173, 180, 184, 201, 212, 261, 432, 494, 497. Announces Pitt's return to office, 506, 521; ii. 117, 177, 210, 214, 242, 289, 377, 524, 535. Letter from, 561, 562, 565, 571.
Rose, Sir G., iii. 271, 320, 321.
Roseberry, Earl of, iii. 387.
Rosenhagen, Mr., ii. 542.
Ross, General, takes Washington, ii. 514. Killed, 515.
Rossaroll, General (Neapolitan), iii. 215.
Rossi, Marchese, iii. 174.
Rosslyn, Lord (first), iii. 519.
Rosslyn, Lord (second), iii. 296, 401, 509.
Rostopchin, Count, iii. 403.
Rothschild, Mr., iii. 570.
Rough, Serjeant, iii. 361, 369, 379, 382.
Rourke, Mr. F., one of Emmet's accomplices, i. 452, 453.
Rowan, Mr. H., ii. 518.
Rowcroft, Alderman, i. 147.
Roxburgh, Duke of, iii. 202.

SCOTT.

Ruffo, Cardinal, iii. 182, 193, 220.
Russell, Lord John, letter to Mr. Wilberforce, iii. 155. Moves to disfranchise Penryn, 513, 550.
Russell, Lord W., objects to thanks to the Speaker on his retirement, iii. 2.
Russell, Mr., an Irish traitor, i. 443, 446, 450, 461.
Ruthven, Lord, iii. 165.
Rutland, Duchess of, iii. 498.
Rutland, Duke of, i. 208; iii. 473, 476.
Ryder, Mr., Chairman of Corn Committee, i. 14, 39, 93, 114, 116, 121. Mr. Pitt's second, 156. Proposed for Home Secretary, 225, 420; ii. 225, 246, 259, 280. Goes to Windsor to see the King, 283. King's illness, 294 *et seq.*, 321, 332, 384, 403. Motion about Maynooth, 443. Letter from, 444, 454. Defends the Speaker, 458 *et seq.* Letter from, 567; iii. 73, 78.

Sabine, Capt., R.N., iii. 414, 437.
Sadler, Mr., the aëronaut, ii. 520.
Sadler, Mr. M. T., iii. 608.
Salisbury, Bishop of, letter from, ii. 319, 423.
Salisbury, Marquis of, iii. 472, 491, 576, 583.
Salomon, his concerts, i. 37.
Salt, Mr., iii. 248.
Saluces, Chevalier de, iii. 247.
Sandon, Capt. H., committed for prevarication, ii. 166.
Sandwich Islands, King of, iii. 331. Dies, 340.
Sandwich, Lord, ii. 28.
Sangro, Duca di, iii. 174.
San Lorenzo, Duque di, iii. 277.
Sardinia, King of, iii. 97, 111.
Sargent, Mr., i. 502.
Saumarez, Sir James, thanked by Parliament, i. 384. In command in the Channel, 470.
Saurin, Mr., i. 368, 369.
Savile, Sir G., ii. 2, 566.
Sawyer, Sir R., ii. 263.
Scarlett, Mr., iii. 69, 127, 262, 540.
Schomberg, Duke of, ii. 504.
Schwarzenberg, Prince, ii. 481; iii. 154.
Scilly Isles, i. 33.
Scindiah, i. 495; iii. 32, 478.
Scott, Gen., i. 277.
Scott, Major, ii. 59.
Scott, Mr. T., iii. 272.
Scott, Sir J. See Eldon.
Scott, Sir Walter, writes "Waverley," ii. 521; iii 201. Sets up the "Quarterly," 272, 416. Writes "Life of Napoleon," 522.
Scott, Sir William. See Stowell.

Scully, Mr., i. 465, 541; ii. 367, 449, 471; iii. 257.
Seaford, Lord, iii. 549.
Sebright, Sir J., iii. 240.
Serney, M. iii. 203, 205.
Serra, Sig., Girolamo, iii. 105, 211.
Settimo, Sig., iii. 190.
Seymour, Lord Hugh, i. 531; ii. 69.
Seymour, Miss, ii. 63, 69.
Seymour, Rev. Mr., iii. 602.
Seymour, Sir G., ii. 458.
Seymour, Sir Michael, iii. 320.
Shadwell, Mr. L., i. 115.
Shaftesbury, Lord, iii. 330, 345, 565, 572, 597.
Shafto, Gen., ii. 402.
Shakspeare forgeries, Ireland's, i. 27. Quotation from, 509.
Shaw, Col., appointed Barrack-Master at the Cape, ii. 171.
Sheffield, Lord, letter from, i. 393; ii. 80, 408, 409, 567; iii. 76, 121.
Sheffield, Lord (the younger), iii. 414, 614.
Sheil, Mr. R. L., iii. 459, 581.
Shelley, Lady, iii. 471, 482, 483, 494, 539.
Shelley, Sir John, iii. 402. 560.
Shelton, Mr. i. 50.
Sherbrooke, Gen., ii. 234. In America, 521.
Sheridan, Mr., i. 3. Inveighs against Ministers, 6, 11. His eloquence, 23. A witness on Stone's trial, 29, 53. Speaks on the increase of the army, 70, 88, 91, 92, 94, 95, 98. Speech against France, 151. Motion on the state of Ireland, 157, 170. Speaks against the Union, 171. 172, 179, 189, 193. Motion on the Dutch Expedition, 196, 211, 223, 233, 240, 248, 285, 419. Moves to thank the Volunteers, 463. Objects to joining the Grenvilles, 481. Made Receiver-General of Duchy of Cornwall, 482, 488, 506. Opposes Pitt's Army Bill, 519, 541, 558; ii. 9, 18, 27, 31, 42, 51, 96. His saying on the dissolution of the Grenville ministry, 109. Bill for licensing Alehouses, 129. Motion on Baltic Expedition, 139, 149. Motion on Spanish affairs, 152, 240, 284, 285. Supports Ministers on the King's illness, 290. Draws up the Prince's answer to Parliament, 307, 309, 315. Opposed to Tierney, 342, 354, 371. Conduct on the ministerial difficulties of 1812, 388, 390.
Shirley, Sir T., ii. 262.
Shuckburgh, Sir G., ii. 10.
Shuttleworth, Dr., letter from, ii. 596, 598.
Sichler, Dr., his method of unrolling papyri, iii. 9 *et seq.*
Siddons, Mrs., iii. 254.
Sidmouth, Lady, dies, ii. 339.
Sidmouth, Lord, i. 33, 41, 42, 53. Elected Speaker in 1796, 64, 71, 126, 137, 146, 158, 174, 175, 184. Letter from, 209, 224. Becomes Prime Minister, 225, 242, 243. Continues friends with Pitt, 247, 254. Conversation with the Prince of Wales, 263, 267, 275, 286, 314. His language to Col. Littlehales, 319, 375, 384, 395, 413. Willing that Mr. Pitt should resume office. 415, 431, 429. Angry words with Pitt, 433, 464, 469, 470, 481, 484, 487. Attacks upon, 497, 496, 497, 500. His views on resigning office, 503. His answer to the King's letter, 516. Opposes abolition of Slave trade, 517. Opposes Pitt's Army Bill, 522, 527. Willing to return to office, 533. Made Lord Sidmouth, and President of the Council, 535. His resentment against Canning, 538, 545. Objects to Lord Barham, 551. Dissatisfied with Pitt, 552. Opposes Roman Catholic claims, 559. He and Pitt not cordial, ii. 5. Beaten by a junction of parties, 9. Resigns, ii. 14. Meets Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox, 33, 62, 92, 97. His fixed antipathy to Canning, 100. Not fully in Lord Grenville's confidence, 103. Resigns, 104, 114. Uneasy about foreign politics, 126. Letter from, 130, 132, 133. Disapproves the Danish expedition, 135, 180. Has alienated Pitt's friends, 216. Overtures made to by Perceval, 278, 283. Negotiation with Perceval, 287, 300, 339. Becomes President of the Council, 374, 387. His account of the ministerial negotiations, 402, 406, 419, 423, 426, 453, 473, 498, 530, 545, 562, 608, 614, 615; iii. 107, 261, 271. Objects to recognise South American republics, 351. Retires, 352, 353, 380, 408. Letter from, 451, 458, 469, 523, 531, 537, 547, 565, 586, 595, 604, 613.
Sidney, Lord, ii. 502.
Simmonds, Dr., attending George III., i. 481, 483, 487; ii. 283.
Simpson, Mr., mayor of Great Grimsby, i. 421.
Sinclair, Sir J., i. 48, 50, 51, 54. Tries to form a neutral party, 91, 97, 120, 121, 164, 246; ii. 183.
Slave Trade, i. 34, 147. Carried in House of Commons, 577. Again, ii. 92.
Smirke, Mr., ii. 350; iii. 438.
Smith, Gen., Governor of Gibraltar, ii. 528.
Smith, Mr. A.; his "Wealth of Nations," i. 211.
Smith, Mr. R., i. 58; iii. 417.
Smith, Mr. W., i. 18. Moves a vote of censure on Pitt, 37. Condemns Tierney, ii. 146, 445, 538, 601.
Smith, Rev. Dr. (of Christchurch), iii. 6.
Smith, Sir Sidney, escapes from France, i. 154. Receives thanks of Parliament, 189. Concludes the convention of El

Arish, 262. In command off Flushing, 470. Complicated in charges brought against the Princess of Wales, ii. 67, 127.
Somers, Earl, iii. 310.
Somerset, Duke of, iii. 273.
Somerset, Lord Fitzroy, iii. 405, 500.
Somerville, Lord, ii. 415.
Sommaglia, Cardinal, iii. 303.
Sondes, Lord, iii. 427.
Sophia, Princess (of Gloucester), ii. 337.
Soult, Marshal, defeated at Albuera, ii. 333, 404, 454; at Orthes, 474, 533; iii. 404.
South, Bishop, ii. 525.
South, Colonel, ii. 260.
Southey, Mr. R., iii. 443.
Souza, M. de, iii. 25.
Spain, King of, iii. 290.
Sparke, Bishop (of Ely), ii. 390.
Spence, Mr., his pamphlet, i. 475.
Spencer, General Sir Brent, ii. 340.
Spencer, Lord, i. 507; a Commissioner to inquire into the conduct of the Princess of Wales, ii. 67, 77, 81, 83, 114, 226, 294, 499, 508.
Spencer, Lord F., ii. 27.
Spencer, Lord R., i. 60, 201, 214, 222, 232, 250, 391. Speaks on peace of Amiens, 39, 416, 486.
St. Albans, Duke of, i. 144.
St. Angeli, M. de, iii. 177.
St. Cyr, General Gouvion, iii. 94, 158.
St. Helens, Lord; his opinions on foreign affairs, i. 18, 66, 269, 544; ii. 9, 301, 337; iii. 12, 531.
St. Leger, Mr., iii. 82.
St. Vincent, Lord, gains the battle of, i. 89, 159. First Lord of Admiralty, 229, 245, 528, 553; ii. 5. Attacked by Mr. Jeffery, 60.
Stackelberg, Count, iii. 204.
Staette, General (Neapolitan), iii. 215.
Stafford, Lord, i. 499. Motion on dissolution of Lord Grenville's ministry, ii. 120.
Stafford, Lord (his successor), iii. 522.
Stahrenberg, M. de, ii. 185.
Standish, Mr. Charles, letter from, ii. 529.
Stanhope, Earl, iii. 271.
Stanhope, Mr. Spencer; attacks Lord Ellenborough's appointment, ii. 42, 387.
Stanley, Lord, iii. 94.
Steele, Mr., proposed for Secretary at War, i. 225, 260, 415, 418, 428, 482, 537.
Stein, Baron, iii. 212, 213.
Stephen, Mr., ii. 590.
Stephen, Mr., formerly a reporter, ii. 240.
Sterling, Major, consul at Genoa, iii. 186.
Stewart, Sir C. (afterwards Lord Londonderry), arrives from Spain, ii. 164. Mentioned in thanks of House of Commons, 234, 468, 481; iii. 154, 158, 173, 485, 490, 493, 495, 519, 550, 553, 570.
Stewart, Mr., iii. 461.

Stewart, Mr. J., Irish Attorney-General, i. 456; ii. 4.
Stockdale, Mr., one of Emmet's accomplices, i. 450.
Stottenheim, General, iii. 205.
Strachey, Sir H. ii. 92.
Strangford, Lord, iii. 365, 553, 569.
Stuart, Archbishop (of Armagh), i. 281.
Stuart, Lady E., iii. 347.
Stuart, Sir C., Commander-in-Chief in Ireland, i. 238.
Stuart, Sir C. (afterwards Lord S. de Rothesay), ii. 343, 554; iii. 104, 173, 271, 346, 360, 406, 471, 570.
Suffield, Lord, Bill against Spring Guns, &c., ii. 371.
Sussex, Duke of, votes against Lord Melville, ii. 68, 255. Intends a motion about Princess Charlotte, 512. Expected to be Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, iii. 133, 293, 305, 383, 568, 593, 600.
Sutton, Archbishop, letter from, ii. 227; iii. 486, 487, 496, 497, 550, 600, 611.
Sutton, Mr. T., i. 117.
Stanhope, Lady Hester, ii. 11.
Stanhope, Lord, iii. 575, 577.
Stanley, Mr. (present Lord Derby), iii. 526.
Stanley, Mrs. ii; 526.
Stockdale, prosecuted for libel, i. 16.
Stone, tried for high treason, i. 8, 29.
Stopford, General Sir E., ii. 537.
Stopford, Lord, i. 111.
Stowell, Lord, i. 54, 58, 62. Proposes Mr. Abbot as Speaker, 412, 483, 545. Speech on Catholic question, ii. 3, 7, 8, 98, 132, 147, 330, 360, 375; iii. 1, 75. Made a Peer, 241, 274, 294. His great weight as a Judge in the House of Lords, 313, 322.
Strahán, Admiral Sir R., i. 470; ii. 21. Receives a pension, 33.
Strahan, Mr. i. 33, 60. Examined before the Promulgation Committee, 74.
Strangford, Lord, iii. 543.
Sturt, Mr. i. 8, 108, 231.
Suchet, Marshal (French), ii. 404.
Suffolk, Lord, i. 233.
Sullivan, Mr., ii. 562.
Sumner, Mr. ii. 380, 455.
Sutton, Mr. C. M., i. 114. Solicitor-General to Prince of Wales, 207. Probable successor to the Speakership, ii. 479, 618. Is elected Speaker, 620. Letter from, iii. 10, 26, 53, 67, 68. Stands for, 261, 452, 609.
Suwarrow, Marshal, i. 187. Called Italinsky, iii. 198.
Sweden, King of, arrives in England, ii. 290.
Swift, Dean, ii. 525.
Sydney, Lord, i. 99, 111.
Sykes, Sir M., iii. 93.

Talbot, Lord, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, iii. 133, 270.
Talleyrand, Prince, forwards a letter from Buonaparte to the King, i. 196, 400, 428, 495. Buonaparte's opinion of, ii. 530. Employed by Louis, 551; iii. 230.
Talma, M., ii. 554; iii. 254.
Tandy, Mr. Napper, banished, i. 292, 446.
Tankerville, Lord, iii. 271.
Tarentum, Archbishop of, iii. 183.
Tarleton, Gen., i. 7, 35, 39, 64; ii. 49. Disparages the capture of Badajoz, 377.
Tavistock, Lady, iii. 144.
Tavistock, Lord, ii. 551; iii. 200.
Taylor, Bishop Jeremy, ii. 525.
Taylor, Dr. W., ii. 595.
Taylor, Mr. M. A., i. 227, 413; ii. 193, 256, 442, 511.
Taylor, Mr. Watson, letter from, i. 375; iii. 297.
Taylor, Sir Herbert, ii. 16, 27. Executor to Queen Charlotte, iii. 64, 127, 485, 540.
Teignmouth, Lord, ii. 69, 442, 587; iii. 332.
Telford, Mr., plan for embanking the Thames, i. 204, 215.
Temple, Lord, i. 120, 173, 240, 262. Opposes Addington, 412, 463, 540; ii. 33, 42. Defends Lord Wellesley, 44, 185, 376, 413.
Tenterden, Lord, iii. 309.
Thanet, Lord, i. 156, 173; iii. 113.
Thellusson, Mr., i. 80, 245. Contractor for Government Loans, ii. 95.
Thelwall, Mr., i. 4, 15.
Therry, Mr., ii. 593.
Thirlwall, Rev. J., ii. 612.
Thistlewood, A., his conspiracy, iii. 119 *et seq.*
Thomas, Mr., iii. 914.
Thompson, Admiral Sir T. ii. 579.
Thomson, Mr., ii. 578; iii. 73.
Thornborough, Admiral, in command off the Texel.
Thornton, Mr., i. 115, 156; ii. 54, 55, 137, 184, 497; iii. 325.
Thorold, Sir J., i. 4.
Thuanus, iii. 384.
Thurlow, Lord, i. 5, 6, 16. His character, 21. His favour with the Prince of Wales, 61, 140, 141, 186, 268. Objects to the Copyright Bill, 274, 477. Dies, ii. 79.
Thynne, Lord J., i. 543. Vice-Chamberlain to the King, ii. 308, 332.
Tichfield, Lord, ii. 101.
Tierney, Mr., i. 80, 122, 123. Moves an address on increase of patronage, &c., 124. His duel with Mr. Pitt, 155. His motion against the "Times," 168, 189, 193, 196. Motion against the war, 200, 202, 212, 215, 217. Supports Addington's ministry, 387. Expected to be secretary to the embassy at Paris, 396. Treasurer of the navy, 425, 496. Expected to join Pitt, 521. Offered Irish secretaryship, 528; ii. 13, 44. Examined on Lord Melville's trial, 58. Attacks Canning, 139. Dispute with the Speaker, 142, 164. His Parliamentary ability, 180. Opposes Maddock's motion, 186. Attacks Sir F. Burdett, 193, 214. The principal man in Opposition in House of Commons, 224, 230, 242, 257, 270, 274. Opposes ministers on the King's illness, 290 *et seq.* A great newsmonger, 328. Motion on the bank payments, 331. Opposed by Sheridan, 342, 354, 380, 432. Motion on Sinking Fund, 443. Supports Lord Morpeth's attack on the Speaker, 455, 486, 511, 535, 542. Opposes the war, 545, 569, 571, 578. Objects to the Speaker's pension, iii. 2. Leader of the Opposition, 69, 71, 76, 93, 103, 117, 125, 147, 200. Retires from the lead of the Opposition, 212, 475, 486, 520.
Tillotson, Archbishop, ii. 525.
Tindal, Sir Nicholas, iii. 613.
Tomline, Bishop, ii. 30, 337.
Tomlins, Mr., i. 211.
Tomlins, Sir Thomas, iii. 550, 553, 577.
Tooke, Rev. J. Horne, takes his seat, i. 239, 251. Examination into the legality of his return, 254. Unseated, 268.
Topham, Mr., i. 191, 202.
Torlonia, Duc de, iii. 147.
Torre, Prince della, iii. 177.
Tottenham, Lord R., i. 517.
Toussaint l'Ouverture, i. 401.
Townley, Mr., his collection of marbles, i. 494; ii. 5.
Townley, Mr. J., ii. 5.
Townley, Mr. P., ii. 5.
Townsend, his travels in Spain, i. 20.
Townsend, C., i. 38.
Traill, Mr., ii. 46.
Trench, Colonel, ii. 170.
Troisi, Sig., iii. 190.
Trotter, Mr., Paymaster of the Navy, i. 543, 548; ii. 8. Committed, 44, 58.
Troy, Dr., conversation with Mr. Marsden, i. 335, 337, 343, 345, 437, 443, 465; ii. 158, 592.
Turner, General, ii. 486.
Turner, Miss, iii. 513.
Turton, Dr., attends the King, i. 252.
Turton, Sir T., motion on Indian affairs, ii. 149, 151, 178, 352, 370.
Tuscany, Grand-Duke of, iii. 291.
Twiss, Mr. Horace, iii. 567.
Tyrawley, Lord, i. 280, 282, 302. 389.
Tyrwhitt, Mr. T., i. 185, 462, 499; ii. 137, 163, 169, 296, 343, 354, 370, 411, 427; iii. 10, 329, 348, 383, 435, 509.

Udney, Mr. (the traveller), iii. 306,

UDNEY.

Udney, Mrs., iii. 413.
Union with Ireland passed, i. 221.

Valletort, Lord, ii. 600.
Van Mildert, Bishop (of Durham), iii. 8, 554, 555.
Vansittart. See Bexley.
Vaublas, M., ii. 556.
Vaughan, Dr. (afterwards Sir H. Halford), ii. 24, 73.
Verner, Colonel, iii. 379.
Verney, Lord, brings Burke into Parliament, i. 38.
Verulam, Lord, iii. 414.
Victor Emanuel, King, abdicates, iii. 220, 250.
Victor, Marshal (French), defeated at Barossa, ii. 322.
Victoria, Princess, iii. 614.
Villaret, Admiral (French), i. 380.
Villèle, M. de, iii. 263 535.
Vincent, Dean (of Westminster), Letter from, ii. 539.
Vincent, M., iii. 220.
Vittoria, General (South American), iii. 441.
Voluntary Contribution Fund, i. 133.
Vyvyan, Sir R., iii. 807.

Wadsworth, Gen. (American), ii. 402. 411.
Waithman, Alderman, iii. 235. Lord Mayor, 305.
Wakefield, Mr., iii. 77, 503, 513.
Wales, Prince of. See George IV.
Wales, Princess of, her confinement, i. 25. Her behaviour, 37, 44, 52. Her reception at the opera, 59. At the Drawing-room, 517, 518. Her unguarded conduct, 526, 529. Inquiry into the conduct of, ii. 67, 105, 124, 127, 28. Comes to House of Commons, 147. Motion for papers, 147, 157. Her debts, 163. Comes to House of Commons, 230, 375. Inquiry into her conduct, 419 *et seq.* Her letter to the Speaker, 427. Receives an address from the City, 435. Goes abroad, 436. Mr. Methuen's motion about, 499. Increased allowance to, 504, 511; iii. 82, 87. In Italy, 111. Her conduct as Queen, 117, 120, 125 *et seq.*, 133. Arrives in England, 139. Trial, &c., 162 *et seq.* Bill given up, 180, 218, 226. Refused admittance at the Coronation, 230. Dies, 233.
Wallace, Mr., i. 173, 190, 196; iii. 295,
Walmoden, Gen., iii. 203. 353, 498. Made a peer, 533.
Walsh, Mr., expelled the House of Commons, ii. 373.
Walsingham, Lord, i. 114, 213.
Warburton, Bishop, ii. 525.
Warburton, Major, iii 357.
Ward, Mr. (afterwards Lord Dudley), speech on dissolution of Lord Grenville's ministry, ii. 121, 230. Chairman of Committee on Sinecures, 277, 321, 519; iii. 262, 363, 515, 519, 538, 549, 553, 566.
Ward, Mr. R. P., his diary, ii. 369. 509.
Wardle, Major, i. 162, 251; ii. 165, 176, 322.
Ware, Mr., one of Emmet's party, i. 448.
Waring, Mr., i. 162.
Warrand, Mr., iii. 200, 207.
Warren, Mr., i. 477.
Warren, Sir John, i. 447; ii. 412.
Watson, Bishop, i. 46. Libel on, 162, 182.
Watson, Mr., trial for sedition, &c., iii. 2.
Watson, Sir Brook, i. 470.
Watson, Sir F., iii. 606.
Way, Mr., i. 124.
Webber, Dr., ii. 384, 413.
Wedmore, Mr., ii. 540.
Weld, Mr., ii. 582, 597, 598.
Wellesley, Marquis, sails for India, i. 117. Receives thanks of House of Commons, 192, 225, 503. His war with Holkar, 530. Attacks on by Mr. Paull, ii. 31, 41, 42, 44. Dinner to, 46. At variance with the Directors, 51. Rejects Mr. Francis's overtures, 74. His opinion of Mr. Paull's attacks, 84. Wishes to return to India, 122. Conduct approved by the House of Commons, 142. Attacked by Sir J. Turton, 149, 151. Goes as ambassador to Spain, 179, 185, 198, 216, 220. Canning discontented with, 229. In favour with the Prince, 347. Favourable to the Roman Catholics, 354. Resigns, 355, 357, 366, 370, 376. Authorised to construct an administration, 384, 385 *et seq.*, 396. His zeal against Lord Liverpool's ministry, 417, 453; iii. 104. Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, 238. Assaulted at the play in Dublin, 264, 274. His disregard of the Irish clergy, 285, 348, 365, 371, 406, 407, 486, 503, 539, 553, 568.
Wellesley, Mr. Henry, ii. 182, 321; iii. 173. Refuses India, 468. Made a peer, 533, 573.
Wellesley, Pole. See Maryborough.
Wellington, Duke of, his plans for the defence of Ireland, i. 278. His victories in India, 495. Conversation with, ii. 124. Thanked for his services at Copenhagen, 138 Defends Dr. Duigenan's appointment, 149. His opinion of the Convention of Cintra, 159, 165. Enters Oporto, 193. Gains the Battle of Talavera, 199. Thanked by House of Commons, 231. Made a Peer, 234. His position in Portugal, 279, 290. News from, 306, 323, 325. Beats the French at Fuentes d'Onoro, 332. Raises the siege of Badajoz, 340. Reinforcements sent to, 342. Besieges Ciudad Rodrigo, 363. Takes

it, 366. Made an Earl, 371. Takes Badajoz, 377. Takes Salamanca, 396. Defeats Marmont, 401. Grant to, 405, 409. Purchase of his estate, 414, 417. Gains Battle of Vittoria, 451. Defeats Soult, 454. Enters France, 460. Gains Battle of Orthez, 474. Made a Duke, 497. Arrives in England, 504. Visits House of Commons, 506. His arrangements for baggage, 509 City banquet to, 510. His measures in Flanders, 542, 547. Fights Waterloo, grant to, &c., 548 *et seq.* Generalissimo of the Allied Troops, 553. Conversation with, 555. Congratulated by House of Commons on his return to England, 580. Made Master-General of Ordnance, iii. 68. Speech on Ireland, 76, 79, 173. 230, 277, 293, 310, 330, 337. On recognition of South American republics. 351, 383, 395, 396, 397, 398, 403, 409, 413, 439, 452. Is made Commander-in-Chief, 458. Expected to be Minister, 463, 464, 469, 470, 474. Resigns, 482, 487, 493, 494, 500. His advice to the King, 501. On Corn Bill, 513, 515, 516. Resumes command of the army, 523. Sent as Ambassador-Extraordinary to Russia, 527, 529. His amendment to the Corn Bill, 532. Prime Minister, 533, 543, 546, 553, 554, 556, 561, 567, 568, 571, 579, 584, 591, 601, 604.

Wemyss, Lord, peerage restored, iii. 426.

West, Mr., President of the Royal Academy, ii. 326, 578.

Western Mr., ii. 434.

Westmacott, Mr., to make a statue of the Duke of Wellington, ii. 544; iii. 291.

Westminster, meeting in, i. 7.

Westmoreland, Lord, i. 2, 225, 232. Useless in the Cabinet, ii. 180; iii. 163, 326, 597, 608.

Wetherell, Sir C., iii. 201, 409, 542.

Wharton, Mr., ii. 447.

Whitaker, Rev. Dr., iii. 96.

Whitbread, Lady E., iii. 144.

Whitbread, Mr., i. 11. His Wages Bill, 30. Attacks the ministry, 89, 101, 419, 497. His charge against Lord Melville, 547, 549, 555, 556. Moves his impeachment, ii. 5, 8, 10, 11, 47, 53, 54. Letter to Mr. Abbot, 56. On Lord Melville's trial, 51, 68, 88. Presents Mr. Johnstone's petition, 97. Poor Law Bill, 127, 139. Motion for peace, 140. Blames Tierney, 146. Supports Catholic petition, 150, 157, 165. Moves for conciliatory conduct to America, 169. Speech on Duke of York's case, 172. At variance with Lord Grey, 178, 196, 230, 236. Motion against Lord Chatham, 238. His good temper, 243. On Burdett's case, 257, 274. Opposes ministers on the King's illness, 290, 300, 321. On the Bullion Committee, 329, 333. On the Duke of York's case, 335, 351. Motion for American papers, 369. Assents to measures in honour of Mr. Perceval, 379 *et seq.* Motion for peace, 412, 413, 429, 431, 433. Wishes to examine Lord Moira about the Princess of Wales, 434, 454, 459. Moves amendment to Lord Morpeth's attack on the Speaker, 495, 499, 500, 509. Blames war with America, 523. Altercation with Mr. Davis, 529. On Congress at Vienna, 534, 536, 539, 540, 541. His death, 550.

Whitbread, Mr., jun., iii. 121.

Whitefoord, Mr. C., i. 20.

Whitelock, General, ii. 131.

Whitworth, Lord, i. 396. Recalled from Paris, 419. Emmet's accomplices had passports from, 461; ii. 458.

Wickham, Mr., Under-Secretary for Home Department, i. 133, 164. Letter from, 180, 229. Succeeds Mr. Abbot as Irish Secretary, 285, 396, 404, 428. Letter from, 439. Account of Emmet's insurrection, 445, 455. Letter from, 459, 473. Resigns secretaryship of Ireland, 474. Letter from, 516; ii. 24, 26, 30, 45. Letter from, 71, 81, 101, 107, 114, 283, 303.

Wickham, Mr. H., ii. 542.

Wilberforce, Mr., replies to Fox, &c., i. 6, 16. Motion for Abolition of the Slave Trade, 34, 73, 80, 101, 147, 173, 211. Altercation with Mr. Grey, 212, 548, 559. Speaks for impeachment of Lord Melville, ii. 8, 42, 83. Speech on Slave trade, 92. Opposes Catholic petition, 150, 181, 239, 263. On King's illness, 294 *et seq.* On the Bullion Committee, 329. Opposes ministers on the Duke of York's case, 335. Letters from, 344, 363, 383. Letter from, 485. On Slave trade, 505, 550, 602; iii. 81. Tries to mediate with the Queen, 142, 265.

Wilbraham, Mr. Bootle, letter from, ii. 582, 610; iii. 43, 70, 80, 83, 92, 102, 112, 127, 141, 163, 179, 201, 217, 233, 235, 250, 273, 328, 524. Made Lord Skelmersdale, 533, 545, 589, 591, 603, 613.

Wilkes, J., his case, ii. 266, 272.

William I., state of England under, iii. 59.

Williams, Miss Helen, i. 403.

Williams, Mr., iii. 168.

Williams, Mr. (afterwards Judge), iii. 312.

Williams, Sir W., his case, ii. 207.

Willis, Dr. (the elder), i. 243, 245, 246, 480; ii. 354.

Willis, Dr. (the younger), i. 243, 248, 253, 256, 480; ii. 289, 302; iii. 112.

Wilson, Mr. C., M.P., iii. 275.

Wilson, Mr. Carus, iii. 275.

Wilson, Mr. F., iii. 406.
Wilson, Sir R., thanks to, ii. 235. Arrested for aiding La Valette's escape, 567; iii. 75, 96, 235.
Wilton, Lord, i. 517.
Winchelsea, Lord, i. 236, 241; ii 296; iii. 467, 516, 554, 556, 603, 608, 609.
Winchester, Marquis of, ii. 411.
Wirtemburgh, Duke of, i. 44.
Wodehouse, Mr. E., iii, 251.
Wolfe, Colonel, i. 459.
Wolfe, Mr., a Jesuit, ii. 499.
Wood, Alderman, moves a city address to Princess of Wales, ii. 435; iii. 121, 136.
Woodroffe, Mr., i. 154.
Woronzow, Count, Russian Minister, i. 266, 428.
Worrall, Mr., letter from, ii. 461.
Wortley, Mr. S., ii. 257. Motion on the state of the government, 382, 387; iii. 81, 218 (as Lord Wharncliffe), 464, 470, 583.
Wright, Captain, R.N., iii. 354.
Wrottesley, Sir J., i. 210, 413, 487.
Wyatt, Mr., the architect, i. 413; ii. 564; iii. 438.
Wyndham, Mr., i. 4, 6, 22. Speaks on the Slave trade, 95, 121, 189, 216, 224, 384. On Peace of Amiens, 385, 394. Opposes Addington, 412, 422, 428, 431, 434, 463, 464, 468, 488, 496, 497, 507. Opposes Pitt's Army Bill, 518, 536. Moves for a Committee on Defence, 541; ii. 9, 27, 31. Secretary at War, 38, 41. Opens his military plans, 49, 51, 85. On Duke of York's case, 173. Opposes Maddocks's motion, 186, 193. Presents the Catholic petition, 236, 240, 242, 258. Dies, 277.
Wynn, Mr. C. W., i. 115. Opposes Addington, 417; ii. 143, 259, 261, 333, 372, 454. Motion about Norway, 498, 512, 535, 574, 600, 607. Stands for Speakership, 620; iii. 10, 76, 95, 261, 274, 349, 470, 471, 561, 572.
Wynn, Mr. H. W., iii. 270.
Wynn, Sir W. W., i. 13. Opposes Addington, 413. On Sir F. Burdett's case, ii. 278.
Yarmouth, Lord, declares the intention of the Household to resign, ii. 387, 388, 412, 503.

York, Archbishop of, i. 45; ii. 363. On the National Society, 491.
York, Cardinal, pension to, i. 201. Leaves his George to the King, iii. 395.
York, Duchess of, i. 422, 529. At Lord Melville's trial, ii. 54, 337. Dies, iii. 155.
York, Duke of, i. 3, 243, 246, 255, 279, 419, 462, 473, 491. Takes the King's part against the Prince of Wales, 526, 529. His management of the army looked on as extravagant, 531; ii. 36. Votes for acquittal of Lord Melville, 68, 72. His advice to the King on the case of the Princess of Wales, 76. Mr. Johnstone's petition against, 97. Active against Lord Grenville's Ministry, 102, 126. Attack on, by Major Wardle, 166. Resigns the command of the army, 175, 176, 179, 214. On King's illness, Regency, etc., 295 *et seq.* His influence with the Prince of Wales, 314, 331. Restored to the command of the army, 333, 337, 342. Takes letter from the Regent to Lords Grey and Grenville, 369. Approves of the Speaker's speech, 453. Thanked by the House of Commons, 509. Conduct about the Princess Charlotte, 511. Letter to the Speaker, 550, 560, 578; iii. 112, 142, 232, 293, 307, 328, 335, 380, 385, 402. In bad health, 438. Better, 452. Worse, 454. Dies, 457, 610.
Yorke, Mr. C., i. 142—145, 152. Secretary at War, 229, 272, 275. Letter from, 372, 373, 430, 433, 441, 464, 468, 473, 480, 496, 537. Speaks on Wyndham's war plans, ii. 49. Letter from, 100. Defends Baltic expedition, 137. Opposes Catholic petition, 150. Defends Duke of York, 172, 180. Expected to be Secretary at War, 185, 193, 216, 235, 285, 438. Letter from, 483, 533.
Yorke, Mr. J., i. 145.
Yorke, Mr. R., convicted of sedition, i. 11.
Yorke, Sir J., attacks Whitbread, ii. 243, 516.
Young, Admiral, Sir W., ii. 482.
Young, Mr. Arthur, i. 371.
Young, Sir W., i. 38, 262, 541.
Ypsilanti, Count, iii. 225.

THE END.

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